WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 222

5 January 1979

Ledru/Sygma

No to Khomeini's Islamic Reaction— For Workers Revolution in Iran!

Shah's Death Agony

JANUARY 2—The slogan increasingly heard in the streets of Teheran is, "Victory is near!" After more than a year of massive demonstrations led by the religious opposition, bitter street fighting and a powerful strike movement, and at the cost of thousands of dead, the brutal dictator who calls himself the "Light of the Aryans" seems to be nearing the end of his rope. The military government which assumed power in November has failed to carry out its assigned task of suppressing the anti-shah upsurge. This had become clear by the religious holidays of Moharram, which became the occasion for mammoth demonstrations on December 10 and 11 that the regime found it impossible to prevent.

The shah continues to maintain that he will not step down, but no one believes him. To prove that he had not yet followed his relatives into exile in the U.S., the shah allowed reporters into the Niavarab Palace on January 1—on the condition that they ask him no questions. But to a photographer's inquiry about his plans for a possible "vacation" the shah responded, "I would love to if the situation permits." However, displaying the paralyzed rigidity characteristic of embattled autocracies from Louis XVI to the Romanovs, the shah refuses to abdicate. While one attempt after another to entice opposition politicians into a "government of national conciliation" fails, events are heading toward a violent confrontation between the masses and the regime. All eyes are now turned on the army.

Practically helpless to alter the course of events within Iran, the U.S. has dispatched a carrier taskforce from the Philippines to the Persian Gulf. This potential "show of force," a replay of 19th-century gunboat diplomacy, is a direct challenge to the Soviet Union, which has warned against U.S. intervention. It is as yet unclear just how far the U.S. government is prepared to go but the American left and labor movement must not permit any imperialist adventures in Iran under the guise of the "protection of American citizens."

The complete failure of the shah's martial law regime to quell the national uprising has forced him to turn to the last resort urged on him by an increasingly desperate U.S. imperialism. This is the so-called "Spanish solution" in which a new civilian government would take charge, transforming the absolute monarchy into a constitutional one. But Iran is not Spain and every oppositionist knows that whatever the constitutional form, as long as the shah remains in the country it will remain a bonapartist dictatorship as he continues to wield the real power through the army.

This is why Shahpur Bakhtiar, the long-time member of the bourgeois liberal National Front opposition named by the shah to head the new government, has found no one willing to enter his proposed cabinet. Despite Bakhtiar's questionable claim that he has the shah's promise to turn over control of the army, leave the country temporarily, abolish the secret police and place the monarchy in the hands of a regency council, politicians like Karim Sanjabi, head of the National Front, remain unconvinced. Sanjabi continues to abide by Muslim patriarch Ruhollah Khomeini's injunction that nothing less than the shah's abdication is acceptable.

The Iranian masses are in the streets, engaging in bloody confrontations with the shah's army. In the latest incident, demonstrators served up popular justice to three agents of the hated SAVAK secret police in the northeastern city of Meshed, stabbing them several times before hanging them up by the heels to bleed to death in front of a major hospital. Troops arriving on the scene shot into the crowd, killing many. In all, oppositionists estimate that 700 protesters were killed in Meshed over the weekend of December 30-31.

But the millions of anti-shah workers and peasants, instead of relying on their own independent strength to settle accounts with the murderous Pahlavi dynasty, continue to follow the lead of the mullahs, the rank and file of the reactionary landholding Islamic clergy. The goal of the fundamentalist Muslim leaders is clear: the creation of an "Islamic Republic," which is to say a dictatorship of the clerical hierarchy. Such a regime would merely replace the exploitation and oppression of the shah's dictatorship with an even more reactionary theocratic government looking back for its inspiration to the "golden age" of the seventh century.

Fissures in the Army

The growing divisions within the military give particular urgency to U.S. imperialism's desperate attempts to resolve the crisis. At long last the insulation of the ranks of the army from the protests is eroding. Hundreds of soldiers are deserting in Qum and Meshed, often turning their weapons over to anti-shah insurgents. According to the *New York Times* (19 December), "Indeed, one reason the Government pulled its troops off the streets last weekend rather than try to stop religious

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Editorial Notes

Reformists Weep for Strikebreaker Moscone

Uniphoto

Jim Jones (left) shakes hands with Moscone.

In the days following the mass suicide/murder in Jonestown, as the media spewed out reams of homilies about cultland California, San Francisco reeled under the impact of another hometown shocker. Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk were gunned down in their offices by a crazed ex-cop and former supervisor, Dan White. In a rising chorus assorted preachers and politicos, windbags and scribblers joined in handwringing sermonizing against "irrational hatred and violence." On the night of the double murder, 30,000 San Franciscans communed in a pray-in for decency, led by Joan Baez singing "Kumbaya" and "Amazing Grace."

The bizarre deaths of more than 900 People's Temple followers in far-off Guyana were bad enough, especially as Moscone had appointed Jim Jones S.F. housing commissioner not so long ago, but the in-house assassination at City Hall was positively unnerving for California Democrats. It's at such moments that the liberals assert their claim to "respect human life," always in the service of the status quo. If Jonestown seemed too outlandish, the Moscone/Milk assassinations were made to order for their hysterical hathos. Here was the Kennedy assassination writ small: all liberal goodness and tolerance on one side, reaction and social malignancy on the other.

The Democrats have done their best to make political hay out of the S.F. assassinations. The victims were the "friend of labor" and the uncloseted gay "progressive" on the city council; the assassin is an out-and-out anti-homosexual bigot. White's election leaflets proclaimed, "I'm not going to be forced out of San Francisco by splinter groups of radicals, social deviates and incorrigibles." You see, for liberals murder is not respectable unless it is done on a mass scale, by raining bombs over Vietnam or aiding the terror regime of a Pinochet in Chile or the shah of Iran. And predictably the pundits of bourgeois "decency" were joined by their reformist copy boys in the workers movement.

On the day of the murders the San Francisco county committee of the Communist Party (CP) quickly

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Jim Jones and M. Varga

The Jonestown mass suicide/murder threw a spotlight on cultism and some found the glare quite uncomfortable. The Black Panthers said the People's Temple was a CIA counterinsurgency plot. Lynn Marcus' Labor Committee provocateurs rushed to publish documentary "evidence" that Kissinger, Timothy Leary and the London banks were behind the whole thing. And the infallibly paranoid Healyite Workers League saw a government cover-up and demanded a state investigation of Jim Jones.

But credit for the strangest reaction of all goes to the circle of American supporters of Michel Varga, the highly dubious Hungarian emigré who after appealing in the late 1950's to the U.S. State Department to fund his activities now parades around as self-proclaimed leader of the "reconstructed" Fourth International. The group's paper, misnamed *Truth*, was particularly enraged by our article in *WV* No. 220 (1 December), which the Vargaites term "the ravings of a lunatic, a piece of clinical psychopathology" for which "a straight-jacket would be too good a punishment" (*Truth*, 8 December).

But why is "Truth, Inc." so wrought up about Jonestown? Evidently they have a bad case of cultism on the brain. Elsewhere in the same issue the Vargaites

Jaume Mor

Michel Varga

take violent exception to the SWP's simple-minded "socialist analysis" of Jonestown. The *Militant* (8 December) article read like a parody of Marxism, saying in essence that it was capitalism that spiked the Kool-Aid. With equally illuminating insight the SWP explained that a mass-murdering cultist is not the Marxist idea of leadership. "The program of Marxism is not to 'follow the leader,' but to inspire the masses... to take their destiny into their own hands," observed the *Militant* sagely.

Ho hum, right? But the Vargaites were hit where it hurts. Indignantly, *Truth* responds: "The Socialist Workers Party which claims our banner of Trotskyism is supporting this attack on revolutionary leadership." We rub our eyes and read the passage again. Yes indeed, according to them the bourgeois media barrage on Jonestown is trying to tell the workers that, "This is what you get for following 'leaders'—above all those who call themselves 'Leninists'." "It is not leadership, but in defense of which class," says *Truth*, labelling the crazed Jim Jones "a lackey of the Democratic Party."

The Vargaites' bizarre response demonstrates a view of leadership which links them to all the Gerry Healys, Lyn Marcuses... and Jim Jones. With a sort of cultist solidarity they see any attack on cultism as an injury to all. In their own minds, they see Jim Jones and Michel Varga as brothers under the skin. And obviously they are. ■

Letters

Healy's Goat

Editorial Board
Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades,

In your enjoyable recent article on the SWP ["Spartacist League Gets SWP's Goat," *WV* No. 221, 15 December 1978], you pointed out how the SWP deliberately evades discussing "the things that really get the SWP's goat" when they attack the SL. In particular, you noted the SL's work in the trade unions, the recent Marjorie Stamberg State Assembly election campaign in New York and the competition between the SWP and SL to win over left-wingers breaking with the Socialist Party (the former Debs Caucus). I wonder why you failed to give your publications a share of the credit. For example, *WV*'s coverage of the election debate over Crown Heights ["Class Struggle or Race War?", *WV* No. 218, 3 November 1978] or *Women and Revolution*'s scathing review of Evelyn Reed's *Women's Evolution* ["Evelyn Reed Savages Early Man," *W&R* No. 17, Summer 1978] certainly must have provoked some uneasiness in SWP circles.

Also I think you miss a bet when you argue against the SWP's capitulation to the Iranian mullahs without making the obvious analogy to the Healyite tendency's prostration before Qaddafi's Muslim clericalist "socialist paradise" in Libya. In both cases, the opportunists grotesquely capitulate to reactionary anti-working-class leaders using as an excuse "anti-imperialism." It would certainly get the goat of the sober, ultra-respectable SWP to be compared to the frenzied sectarian Healyites, but the SWP's support to a "revolution" led by a privileged religious caste with a program of returning to the 7th century is surely as grotesque politically as the Healyites' praise of their favorite "progressive" egomaniac.

Communist greetings,
L.G.

* * * * *

WV replies: L. G. raises an interesting point in likening Khomeini to Qaddafi. Certainly the Healyites' capitulation (fully shared by the SWP) to the "Arab Revolution" rhetoric paved the way for a deal with the Libyan dictator. Hailing as a "revolution" something which had nothing to do with social transformation or even democratic struggle within the Arab countries but meant merely a "holy war" against a foreign enemy was no less cynical than the SWP's present attempt to transform Muslim clerical reactionaries (like supporting Southern Baptist fundamentalist preachers in this country) into "progressives" by a stroke of the pen. But the SWP's support to the mullah-led movement is consistent with its politics of tailing "masses in motion" whatever their leadership or program, whereas there is a bizarre element in the Healyites' press agentry for Qaddafi. An example of the difference is that nobody has suggested the SWP is receiving any *quid pro quo* for its services to the mullahs. ■

More on Jonestown

Palo Alto, California
December 7, 1978

To the Editor:

In *WV* No. 220, December 1, 1978, p. 11, "Get the Witchhunters, Not the Witches," you write: "To hell with the cults. Let them kill themselves if that is their desire." Though you are clearly correct in showing that the FBI, or any branch of the U.S. government, is not to be called upon to stop and prevent cults and their destructiveness, you are way off the mark in your attitude toward cult members. That is, if the statements here quoted express that attitude. As is made clear in the article, "Cult Suicide in Guyana: Why?" the members of these cults are sometimes "subjectively revolutionary men and women who want to strike out against their oppressors." These are not people towards whom revolutionaries should adopt a "to hell with them" attitude. These are people who must be won over to an objectively revolutionary program and practice. To hell with Jim Jones, Lynn Marcus, Charles Manson, et al. Surely, it is a grave error to summarily dismiss their followers also. The death of Jim Jones is no loss. But the deaths of many of his followers are tragedies which make the need to win the oppressed over to a revolutionary strategy all the more urgent.

M.L. Wade

* * * * *

WV replies: Of course, we do not *suggest* suicide for cult members, but we demand the government witchhunters keep their hands off voluntary associations, even when their course is self-destructive. And we are not going to put our own hands on such organizations in the name of saving its misguided members from themselves. Our reference to "subjectively revolutionary men and women" was to the membership of the Black Panther Party and not to the cultists of the People's Temple or the provocateurs of the Labor Committee. Surely it is possible for an individual to make his way from even the most deranged cult toward revolutionary politics, but this is the rare exception and no basis for establishing the sort of attitude toward cults encouraged by M.L. Wade. ■

It's Official:

U.S. Seals Anti-Soviet Alliance With China

With all the hoopla and manufactured fanfare they could muster, the governments of the United States and China announced in mid-December that relations between the two countries would be "normalized" beginning January 1. The Chinese in their statement termed the resumption of diplomatic ties a "historic event," while in Washington the press applauded Jimmy Carter for pulling yet another diplomatic success out of his hat right on the heels of Camp David.

Of course, right-wing Republican Senators Barry Goldwater and Jesse Helms denounced the sellout of "Free China," while a scoffing Henry Kissinger said he could have gotten the same terms four years ago. And there was the predictable teeth-gnashing in Taipei. But no one, least of all the Nationalist regime which fled to Taiwan in 1949, believed anything could be done to stop what is already the bi-partisan policy of the American bourgeoisie: to "play the China card" against the USSR.

The establishment of an alliance between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and U.S. imperialism directed primarily against the Soviet Union *was* a "historic event," but one already initiated in 1971-72 by Richard Nixon and cemented by earlier trips to China by such anti-Soviet hardliners as Zbigniew Brzezinski and James Schlesinger. The January 1 formalities merely ended the diplomatic lag behind the already established strategic world-political reality.

Under the terms of the December 15 joint communiqué announcing normalization, on January 1 the United States recognized the People's Republic as the "sole legal government of China." The Washington announcement went on laconically that, "on the same date the People's Republic of China accords the same recognition to the United States of America." Simultaneously the U.S. agreed to withdraw recognition from the Kuomintang outpost on Taiwan.

So it was that on New Year's Day in Peking the U.S. liaison office hosted a party for some 200 Chinese officials where ambassador-to-be Leonard Woodcock dutifully clinked glasses of Coca Cola with Chinese Communist Party (CCP) deputy chairman Teng Hsiao-p'ing. In Taipei the formal closing of the U.S. embassy was marked by a three-minute flag lowering attended only by the Marines and the U.S. ambassador who insisted he was there in an unofficial capacity. But in New York's Chinatown the Kuomintang feebly made its last stand with some 10,000 die-hard Nationalists marching down Mott Street with banners proclaiming "Carter Sells Peanuts and Friends" and "U.S. Eagle Becomes Chicken."

Bureau Sygma

Der Spiegel

Twice-purged Teng and born-again president consolidate Nixon's deal.

The ceremonies over, there will now be a two-month transition period until the U.S. embassy opens its doors in Peking and closes up shop in Taipei. On 1 October 1980, the U.S. will abrogate its 1954 mutual defense treaty with Taiwan and withdraw all military personnel from the island. And while China insisted on those terms as a basis for normalization, it allowed Carter to save face by winking at a separate American statement that the U.S. reserved its right to sell arms to the KMT regime.

But the most important section of the normalization communiqué was its explicit endorsement of the anti-Russian alliance between the U.S. and China in the form of the "anti-hegemony" clause which read:

> "Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region of the world....; each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony."

The clause provoked a deliberately worded warning from Brezhnev. Carter's subsequent misreporting on national TV of the contents of the Moscow communiqué, claiming that the Soviets hailed U.S. recognition of China, sparked an angry correction by TASS which re-emphasized the USSR's concern about the terms of the normalization, particularly in light of what it called the "usual vocabulary of the Chinese leaders"—i.e., the anti-Russian codeword, "hegemony."

Early on Carter had proclaimed that recognition of China was one of the main goals of his administration. Thus the administration tried to play up the announcement as a major foreign-policy coup, using the meeting of Carter's January 1 deadline to complete its image of an energetic administration pushing forward on the diplomatic front with clockwork precision. Other more cynical pundits, however, opined the deadline was picked to give the White House a new flashy success just at the time the Camp David accords would predictably fall apart and thus keep Carter's ratings up by means of this fast-moving shell game.

Actually, everybody agreed that it was the Chinese initiative which provided the impetus to push the normalization through. In fact, the Carter administration was hesitant at first on pursuing the recognition of China especially since the president had campaigned on a "two Chinas" platform totally unacceptable to the Chinese. At the time of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's trip to Peking in August 1977, the U.S. still had the position that it would not abrogate its mutual defense treaty with Taiwan. But things began to move in May of 1978 with the visit to China of the rabidly anti-Soviet Zbigniew Brzezinski who, among other things, privately told CCP Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-p'ing that the U.S. would have no objection to a Sino-Japanese friendship treaty with an explicit "anti-hegemony" clause. He also informed the Peking leaders of the contents of the Carter administration's ultra-secret policy memorandum, PRM-10—a document written by a team of thinktank anti-Russian hardliners which defines the U.S.'s No. 1 military aim as maintaining nuclear strategic priority over the USSR, and calls for replacing détente with a so-called Era 2 which includes the "compe-

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WV Photo

Kuomintang's last stand on New York's Mott Street, New Year's Day.

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No. 222 5 January 1979

Oust the Bureaucrats in Hanoi and Phnom Penh!

Stalinists' Squalid War in Indochina

It was hard enough squaring U.S. aid to assorted Latin American dictators and the shah of Iran with Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade. So how on earth is Washington going to justify its recent backhanded support to Cambodia in the festering war between the rival Indochinese Stalinist regimes? Only last year the State Department declared Cambodia the all-time hooby prize winner on its "human rights" scorecard. But that was before the Soviet-Vietnamese friendship treaty, signed in early November. Now Hanoi is accused in the language of Teng-talk of pursuing "hegemonism" in Indochina.

According to the *New York Times* (6 December), the U.S. has threatened to continue to withhold recognition of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam due to the latter's growing ties to the USSR:

> "Although the Administration is still professing to be neutral in the fight between Cambodia, which is backed by China, and Vietnam, which is supported by the Soviet Union, it seemed that the United States was more concerned about the Moscow-Hanoi alliance.
> "Privately, one State Department official said today that 'there is a clear pro-China bias' in the American concern...."

According to the *Times*, the U.S.'s main "inhibition" in more openly taking sides against Vietnam was the general perception of Cambodia "as possibly the world's worst violator of human rights."

"Democratic Kampuchea" is certainly no socialist Garden of Eden. When Khmer Rouge troops took the capital, Phnom Penh, in 1975 after opium-addicted U.S. puppet Lon Nol took off with a planeload of gold, they brutally force-marched the entire population into the countryside, even emptying hospitals at gunpoint. This incredible act of bureaucratic savagery led to thousands of deaths as city dwellers unused to agricultural labor perished on the road or in labor camps where they were left without tools to clear land and plant their own food supply.

After this atrocity, the paranoid regime of Pol Pot & Co. set about organizing the country on the basis of mobile production brigades, building huge dams with only shovels and baskets, forcibly separating men and women and prohibiting sexual/social contacts. Refugees describe a regime so arbitrary that it is a caricature of Mao's China during the worst excesses of the Great Leap Forward. Embellished with unsubstantiated claims of mass killings, the bourgeois press portrayed Cambodia as the living embodiment of George Orwell's *1984*, complete with a sinister and nameless ruling apparatus known only as "*Angka*" (The Organization) and composed of teenagers nervously fingering the triggers of their Kalashnikov automatic rifles.

Labbe/Gamma-Liaison

Cambodians captured by Vietnamese.

That was a year ago. Today we no longer read of Cambodia as the ultimate Stalinist monolith, the nightmarish land of death camps and the *Angka*; instead it is just poor little Democratic Kampuchea, the victim of aggression by its powerful neighbor, Soviet-backed Vietnam. So now there is a big hulabaloo in the press about a new wave of "boat people" and a State Department spokesman declares, "We deplore the human-rights situation in Vietnam" (*Newsweek*, 27 November). The fact that most of the refugees were former merchants and small businessmen who left Vietnam legally, following a crackdown on the flourishing private commerce in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), is simply ignored.

Throughout the fall, U.S. intelligence was reporting a Vietnamese arms build-up and predicting a "dry season offensive" by Hanoi in its on-going border war with Cambodia. The Vietnam-USSR treaty was seen as part of the preparations, and then in early December Hanoi Radio broadcast a proclamation by a newly formed Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (FUNSK), reportedly operating out of a "liberated zone" in northeast Cambodia, which called on the people of Kampuchea to overthrow the "Pol Pot and Ieng Sary clique." The creation of the "FUNSK" is indeed a major escalation of the war, and it appears that the days of the present Cambodian regime may be numbered. Two months previous the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (6 October) had written:

> "It is not whether the Vietnamese will overthrow the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia which is engaging the constant attention of the diplomatic corps in Hanoi, but when and how."

Carter's "national security" adviser Brzezinski has for the last year gone around calling the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict a "proxy war" between the USSR and China—hence Washington's pro-Cambodian "tilt." It is certainly true that Indochina is a battleground in the Sino-Soviet cold war. Russia is primarily interested in cementing an alliance with Vietnam in order to put pressure on Peking's southern border, and to obtain use of the Cam Ranh Bay naval base which would give the Soviet Pacific fleet an anchor point south of China. Teng, on the other hand, would be far less enthusiastic in supporting the Pol Pot bunch if Vietnam were not so closely tied to the Soviet Union. Chinese propaganda regularly refers to Vietnam as the "Asian Cuba."

However, despite the active interest and support of their respective allies, the present Indochinese war is still basically a Vietnam-Cambodia affair with the fundamental issue being the antagonism of two contiguous Stalinist regimes fed by centuries-old national hatreds. The neighboring deformed workers states are ruled by bonapartist bureaucracies each committed to the program of "socialism in one country"—their own. Rather than being a proxy war for diplomatic/strategic advantage (e.g., the U.S.-USSR battle over Angola), the Vietnam-Cambodia war is the product of the nationalism inherent in Stalinist rule; at bottom its origins are no different than the Sino-Soviet, Soviet-Yugoslav and Yugoslav-Albanian clashes.

In this case, the xenophobic Phnom Penh regime repeatedly provoked Hanoi over border issues, and as famine spread through the countryside in 1976-77 several hundred thousand refugees "voted with their feet" by fleeing Cambodia. The widespread unpopularity of Pol Pot was a standing invitation to counterrevolutionary forces, with CIA-backed "Free Khmer" commandos occasionally making incursions from Thailand. It also offered an opportunity to the Vietnamese Stalinists who must consider the irrational rulers of "Democratic Kampuchea" a bunch of ingrates. If it wasn't for Hanoi's aid following the 1970 American invasion, Pol Pot, Ieng Sary et al. would still be back in Paris studying at the Sorbonne.

In the U.S., while Jimmy Carter is following the dictates of Realpolitik, the liberal cause of anti-Communist "human rights" is not dead. The banner has been picked up by Senator George McGovern. While in the early 1970's this imperialist "dove" called for U.S. withdrawal from its losing Indochinese war, today McGovern demands an American invasion to overthrow the Cambodian regime! In the era of the Chinese-American allianee, however, he can't seem to get a hearing in the press and has been reduced to an essay in a Bloomingdale's Christmas advertising supplement in the Sunday *New York Times*! (No doubt market research has informed the trendy Upper East Side department store that their clientele of young professionals would be titillated by championing the views of a *samizdat* McGovern; perhaps Bloomingdale's will soon be pushing Vietnamese black pajamas instead of its once-chic Mao suits.)

On the left, the pro-Peking Stalinists of Mike Klonsky's Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML) naturally take the Cambodian side against Vietnamese "hegemonism." Equally naturally, their rag, *The Call*, is filled with glowing stories of the idyllic life in Democratic Kampuchea. A sign of the times, one of these starry-eyed Stalinist fairy tales found its way onto the Op-Ed page of the 21 November *New York Times*. Sounding like Sidney Webb reporting on Stalin's forced collectivizations in the early 1930's, *Call* editor Danny Burstein assures his readers that there was no mass genocide in Cambodia: he asked Deputy Premier Ieng Sary,

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Gamma

Cambodian Stalinist bureaucracy depopulated Phnom Penh at gunpoint.

Nayan Chanda

Vietnamese killed during border raid by Cambodian troops.

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

demonstrations, analysts say, was the fear that young soldiers, nearly all conscripts, would follow the orders of religious leaders rather than those of their officers and refuse to open fire."

On December 18 an entire army unit in the northwest city of Tabriz went over to the side of the protesters, allegedly after one soldier killed another for opening fire on the demonstration. In an even more dramatic incident, several members of the elite Imperial Guard, proclaiming their allegiance to Khomeini, gunned down a dozen officers at the Lavizam barracks in northeastern Teheran. A helicopter carrying the general commanding the shah's air cavalry was grounded by small arms fire from his own men near the Bagh-e-Shah barracks, also in Teheran!

There is now much talk of a split in the officer corps. On the one hand, hardliners like General Gholamali Oveissi (currently administering martial law in Teheran) and air force commander Amir Hossein Rabii may refuse to accept any alternative to the absolute monarchy, preferring to make one last attempt to drown all opposition to the shah in blood. On the other hand, junior officers, long passed over for promotion and increasingly contemptuous of the shah – they refer to him as "Big Boy" rather than "His Imperial Majesty"— are a fertile recruiting ground for Khomeini. In one of many appeals to the younger officers, Khomeini urged, "You can turn against the regime of the shah and the people will receive you in their arms. You have a great role to play in the service of the country and in defense of your country's independence" (*Los Angeles Times*, 12 December).

In this situation the establishment of a stable parliamentary regime is well-nigh impossible. The alternative now being posed to the shah's pro-Western form of military dictatorship is the establishment of a Muslim theocratic state, which at the very least would be heavily dependent on a section of the military, if not actually headed by a Persian version of Libya's Qaddafi or Pakistan's Zia, both fanatical "soldiers of Islam."

Oil Strikers' Offensive

The disintegration of the military, however, is not yet a reality. It is the Iranian working class which has destroyed the shah's ability to rule. Repeated strikes by government, transport, communication, banking and oil industry employees have had a powerful effect on the Iranian economy. Most recently air traffic controllers at Teheran airport have gone out, crippling the evacuation of the remaining U.S. civilian and military personnel from the country.

It has been the oil workers' strike, however, which has been the decisive factor in drastically undermining the Pahlavi regime. By the beginning of December, the daily production of crude oil had reached 5.8 million barrels – a little short of normal production figures. Since then, the output of oil has plummeted. After the assassination of an American oil company official in the southern town of Ahwaz on December 23 and the withdrawal of foreign oil workers, production reached a virtual standstill. By the 28th only 400,000 barrels were pumped out, and after a few days even this was halved.

The impact of the oil strike indicates the importance of Iran for the class struggle in the Middle East. Here is a three-million-strong industrial proletariat, the largest in the region. Workers revolution in Iran could serve as the signal for a proletarian upsurge which could cut across all the national and communal antagonisms of the Near and Middle East. But while there are apparently trade unions or semi-clandestine workers committees involved in the current strikes, the Iranian proletariat has no independent political expression. Rather than posing a political alternative to the mullahs, the Iranian working class has been sucked into the orbit of the religious leadership in the name of a class-collaborationist "unity" against the shah.

Again and again the Spartacist tendency, alone on the left, has warned that this false unity *poses a deadly threat to the Iranian proletariat*. The rule of the mullahs means the suppression of all working-class organizations and struggles. Decades of Stalinist betrayals and the shah's brutal repression have left the Iranian workers leaderless. But how Khomeini would deal with any mass leftist organizing is shown by the example of Indonesia in 1965, when Muslim preachers collaborated with the army in whipping up an anti-communist assault on the Communist Party of Indonesia. The largest Communist party outside the Sino-Soviet states was annihilated with the massacre of a half-million leftists, workers and peasants.

Anti-Shah Jihad

While fake-leftists attempt to portray the mullahs as an incidental part of a broad "democratic" movement against the shah, Khomeini's campaign for an "Islamic republic" is a drive to restore the authority and privilege of the Muslim religious establishment. Although the clerically-led opposition seizes upon popular hatred for the shah's regime, it is thoroughly imbued with Islamic fundamentalism.

The mullahs are capable of mobilizing hundreds of thousands of people on the basis of traditional religious ties. In Teheran alone there are 5,000 neighborhood "procession leaders" who call their followers into the streets at a moment's notice. The million-strong marches in Teheran on December 10 and 11 were thoroughly policed by Muslim organizers, who censored the political demands raised by the demonstrators. According to one account, "Turbaned mullahs, the religious leaders of Islam, rode atop minibuses, urging the marchers through megaphones not to shout provocative slogans. The people generally obeyed" (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 December).

On the second day, the National Front and the religious leaders following Ayatollah Shariatmadari were unable to prevent the protesters from demanding the overthrow and execution of the shah. But this was not the result of leftist agitation: "Communist demonstrators tried to horn in at the head of the Shah Reza Ave. march Sunday but were told to get back in line and remove their provocative banners.... Some Communist leaflets were in evidence. But parade marshals instructed people not to pick them up" (*Los Angeles Times*, 12 December).

Khomeini enjoys near-universal popularity among the ranks of the anti-shah forces. The core of his movement, however, is identical to that of other Islamic fundamentalist groupings in the Near and Middle East such as the Jaamat-i Islam of Pakistan, the Muslim Brotherhood in the Arab-speaking world or the National Salvation Party of Turkey: the economically declining petty bourgeoisie of the bazaars. The tithes levied on the merchants and shopkeepers sustain the mullahs' network of mosques, schools, printing presses, etc. The traditional connection between the two groups is further cemented by the intersection between the mullahs' desire to return to the days of Muhammad and the bazaaris' dreams of reversing the capitalist concentration which is grinding them under.

Khomeini: Patriarch of Muslim Reaction

The concrete program of this petty-bourgeois movement is the reimposition of the Koranic law code and the erasure of all Western cultural influence. The shah, in an attempt to bolster his pose as a "liberal modernizer" granted certain formal democratic rights to women (but retains the laws upholding the Muslim patriarchal family, which grant life and death powers to husbands and fathers). The mullahs, alarmed at even these token measures and at the strata of educated bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women which had broken from traditional customs, stand for the seclusion of women from all public life, symbolized by the wearing of the veil.

The nakedly reactionary character of Khomeini's Koranic fundamentalism has been exposed by a book entitled *Islamic Government*, based on lectures given by Khomeini while in exile in Iraq. His apologists, aware that the book contradicts the more sanitized version of views given to the world press, have tried to throw doubt on its authenticity; however, the ayatollah himself has never disavowed the book, which has been in circulation for years. According to this tract, "Since Islamic government is a government of law, it is the religious expert and no one else who should occupy himself with affairs of government" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 30 December).

In line with centuries of Shi'ite Muslim practice, Khomeini denounces Jews, Christians and the Bahai sect, and echoing Islamic reactionaries throughout the Near and Middle East, he states, "We want a ruler, who would cut off the hand of his own son if he steals, and would flog and stone his near relative if he fornicates." A collection of speeches published in Persian in 1975 called *Khomeini and the Movement* not only contains a polemic against allowing women into the labor force, but praises the Iranian army: "I extend the hand of brotherhood to them for the salvation of Islam and Iran. I know that their hearts are perturbed at capitulating before Israel and they will never be content that Iran be ground under the boot of the Jews."

But it is not only Khomeini's words but *actions* that brand this movement as dominated by Muslim puritanism and fanaticism: the contingents of veiled women heading up demonstrations, the countless attacks on "sinful" banks, cinemas and cafes, the 40-day cycle of protests following the customary 40-day mourning period decreed by Islam and the protest strikes called over the "desecration" of a holy shrine in Meshed (and *not* about the protesters killed by the intruding troops!).

In 1953 the "radical" ayatollah Kashani mobilized the Teheran lumpen-proletariat (also followers of Khomeini today) behind the CIA-inspired coup that toppled the bourgeois nationalist Mossadeq. At that time the mullahs preferred the monarchy to Mossadeq, allegedly "soft on communism." There remained no clerical opposition to the shah for a decade. Khomeini, a disciple of Kashani, followed suit. The mullahs played no role in the National Front's demonstrations in 1961 or the student protests of 1962.

In 1963, however, after the shah's declaration of female suffrage and land reform, the Muslim establishment suddenly "discovered" that the shah was a tyrant. The quarter of Iran's land owned either by religious foundations or by the mullahs themselves was to be thrown onto the market. Today Khomeini prates about penalizing landowners who have acted contrary to Islamic law. In those days it was the interpreters of Islamic law who demanded two thirds or more of the peasant's crop as their due!

The Persian chauvinism and blind anti-foreign sentiments whipped up by the mullahs promise a grim future for Iran's national/communal minorities. The Baluchis and Kurds, who have already suffered under the shah's iron heel for decades will fare no better under the "just rule of Islam," since many of them are Sunni Muslims rather than Shi'ites. The stage is set for a replay of the pogroms of the 1944-1946 period, which included attacks on Bahais at Shah Rud, Jews at Meshed, Zoroastrians in Kirman and Armenians in Azerbaijan.

Heritage of Betrayal

Tragically, the difference between the social crisis of the 1940's and that of today is that three decades ago the proletariat at least had some form of independent political expression, albeit the wretchedly reformist Stalinist Tudeh party. The workers' strike struggles had a far greater potential for cutting across the national and communal divisions than they do now.

The period from 1942 to 1946 saw a succession of hunger riots, factory occupations, citywide general strikes, strikes in oil industry and even the organization of workers militias. But

continued on page 10

IRAN: WORKERS REVOLUTION OR CLERICAL REACTION?

Reprinted below are two excerpts from Lenin's writings on the national and colonial questions as they particularly apply to the situation in Iran today. Those Iranian students who simultaneously hail Khomeini and the mullahs as "revolutionary" and call themselves Leninists must explain how they can claim Lenin's heritage and ignore his call for a struggle against Islamic clericalism and for proletarian independence.

"...With regard to the more backward states and nations...it is particularly important to bear in mind:

"...the need for a struggle against the clergy and other influential reactionary and medieval elements...

"...the need to combat Pan-Islamism and similar trends, which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the positions of the khans, landowners, mullahs, etc.;

"...the Communist International should support bourgeois-democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries only on condition that, in these countries, the elements of future proletarian parties, which will be communist not only in name, are brought together and trained to understand their special tasks, i.e., those of *the struggle against the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nations*. The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonial and backward countries, but *should not merge with it, and should under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement even if it is in its most embryonic form*." (emphasis added)

—Lenin, "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31

It is only the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League that today upholds Lenin's perspective and the program that flows from it for proletarian victory in Iran!

Down with the Shah!
Down with the Mullahs!
For a Workers and Peasants Government!

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League **San Francisco**

MARXISM AGAINST ISLAMIC REACTION

Editor's Note: *We reprint below edited excerpts from presentations to a recent Spartacist educational on Iran by comrades Reuben Samuels and James Robertson.*

* * * * *

Samuels: One has to go back to very basic materialist fundamentals in order to debate the proposition that we should revert to a movement which stands for a society that existed in feudal and pre-feudal times, namely this movement of the mullahs. That one has to seriously debate this in the Marxist movement is an affront and shows a massive skew. As I sort of hinted at in yesterday's presentation [on dialectics], I think that the motivation for this flows out of a culmination of New Left despair, reflecting itself in various movements like the ecology movement.

So one comrade asked in yesterday's discussion, "Well, on the mullah question, is their attitude toward women decisive in terms of judging the social character of this movement?" The answer, at least since Fourier, ought to be a resounding "Yes!" Namely, the character of a movement can be judged by its attitude toward the emancipation of women. It's the judgment on what kind of society these people hope to create—that's a decisive question. And this movement believes in a kind of clerical orthodoxy. They're sort of Muslim Hasids in their attitudes toward women: not only reversion to the veil, but a whole series of backward attitudes.

Likewise their program on the land question. One of the things that has created this movement of clerical reaction against the shah is that as part of his attempt to resolve the contradiction between Iran's feudal superstructure and the enormous expansion of capital in the very recent period, the shah has been forced to expropriate some of the church land and to curtail some of the privileges of the clergy. This split the clergy and propelled a movement behind Khomeini, who wishes to restore the old feudal privileges, to restore the church lands to this parasitical caste which is quite substantial in Iran, just as it was quite substantial in the Middle Ages in Europe. This is the program not of the thirteenth century, but of a reversion to the Middle Ages—that is, of the thirteenth century looking backwards—not the program of socialism, to go forward in terms of human progress, the program under which humanity has a chance to survive into the twenty-first century....

Before I get to the mullahs I'd like to talk a little bit about how this debate first arose. In the United States the comrades have been talking to a lot of ISAers [Iranian Student Association]. The ISAers seem very militant; they're being threatened with deportation; when they come out on demonstrations, they look quite impressive in their military formations, chanting "Down with the Shah, Down with the CIA!" There was no examination, however, of the social profile of the ISA. These were students who were sent abroad by the shah's regime, children of the upper middle classes, the professional civil servants, who could get out of the country, get student visas and come to the United States. That's not so easy to do, as anybody knows from the problems our own movement has had in bringing people, especially from the so-called "Third World," into the United States. So they've been able to get into the bourgeois institutions of learning of U.S. imperialism, which are mainly training these students to go back and be the agents of U.S. imperialism, like Sheikh Yamani in Saudi Arabia.

This is the social composition of the ISA. That is not to say that militants cannot be won from the ISA, but one must keep in mind the not just petty-bourgeois but also upper class social origins of the ISA, irrespective of the "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric, the commitment to "Mao Tse-tung Thought."

Wide World

The Sword of Islam 1978: mullahs march in Teheran.

In fact, their commitment to Mao Tse-tung Thought and the "two-stage revolution" comes from the fact that they believe that the first stage is on the agenda, and they're going to lead it and it's going to put them into power.

So comrades should look behind the formal rhetoric and look at the social character of the ISA ..and at what Mao Tse-tung Thought means in 1978. Primarily it means the bloc with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, the bloc with every reactionary force *anywhere* against the Soviet Union. Next to China, Persia has one of the longest borders with the Soviet Union, and this is a large part of the basis for this bloc not only between China and Persia, but also between the ISA and Mao Tse-tung Thought....

Now there's an argument you get on Iran, the argument that chaos is good. It's sort of like one of those Delphic statements from the pre-Socratics: "Anything that destabilizes the situation is good," anything that shakes it up, because what we need here is a shake-up. It doesn't matter what you use to shake it up with, or what engenders a period of chaos or anarchy, because these people do not believe any more in the proletariat as the lever of social change. So any other thing that produces any change—no matter whether it goes backward, forward, upside down, inside out—is good. It's like a new Hegelian slogan, "Change is better no matter what kind of change." It's a bizarre position. They had a change in Germany in 1933, remember.

So this is the destabilization argument. That is, the proletariat is no longer the agent of social change, so we're going to back anything that produces change as a revolutionary agent. "At least there will be some action." So we'll get the popular front, say in France, and then there will be a constitutional crisis between the president and parliament. And the workers will say, "We want our goodies that were promised by the popular front." There'll be action, strikes, conflict! So? So, therefore they come up with critical support for the popular front! We've heard it before, this destabilization argument. It's a substitution for program, or substitution for the class axis of our program.

Furthermore it puts you in pretty messy situations sometimes in places where there is the capacity for some kind of class axis, like Indonesia. There was a mullah movement in Indonesia, and it was pretty active, it was massive. This was not just the military, although the military clearly exploited and mobilized these forces. I assure you that the program of the Indonesians was much more secular than what's represented by the ayatollahs of the Shi'ites in Iran today. Khomeini's movement is very puritanical, much more right wing—a broad-based movement violently opposed to the national minorities and even the slightest sign of working-class independence—than what existed in Indonesia in 1965.

So we have a situation in Iran where there is a mass movement of people who are desperately oppressed, who see these mullahs and religious mobilizations as feeding their prejudices—national as well as religious—and offering an opening. So they go along with it, because at this point anything probably appears better than the shah to many of the oppressed people of Iran, except for the national minorities. But you have to look at the slogans of this movement: restore the clerical lands, restore the veil, ban everything that sort of represents Western progress, expel the foreign workers. In terms of the indigenous national minorities it could only be intensely genocidal in appetite.

The whole of this movement is based on clerical reaction and is far to the right of the Islamic so-called nationalists who butchered half a million Communists in Indonesia in 1965. What is so despicable about the revisionists' support to the mullahs is not only that it is a violation of every basic tenet of historical materialism and everything Marxism stands for, but Iran is a country with a proletarian axis! You could sort of understand it in Burundi, where people might get swept along with some movement that began to take on radical populist rhetoric—because they figure there is no proletarian axis. But Persia has a very strong and well-developed proletariat!

There is the possibility of the Iranian proletariat raising its head and playing an independent role. The problem is that it has been beheaded several times over, both through repression and through being discredited. The historic leader of the Persian workers was the Tudeh, the Stalinist party that is associated in the minds of everyone with the Soviet Union. And because of Soviet support for the shah it's a widely discredited party, as well as being persecuted. The problem is that we have a proletariat without a leadership. Moreover, the proletariat is nationally divided, and these things are consciously exploited, so that certain sections of the oil workers are now calling for the expulsion of foreign workers.

What we need is a party that can transcend this kind of national chauvinism and counterpose a proletarian class axis to the current instability. In the absence of that, one could more easily justify giving support to the shah, as the Soviet Union clearly is doing, than to these Muslim clerical reactionaries, because if they are able to consolidate

Der Spiegel

Muslim women in traditional veil (chador) demonstrate against the shah. The woman question is key.

power all the evidence is it could only be worse than Indonesia for the working class, for the peasants, for the national minorities and the women. So what we are coming up against today is spokesmen—under the veil, if you will, of Marxism-Leninism—for clerical reaction, genocide and a program which is not only anti-proletarian but anti-materialist.

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Robertson: Well, comrades, I spent most of the last two days trying as an idle exercise in casuistry to work up a defensible basis for the position of supporting the mullahs. I couldn't do it, because everything requires some giant, central falsehood. Thus, you can have the analogy of the British in India, and if it's a question of having to choose between foreign overlordship and *suttee* [the Hindu practice of immolating widows on their husbands' funeral pyres], well, *suttee* it is. But the shah, however unappetizing, repressive and authoritarian his regime, is Persian. The trouble is he's a liberal Persian. Not in what his secret police do, although I suspect that if his kill rate is running somewhere under a thousand a year over the whole period, you ain't seen anything yet.

Any axis that I would seize upon to try to explain a position like this falls. In comparison, Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek *were liberators in China, for god's sake! They were against the binding of feet, against the foreign Manchu dynasty, against the imperialist presence. They said they wanted to raise a revolutionary army. So there's a plausibility to the "two-stage" revolution that we as Trotskyists, centered on the raising of the proletariat as a class to power, have to fight.* Generally it's popular frontism, whether in Chile, Sukarno or what have you. But at least there's an argument there, because there are these petty-bourgeois, nationalist, reformist types, Stalinists and whatever, who say "We stand for progress. We stand for enlightenment. We are against clerical reaction. We denounce the church in Spain." And we have to reply, "But fundamentally the class forces and the program on which you base yourself must miscarry."

I've come up with two *valid* historical examples: Kemal Atatürk versus Muslim clerical obscurantism, and Peter the Great versus the Boyars. But the people who want to support the mullahs in effect come out for clerical obscurantism in Turkey—that's the old sultanate—and they come out for the Boyars. So I stand before you really embarrassed in terms of trying to make such a false argument.

There's a long history to the Muslim question in Central Asia, not just Persia—in Azerbaijan, the extension of the Russian Revolution. There's a very nice book, by the way, about the question. It's called *The Surrogate Proletariat. Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929* [by Gregory Massell], because when the Russian Bolsheviks arrived they found no point of support except the woman question. And that's where they fashioned their key cadres. It's the same thing elsewhere. One of the three main motor forces in the Chinese revolution, led by the Maoists, was the woman question. Persia is one of the gross examples, along with North Africa and sections of the Middle East, where the woman question is not a secondary matter.

We fight against the feminists in the West, because they see a gradient, or "all women are oppressed everywhere, everybody's our sisters." They don't understand in the advanced countries what the bourgeois revolution has done. *It has formally made women equal to men! The right of contract applies to women, who are now equal human beings, however offended or abused! They're recognized in law as human beings!* That is not the case in these countries, and that's why when the revolution comes, if it has a proletarian centrality, it *must* reach out and encompass the woman question. And in a fake way the "progressive" nationalists must at least give lip service.

Now some bits and pieces of things: We got used to these very revolutionary Maoists, Iranian students, that are all over the United States. So the *Spartacist* editor gave a talk on the Iranian question in Boston, a long, hard talk; and he reached into his briefcase afterwards, took a pull out of a bottle and...someone protests! "You're insulting me! How dare you drink in my presence!" It might as well be Saudi Arabia, which by the way is rather more of a client state of the Americans than those pornographic Coke-swilling Persians are. But they're very pure. You know what's been happening to sea captains lately when they find out they've opened their liquor cabinets in Saudi ports? They are flogged in the town square. It might as well be Ireland—clerical reaction. Except that seeping in under the crevices, under the doors even in the Republic of Ireland, there's some recognition that the masons have been running amok since 1789.

So we have some real questions that ought to be answered, but they don't appear here. It is important to explain why the shah—the subjective intentions of his apparatus and a considerable cash flow notwithstanding—cannot and could not modernize Persia in this day and age. That goes to the heart of the question of the existence of a pre-structured world capitalist, imperialist economy, even though the shah has fought and clawed to try to create a sub-imperialist role in the Persian Gulf region.

In fact, in terms of great power politics—or anybody's power politics—why would you be in favor of the downfall of the shah? In any case the shah is probably going to go. He's divesting himself of great chunks of his apparatus, the army is becoming shaky. The army is, after all, Muslim, and I take a look at his latest general in his shades and his pretty uniform and it looks like somebody from the Chilean general staff. He'll swing over, we've seen that before. It happened in Pakistan and a whole bunch of countries. So if the shah falls, I think only the Israelis stand to lose unambiguously. They will. But for the Russians and the Americans it's completely obscure what the outcome will be, and also for the Arabs.

Now there are other aspects of the shah's policies: don't give a damn about Islam, pay attention to Persian power politics, bring in a lot of foreign workers—Arabs and Indians—and furthermore a policy of enlightenment toward the domestic religious groupings which are viewed more as nationalities. They've got Zoroastrians, some Bahais and a few Christians and Jews and they're all scared shitless. For one thing there's now begun to be as a popular thing assaults on women without veils—throw acid in their faces. So if you're not a Muslim woman walking down the street, you wear a big sign around you saying "No, No, I'm not a Muslim woman, I'm just a whore, so it's alright." This is the texture of what's happening there.

The problem is, I for one have been howling for years, "Wait a minute, the Persian empire is built on sand! The shah is unstable—the shah must go!" There's a big proletariat. It's extremely important if we can—in Germany and England and the United States where there are large Iranian student populations—get to them and try to form some Bolshevik propaganda circles to make contact with the proletariat, because it's the closest thing I've seen to the tsarist empire anywhere else today! But, of course, there's one difference I didn't pay attention to: the tsar was based on the Orthodox church, whereas in Iran there's been this thrust toward modernism, the usual ineffectual land reforms. But what land is going to get reformed—it's the mullahs' land. So now we face the absurdity of the landlords leading the landless against the repressive ruler who promised land but only made little deliveries of it, enough to infuriate the landlords, centered on the mullahs, but not enough to satisfy the landless. So you support the mullahs?

The connection must be broken. Of course the shah must go! But the struggle of the Bolsheviks is for the proletariat to become a self-conscious class, to take command. Except that here there's an embarrassment: it's not against the first-stage revolutionaries we have to argue but against people who want to support reaction. It's as though in China the problem was not with the KMT, the nationalists, but rather the crystalization of Manchu restoration-ism. And then we've got to argue that Manchu restoration is not a good thing, and that in fact all that about the binding of feet and the wearing of pigtails *is* significant ...

The tendency when there have been errors on the part of those who claim to be socialists or Marxists, including Marx himself, is to stress—falsely sometimes—the simple proposition that the advanced country shows the backward country the image of its own future. So Marx said, Oh line, the Americans are winning in Mexico. This was very early, before he learned something which Ireland taught him, and the French in Algeria: that imperialism perpetuates backwardness. It was a certain empirical development on Marx's part, in connection with Ireland. He had been working on a much narrower, European model: here's France and there's Germany, and under the pressure of invasions and wars Germany begins to develop in the same way as Napoleonic France. First it was part of Belgium, then England, then France, then Germany, then maybe Italy: different areas become capitalist, industrialized, and begin to compete with one another. That's a true statement, but it wasn't a statement for the future, for the triumph of imperialism with the crystalization of an entire world market, when those who had arrived begin to divide and redivide the world among them—not even consciously conspiring—in order to keep it divided....

So the shah's oppressive, authoritarian regime sits atop the Persian and other peoples of Iran, and has done so along with his father for a long time (with an interregnum during the Second World War); and now the regime is being shaken to pieces. Except it's being shaken to pieces by an outburst led by and dominated by the old classes. There's something in Teheran called the bazaar: it's the small merchants, and they feel the competition of credit card department stores. If you want an analogy—not an analogy, actually, but essentially an identity—France recurrently has these Poujadist movements of the small farmers and small innkeepers, and that is the present axis in Iran. Except that in France it's just lighting a match in a cold night and it blows out. But there's a vast explosive revolutionary potential which we recognize in Iran, throughout all the classes. So that our task—in a propagandist way, because we're largely external to the situation—is to find a way to raise, however modestly, the proletarian perspective in Iran, not to accept the subordination of all elements in society that are necessarily against the government (except for very small coteries) under this present Muslim clerical reaction.... ■

AP

Muslim nationalists in Bangladesh carry out genocidal policy against the Biharis. This is what national minorities in Iran can expect from Islamic reaction.

G P Putnam

Women delegates from Soviet Central Asia at demonstration in 1920's.

For Political Revolution in Vietnam!

The following article by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) was published in the "Open Tribune" column of the 27 December Rouge, *newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel.*

The polemic was written in the context of a debate within the LCR spurred by the Vietnam-Cambodia war and the hue and cry in the imperialist press over "boat people" fleeing Vietnam. As part of its flirtation with the Eurocommunists, the USec issued a major line document ("Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") which calls for freeing all political prisoners in the degenerated/deformed workers states (as well as for legalization of bourgeois parties after the socialist revolution). However, some of the ex-New Leftist Mandelites, who in May '68 marched through the Left Bank district waving NLF flags, now want to make an exception for Vietnam.

*In an article on "Democratic Freedoms in Vietnam" (*Rouge, *24-26 November), USec Indochina expert Pierre Rousset writes:*

> *"We call for freeing all political prisoners in the USSR. Should we do the same in Vietnam? But here we must differentiate between a regime which has been in power for 60 years and one which has just emerged from 30 years of civil war....*
> *"To call indiscriminately for freeing all political prisoners in Vietnam today is to call on a revolution to hang itself. This is not our job."*

The LCR leadership's open support to the Vietnamese Stalinists has elicited an anguished outcry from a section of the organization leaning toward liberalism. Another article in Rouge *(14 November) by LCR cadres "Sandor and Nikita" protests:*

> *"...the thousands upon thousands of statements by refugees (which must of course be taken critically) can no longer be ignored in order to avoid saying what we know about the type of 'socialist democracy' practiced in South Vietnam or Cambodia."*

But Sandor and Nikita fail to label the Hanoi bureaucracy Stalinist or call for its removal through political revolution. Lacking a solid class program, the USec can only bend with its changing (and frequently contradictory) appetites, leaning now toward Stalinism, now toward liberalism and social democracy.

The fierce bureaucratic repression carried out by the Vietnamese regime is hardly surprising for Trotskyists: what else would one expect of a regime which has always been Stalinist? This follows from the logic of Ho Chi Minh's liquidation of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, just as the war between Cambodia and Vietnam flows logically from the conflict of interests between two antagonistic "socialisms in one country." As we explain in our pamphlet *For Political Revolution!* the deformed revolution in Indochina has overthrown capitalism and replaced it with Stalinist regimes, like those of China and Cuba. Trotskyists fought for the *military* victory of the NLF and defend the Indochinese deformed workers states against any imperialist attack, but have never given the slightest political support to the treacherous misleadership headed by Ho Chi Minh. Only a political revolution, driving out this bureaucracy and establishing soviet democracy will open the road to socialism in Indochina.

The leadership of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire], in contrast, is experiencing increasing difficulty with its apologies for the Vietnamese leaders it had characterized as "centrist" and, according to Pierre Rousset, as having "assimilated the decisive lessons of the permanent revolution." Some of those who once marched to shouts of "Ho-Ho-Ho Chi Minh" and hailed the new deformed workers states by calling for "two, three, many Vietnams," today feel compelled to blunt their enthusiasm, as shown by the timid criticisms from Nikita and Sandor, who for their part represent nothing more than a capitulation before the growing pressure of bourgeois public opinion. They carefully refrain, however, from posing the crucial questions and remain within the framework set by Pierre Rousset: refusal to characterize the Vietnamese bureaucracy as a Stalinist regime on the same basis as the regimes in power in the USSR, China and Cuba; and refusal to call for political revolution. The Pabloists, who formerly were willing to abandon their own comrades, to better court the "instinctive Marxist" Ho Chi Minh, continue their policy of capitulation to the Stalinist leadership. The *Rouge* articles on the war between Cambodia and Vietnam implicitly come out for, in a more or less veiled manner, the Vietnamese side in this conflict between two deformed workers states. Pierre Rousset's article published as part of this debate over "democratic liberties in Vietnam" (*Rouge*, No. 799), is nothing but a lengthy defense aimed at minimizing and justifying the bureaucracy's crimes. As for the statement by the Vietnamese Trotskyist Group (*Rouge*, No. 798), it is openly crypto-Stalinist: lumping together all political prisoners with the collaborators of imperialism, the statement considers the sole error of the Vietnamese Communist Party was to have "made promises [of a policy of forgiveness] it could not fulfill" and ends with a call on Hanoi to "cut short the rumors which cannot fail to unsettle those who lent their support to the Vietnamese resistance."

Against the United Secretariat (USec) majority's craven tailism of Ho Chi Minh, the position of the SWP, which accurately characterized the Vietnamese leadership as Stalinist, might at first glance appear more orthodox. In fact, the SWP's reservations merely flow from its appetites toward the liberal bourgeoisie: in order to achieve a bloc with the latter based on the single slogan "End the War Now," the SWP refused throughout the entire Vietnam war to specify its class character, to call for victory to the NLF and the defeat of its own imperialism. And it is this policy of class collaboration which the OCI today terms "exemplary"!

By capitulating to the Stalinists on the one hand, and to their own bourgeoisie on the other, both majority and minority of the United Secretariat concurred in refusing to construct a Trotskyist party in Vietnam. At the time of the 10th World Congress, the Vietnamese Bolshevik-Leninist Group (which today totally capitulates to the Vietnamese bureaucracy) sent a letter to the USec which not only remained unanswered, but which the LCR leadership refused even to allow its own membership to read and discuss:

> "We request that you make our existence known to the sections and that you debate out the following questions.
> "1) Should the International concern itself with a Vietnamese Trotskyist group which has remained loyal to the International and which has carried on against great obstacles, in the most difficult of conditions?
> "2) Should we work towards the creation of a section of the Fourth International in Vietnam?
> "An answer to these two questions would already resolve half the debate under way on the Vietnam problem." (February 1974)

The crucial question for Vietnam remains the construction of a Trotskyist party to struggle for unconditional defense of the gains of the revolution against imperialism and for political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy. The accomplices of the Stalinists and those of Carter's cold war campaign are neither willing nor able to build such a party, whose creation can only be linked with the rebirth of the Fourth International fought for by the international Spartacist tendency.

Ligue Trotskyste de France
25 November 1978

Indochina...

(continued from page 4)

who replied "absolutely not." And critics of the regime could speak freely; why, the people he talked to were "candid in their views" about the gunpoint evacuation of Phnom Penh! Well, we bet Burstein would have a hard time finding those foolhardy souls again who voiced such criticisms. But what does he care—the job of a Stalinist hack is good public relations not telling the truth.

The Cambodian rulers have tried to rally popular support by appealing to peasant primitivism and virulent national chauvinism against the "Youns" (pejorative Khmer term for Vietnamese).

> "Now, during the fighting against the Vietnamese aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territories, the prophets have foretold once again....
> "These forces have participated with the security forces for border defence to constantly create troubles and difficulties to our population along the border, behaving arrogant and haughty conducting themselves as 'fathers of Indochina', as 'big brothers of Indochina', saying that 'the times in Indochina have to comply with my order', 'whatever I do, you the times, you have to obey me'."
>
> speech to Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, 17 January 1978

Pol Pot's main accusation against Hanoi is that it seeks to establish an Indochina federation. As against Pol Pot's isolationist "tinyism," a genuine soviet federation of Indochina would actually be a considerable advance, especially for the impoverished Cambodian people. The idea of constructing socialism by dismantling industry, evacuating the cities, building dams by hand and collectivizing the elephants is absurd and obscene. As the most advanced country of Indochina, it would natural for Vietnam to play a leading role in building such a federation, one based on the free union of all its members.

However, if the Hanoi-backed Cambodian front is installed in Phnom Penh on the points of Vietnamese bayonets, the result could be an effective Vietnamese "protectorate." What began as a squalid border war could develop into a struggle for the independent national existence of the Khmer people. But it is far from clear that such a change in the nature of the war has occurred. It is also unclear to what extent the Vietnamese-sponsored "FUNSK" enjoys support among the Cambodian population, in reaction against the barbaric practices of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. Given these unknowns, as proletarian internationalists we would not lightly give military support to Pol Pot's xenophobic, primitivist regime against its more advanced Vietnamese counterpart. Whatever the outcome of this war, the centuries-old nationalist bloodletting in Indochina can only be ended by proletarian political revolution, led by a Trotskyist party, against the parasitic, oppressive Stalinist bureaucracies in both Hanoi and Phnom Penh. ■

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U.S./China...

(continued from page 3)

tition of the cold-war era." Joking with his hosts while climbing a section of the Great Wall, Brzezinski quipped that the last one to the top would have to go fight the Russians in Ethiopia!

The felt urgency on Peking's side came from its fear of encirclement by the Soviet Union, particularly in light of the new USSR/Vietnam friendship treaty signed in Moscow November 3. In Bangkok, during a jaunt across the Far East, Teng denounced the treaty as "aimed at surrounding China." Returning to Peking, in the midst of the short-lived "wall poster democracy" campaign, Teng met U.S. syndicated columnist Robert Novak for the purpose of making a major policy statement singling out the danger of the "Polar Bear" (Russia). For the first time, Teng explicitly used the word "alliance" in referring to relations with the U.S., and State Department officials immediately pricked up their ears (*New York Post*, 29 November).

In the same interview Teng went out of his way to reassure the U.S. its investments in Taiwan would be protected. And he pointedly used the word "reunification" of Taiwan instead of the previous term "liberation." (Hsinhua news agency pointedly corrected a dispatch that had gone out with the old slogan in order to underline the significance of the change.) Not only would the approximately $600 million worth of U.S. investments in Taiwan be secure, but Teng held out the possibility that the island could become formally part of the People's Republic of China without changing its capitalist economic system. (To emphasize the desire for "friendly" relations, shortly after the normalization statement, two Kuomintang officials who had been sent to the People's Republic for a conference in 1950 and never returned announced they wanted to go back to Taiwan to talk to their old friend Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-shek and current head of the KMT regime!

"Who Lost China?"

For years the U.S. capitalist class has trumpeted Taiwan as a "bastion of the Free World," a living symbol of capitalist order and stability. Yet within hours after the normalization agreement was announced, this paradise for U.S. investments began looking like Caracas, 1956 during the Nixon visit, with street riots, burnings of U.S. flags and the stoning of the American ambassador. But to no avail. The days were long gone when the China Lobby in Washington rivaled the AMA or the American Dairy Association in clout, when the pro-Chiang Kai-shek Committee of One Million included everybody from Barry Goldwater to Hubert Humphrey.

In 1951 when Truman dismissed MacArthur for wanting to bomb Chinese bases north of the Yalu, the general returned to the states to a standing ovation in Congress and the biggest ticker-tape parade New York had ever seen. During the witchhunts of the 1950's the charge that the Democrats and "Commie dupes" in the State Department had "lost China," was one of Joe McCarthy's biggest clubs. In the early 1960's under the Kennedy administration, China was viewed as the most aggressive of the Communist countries, with JFK's war minister Robert McNamara running around scheming up ways to outwit the "CHICOMS." This idea was carried to such extremes that one 1960's film, *The Chairman* starring Gregory Peck, even projected a U.S./Soviet plot to overthrow the Mao regime.

Eddie Adams

UPI

Playing the China card against Russia has been a bi-partisan policy. Above: Teng dines with Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger.

No longer. Today the old Republican refrain "Who lost China?" is about as effective as a wet noodle against the Democrats. In part, Carter is not vulnerable to right-wing attack because his entire policy has moved so far to the right (attacks on labor, women and blacks; the anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, etc.). More fundamentally, the U.S. bourgeoisie is united behind his policy. Formal recognition merely cements the already established alliance between U.S. imperialism and the Peking bureaucracy directed against their declared "main enemy," the Soviet Union. Secondly, it is clear that everyone hopes to make big bucks. The Chinese have taken an aggressive posture of inviting investments; for instance, they have been scouring Europe, conducting over 160 trade and military missions to West Germany this year alone!

Kissinger is right when he says that he could have done the same thing four years ago and that it was only Watergate which prevented Nixon from establishing full diplomatic ties at that time. The Shanghai Communiqué signed by Nixon and Chou En-lai in February 1972 explicitly recognized Taiwan as part of China and pledged the eventual withdrawal of U.S. troops from Taiwan. Again, it was the Chinese who took the initiative at that time, and for the same reason: following a series of 1969 border clashes with the Soviet Union at the Ussuri River Mao communicated through Sinophile Edgar Snow that he would see Nixon in Peking.

On the U.S. side, the decision to normalize was given added impetus by the defeat in Vietnam. Yet even after the U.S. had been driven out of Indochina, leading to the collapse of its old anti-Communist alliances like SEATO, the Nixon/Ford administration was proclaiming its Pacific Doctrine, vowing to maintain the U.S. position as a maritime power with a perimeter along the rim of the East Asian mainland. This strategy, moreover, did not originate with the U.S.'s losses in Vietnam. As early as the stalemate in Korea, a powerful section of the U.S. ruling class, including such people as the Rockefellers and their Council on Foreign Relations, were convinced that the U.S. should not fight another land war in Asia.

Today some analysts are comparing the normalization of relations with China to the classic "reversal of alliances" in the decades following the 1848 revolutions, a time when a series of European wars reflected shifting alignments of Russia, France and Germany. However, U.S. policy since World War II has been governed by a consistent central thrust—hostility toward the Soviet Union. Rather than "containment," which falsely implied that China was expansionist, U.S. policy from John Foster Dulles to Dean Rusk was one of encirclement. This same policy of encirclement is being continued today against the main target, although the position of China in this strategy has switched.

In the early 1960's the CCP bureaucracy was characterized by a verbally militant posture vis-à-vis the U.S., a role largely forced upon it as a result of its isolation following the Sino-Soviet split. New Left radicals at that time enthused over the Maoist regime's denunciation of Khrushchev-style "peaceful coexistence." The so-called Trotskyists of the United Secretariat went so far as to give "critical support" to Peking in the Sino-Soviet split. In sharp contrast the Spartacist League's analysis, considered so outrageous at the time, has been confirmed at every point. We characterized the verbal militancy of the Maoist regime as "Khrushchevism under the gun." And in our August 1969 document, "Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 9), we wrote prophetically:

> "At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the USSR's avowed policy of 'peaceful coexistence' while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long-run interests (which would take time, as such factors as U.S. public opinion would have to be readjusted), the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build 'Socialism in One Country' through deals with imperialism at the expense of internationalism."

Thus, with periodic shifts the basic lines of U.S. foreign policy in the post-World War II period have always been directed against the USSR. That Carter's "human rights" crusade is simply part of American imperialism's drive against the Soviet Union should come as no surprise. Yet the same impressionists who yesterday were giving "critical support" to Peking today try to pressure imperialist "democrat" Carter to stop being "hypocritical" and put teeth into his "human rights" campaign.

While the objectives of U.S. foreign policy have remained constant, the strength of American imperialism has been sapped by its declining economic weight and military defeats. Ever since the rout in Indochina U.S. diplomacy has consisted of tricky maneuvering to give the appearance of strength by setting itself up as arbiter (e.g., Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" and Carter's shell game Camp David accords) without actually resolving anything. The China alliance is part of a major effort to readjust the Soviet-U.S. balance of power to American advantage.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is obviously worried about the implications of the U.S.-China link. In an article written in November, the top Soviet expert on America, Georgi Arbatov, stated that there would obviously be "no place for détente" in the face of a de facto Washington-Peking-Tokyo "axis" (*New York Times*, 22 December). This terminology calls up images of the Germany/Italy/Japan Anti-Comintern Pact of the 1930's, and Soviet flunkeys around the world (such as the Portuguese Communist Party) have already begun denouncing the new anti-Soviet axis. But even if a USSR on the defensive should be forced by an emboldened Washington into a slightly more testy posture, Stalinism without formal détente still seeks a modus vivendi with imperialism.

The parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies are incapable of waging revolutionary struggle against the imperialists, for the necessary mobilization of the masses would directly threaten their privileged positions. The Peking Maoists are willing to let Hong Kong and Taiwan capitalists coexist and grow, while allying with every anti-Soviet reactionary around the globe; their Moscow counterparts abruptly cut off all economic aid to China in 1960 and allowed U.S. imperialism to devastate Vietnam. Only political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states coupled with social revolution in the capitalist countries can defeat this new unholy alliance of counterrevolution. ■

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Iran...

(continued from page 5)

the Stalinists of the Tudeh party betrayed these struggles, forcing the oil workers back on the job in 1946 in order to procure a few cabinet seats. They consistently subordinated the interests of the Iranian proletariat to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, which merely wished control of oil concessions in northern Iran.

The Tudeh party held aloof from the workers' upsurge in the early 1950's, which demanded nationalization of the British-owned oil companies, for the very same reason, the Soviet Stalinists' desire to make a deal with the shah. The movement for nationalization thus fell into the hands of the bourgeois nationalist Mossadeq. Mossadeq, who sought to put Iran under the "protection" of U.S. rather than British imperialism, was a hundred times more hostile to the toiling masses than he was to imperialist domination of Iran. Thus, when the U.S. decided he was "de-stabilizing" the country and opening the door to Tudeh party control and organized the 1953 coup, Mosadeq was utterly incapable of resistance. But so was the Tudeh party, which had the potential to mobilize the working class for the seizure of power. These muddled reformists were completely smashed by the ensuing repression, and then completely discredited when the USSR struck a deal with the shah and swapped arms for natural gas.

A whole generation of young militants rejected the Soviet Union and the Tudeh party's betrayals only to end up as apologists for Peking's alliance with Teheran, politically irrelevant acolytes of Albania's Enver Hoxha or urban guerrillas hopelessly isolated from the Iranian proletariat. The working class entered the 1970's without any credible political leadership and with a heritage of Stalinist betrayal.

The Tudeh party is currently wedded to the bourgeois liberals of the National Front, committed of course, to the Menshevik/Stalinist strategy that Iran must pass through a period of bourgeois democracy before proletarian dictatorship is possible. The fact that the National Front prostrates itself before Khomeini gives the lie to this proposition. In fact, the bourgeois-democratic tasks cannot be accomplished without a workers revolution. The impotence of the bourgeois liberals flows from this basic fact of the imperialist epoch.

The myriad of "Marxist-Leninist" critics of Tudeh are in fact proponents of equally repellent forms of class collaboration. Rather than capitulate to Khomeini via the medium of the National Front, they cheer him on directly as the most "consistent" opponent of the shah! In many cases the Stalinist puritanism of the Maoists even rivals that of the mullahs. As for the American left, even as they distance themselves from the Jonestown cultists and publish the most orthodox Marxist critiques of religion in their press, these very same opportunists are also praising the mullahs' campaign for theocratic rule.

One of the worst aspects of the shah's rule was the suppression of all political life in Iran for two decades. With the fall of the monarchy the fat will hit the fire and a period of political sorting-out may

Enzo Lucen

Mullahs reimpose the veil.

ensue. But revolutionary Marxists do not generalize this into a schema of two-stage revolution, nor do they blithely proclaim, recalling the Third Period Stalinist formula, "after Khomeini, us." Given the concrete balance of forces in Iran today, a period of reactionary Islamic rule is likely. But the masses' experience with the "Islamic republic" will hardly be a pleasant one. Most likely it will take the form of a dictatorship of military officers claiming to represent the "Sword of Islam."

This does not mean that a catastrophic defeat equivalent to that of Indonesia in 1965 is inevitable. The convulsions shaking Iran give the Iranian proletariat the possibility of sweeping away the filth of religious obscurantism, agrarian poverty, national oppression and grinding exploitation, and of leading an offensive against all the oil sheikdoms, pseudo-socialist military despotisms and dictatorships of "soldiers of Islam" that surround Iran.

This requires the construction of an Iranian Trotskyist vanguard party steeled in combat against Persian chauvinism and Muslim reaction, opposed to all varieties of Stalinist class collaboration. What is necessary is a program relating the felt grievances of the Iranian masses to the proletarian seizure of power:

Full democratic rights for women! For the right of self-determination for all oppressed nationalities—full linguistic and cultural rights! Land to the tiller!

Win over the ranks of the army to the side of the proletariat—no confidence in "anti-imperialist" officers!

No asylum for the shah—people's tribunals to try the shah and his SAVAK torturers! Smash SAVAK! Down with the shah! No to theocracy—for a sovereign secular constituent assembly based on universal suffrage!

For workers revolution to overthrow the shah—for a workers and peasants government in Iran! For a Trotskyist party in Iran, section of the reforged Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

Carter Opens Door to Butcher Shah, Gusanos, "Boatpeople"

LOS ANGELES, January 2—The luxury estate of the Iranian monarch's sister nearly caught fire today as more than 2,000 anti-shah demonstrators massed outside the Beverly Hills sanctuary of the torture-chic dynasty from Teheran. As the shah packed up his family for safe shores, the Queen Mother's arrival in the U.S. was greeted with chants of "Death, Death, Death to the Shah!" U.S. imperialism enforced its policy of political asylum for reactionary butchers with tear gas, billy clubs and arrests. Demonstrators were injured when a cop car crashed through the crowd.

The State Department has made elaborate security arrangements to protect the shah's family, which is busily buying up expensive real estate in Southern California. Two of his sisters own estates in Beverly Hills and rumors that the shah himself is buying contiguous property in the posh suburb of Bel Air have been flying all week. A real estate agent said the family planned to build "an incredible palace" surrounded by a moat. But it is not the moat but the U.S. government that will shield the Pahlavi family from the just vengeance of their victims.

The protection afforded the shah and his kin is only the most spectacular recent example of U.S. imperialism's consistent policy of offering sanctuary to the architects and henchmen of reactionary terror. Attorney General Bell on 22 November announced a proposal to grant asylum to an additional 22,000 "boat people"—fugitives from the Indochinese revolution, among whom are war criminals who belong on trial in Hanoi. One token attempt to pretend "even-handedness"—the deportation proceedings under way against former Saigon police chief Nguyen Ngoc Loan, the Vietnamese war's most famous public killer, who murdered a bound "suspect" as an example—has been termed "ridiculous" by no less a figure than Jimmy Carter.

The Justice Department is bringing into the U.S. some 3,500 political prisoners from Castro's Cuba, under an Immigration Act provision granting "discretionary powers" to the attorney general. While not all Cuban immigrants are active reactionaries, these newly released prisoners are nearly all *gusanos* ("worms") who have fought against the Cuban revolution. The U.S. government's considerations are practical as well as ideological; ardent anti-Communist *gusanos* have been invaluable to the criminal dirty work of the CIA/FBI.

Of course, the attorney general will not use his "discretionary powers" to grant asylum to the desperate victims of right-wing repression, such as refugees from the bloody grip of the Chilean junta. And Mexican immigrants driven to the U.S. by poverty will be met with attempts to seal the border with armed guards using seismic, magnetic and infrared sensors—technological descendants of devices developed in Vietnam. A 12-foot steel and mesh barrier has even been proposed to separate El Paso from Ciudad Juarez.

The shah and his family should be tried by a workers tribunal of the victims of their torture chambers! No asylum for Vietnamese war criminals or Cuban capitalist restorationists! Deport Loan to Ho Chi Minh City to stand trial! Open the doors to Chilean refugees and others fleeing reactionary terror! Stop the deportations of undocumented Mexicans—Full citizenship rights for foreign workers!

For a Newark Strike Against Gibson's Layoffs!

NEWARK—Four thousand angry city workers and their supporters demonstrated in the streets of downtown Newark December 21 to protest the threatened layoff of more than 2,000 teachers and other municipal employees. At a meeting held afterward, union members chanted "Strike! Strike!" when leaders of the Municipal Labor Council, a coalition of public employee unions and police organizations, read a resolution to endorse a "general work stoppage in the event that we fail to convince the mayor to reorder his fiscal priorities."

The solidarity of the city union leaders with the notoriously racist and brutal Newark cops undermines the possibility of the kind of militant labor action that could rally the city's largely black and Puerto Rican population behind the city's workers. Moreover, despite some militant rhetoric, the leaders of the union-cop coalition are not building for a general strike and are instead putting their real efforts behind a petition campaign to recall Mayor Kenneth Gibson. But replacing Gibson with another capitalist politician wouldn't change a thing.

Gibson, like Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young, has long been touted as a "progressive" and "friend of labor" by various reformists. Yet on numerous occasions in the past Gibson has not hesitated to slash jobs and break strikes. Now he is trying to make Newark city workers pay with their jobs for the cutoff of $10.8 million in promised federal aid. Gibson later remarked cynically that he doubted 2,000 layoffs would make much difference in the quality of life in Newark.

At the December 21 protest the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) and Progressive Labor Party (PLP) passed out leaflets with the carbon-copy slogans "Butter, not guns" and "Oppose the bosses' plans for guns, not butter." But the CP and PLP reformists and Amiri Baraka's Revolutionary Communist League (M-L-M) breathed not a word in their leaflets about a city general strike. The capitalists and their politicians have made Newark a symbol of urban decay, a city dependent on federal handouts and scraps from the table of Prudential Insurance. The city workers can make Newark a symbol of militant labor struggle. For a general strike against the layoffs! ■

WV Photo

Cleveland...

(continued from page 12)

at U.S. Steel in Lorain, outside the city.

While the Cleveland labor movement has every reason to be hostile to Kucinich, the majority of the union leaders actually oppose him out of a conservative fear of antagonizing the banks and large corporations. They prefer to work through such regular Democratic Party politicians as Forbes, who in fact are virtually mouthpieces for Cleveland Trust. For example, the municipal unions have come out in support of the plan to sell Muny Light. Such gutless groveling to the banks only encourages anti-labor sentiment among the petty bourgeoisie and falsely allows Kucinich to parade as the champion of the "little guy" against big business.

Power to the People?

What mainly irritates the bourgeoisie about the Cleveland situation is Mayor Kucinich, whose populist fantasies put him at some distance from the norm of most large-city mayors. Thus the *Wall Street Journal* (20 December) commented in an editorial:

> "Mayor Kucinich seems to be reliving the rhetorical battles of the Progressive Era, regardless of their current irrelevance. He is denouncing the banks and CEI [Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.] as 'robber barons,' and conspiracy theories flourish in his incredibly inexperienced City Hall milieu. It's a net gain for Cleveland that default is puncturing these anachronistic fantasies...."

Nowhere are these populist fantasies more obvious than in the sign over Muny Light which reads, "Power to the People."

A particular bone of contention between Kucinich and the bankers is the fate of Muny Light. Set up in the early 1900's by Progressive mayor Tom Johnson, the city-owned Muny is today so decrepit that it does not even generate its own electric power, merely retailing power which it purchases from the privately owned Cleveland Electric Illuminating. Approximately 20 percent of Cleveland's residents are serviced by Muny and they get somewhat reduced rates relative to what CEI charges.

While Kucinich has supported maintaining Muny, the majority of the city council wants to sell it to CEI as a means of paying off the municipal debt held by the banks. The banks also vigorously favor this policy, not only because they want to be paid off, but because they in turn run CEI (seven of the 11 CEI directors sit on the boards of the banks which forced Cleveland's default).

Kucinich and his political opponents have conducted a running battle over Muny which has typically taken on comic proportions. Thus the city administration recently authorized some street repair in Cleveland, during which CEI manholes were "mistakenly" paved over. On the other side, CEI entered a lawsuit against the city for nonpayment of accumulated debt, including substantial sums owed it by the financially distressed Muny. When it won a court judgment CEI vindictively got relief by attaching the repair vehicles of its competitor, thereby hoping to cripple

WV Photo

Muny Light Co: the banks want it.

Muny's ability to provide electrical service.

The question of Muny Light will appear on the citywide referendum in late February, along with the proposal Kucinich is plugging as a lesser evil: an increase of the city income tax from 1 to 1.5 percent. Despite the marginal importance of Muny, socialists are opposed to destatification of industry, and we would therefore advocate a "no" vote on the sale of the municipally owned utility. The tax proposal is a rather different matter. Except in instances of a clearly regressive tax that falls centrally on the workers, the labor movement generally has no interest in supporting this or that measure which the capitalist state uses to raise revenue. In Cleveland today, a call for a "yes" vote would inflame workers and a middle class whose incomes are already being rapidly eroded by inflation. On the other hand, the present tax protest movement as epitomized by California's Prop 13, is being used as a vehicle by reactionaries and racists, aimed at cutting social expenditures generally. Therefore, the workers should abstain on this measure.

Democrats Dig Cleveland's Grave

Cleveland's plight has been widely compared to New York's financial situation. In fact, underlying the bankruptcy of both municipal governments are the same basic material factors: a shrinking tax base due to flight of industry and resulting high unemployment. Unlike New York, however, Cleveland is primarily a center of heavy industry and since the 1950's it has lost over half of its jobs in heavy industry, particularly in machine manufacturing. Since 1969 alone, industries representing about 17,000 jobs a year have left the city. Meanwhile, the population has been declining at a rate of roughly 20,000 a year. While many of the white residents follow the outflow of jobs, Cleveland's ghettoized blacks (now 40 percent of the city population), lacking mobility, have been left to increasing squalor and poverty and a declining number of jobs.

In its pauperization and ghettoization, Cleveland is similar to numerous other older cities. In fact, Cleveland offers a microcosm of the increasing disintegration of the American social fabric and the accompanying rightward shift of the Democratic Party. The policy of the Forbes wing of the party is identical to that of the mainstream Democratic Party nationally, exemplified by Jimmy Carter: fiscal austerity, a balanced budget, dismantling of social reforms and other "remedies" long championed by the Republicans as their own. And while liberal labor bureaucrats dream of reviving the New Deal coalition of unions, blacks and the "progressive" bourgeoisie, the "opposition" which is actually emerging to machine candidates within the Democratic Party is made up of demagogues like Kucinich, whose racist, anti-union program is if anything to the *right* of the mainstream Democrats.

Most of the left has simply chosen up sides behind one or another wing of the Democratic Party. Last year the Socialist Workers Party sided with Forbes on the recall election and later called for defense of Forbes and other councilmen indicted for corrupt practices. The Communist Party (CP), on the other hand, has recently reaffirmed its support to the little league populist mayor of Cleveland. The 16 December *Daily World* reports a CP statement charging "big business and the banks with seeking to destabilize and destroy the city administration because of its anti-monopoly stance." There is not even a single mention of the layoffs in this disgusting whitewash of Kucinich.

The Cleveland crisis clearly underscores that the Democratic Party in all its wings is the enemy of the American working class. Class-conscious militants must fight for a workers party, based on the unions. Such a party cannot be built outside the fight for a class-struggle leadership within the workers movement, for the Meanys and Frasers will certainly never break with the capitalist parties, much less fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

It is not only the relatively weak municipal unions which are under the gun in Cleveland today. All workers face disaster in this declining city. Cleveland is an industrial town and it must be the industrial unions which provide the backbone in the fight against the bankers' attack. When the city's rulers try to lay off municipal workers, all Cleveland labor—UAW, Teamsters, Steelworkers—must answer with strike action. When they try to sell Muny Light to the CEI, labor must demand municipal takeover of the private utilities. When the banks demand their interest-bloated payments, labor must say "cancel the debt" and lead a fight to expropriate the banks. When old factories threaten to shut down, unions throughout the country must respond with industry-wide strike action. Only the militant struggle of the working class can prevent Cleveland from becoming a giant Youngstown. ■

Moscone...

(continued from page 2)

issued a statement "join[ing] all San Franciscans" in expressing "shock and condemnation" of the assassinations. It went on: "An atmosphere of shock, confusion and violence has touched the lives of every man, woman and child in our area. This kind of atmosphere creates a dangerous opportunity for right-wing forces to demagogically attack legitimate progressive movements" (*People's World*, 2 December). And which are these legitimate movements? Evidently the "progressive" Democrats.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which aggressively seeks to present itself as a credible electoral "socialist alternative," waxed even more eloquent, terming the murders "an expression of irrational hatred and violence produced by the decaying capitalist society" (*Militant*, 8 December). At that level of universal causality, capitalism can be held responsible for everything from the incidence of heart disease to chewing gum. Denouncing White as a bigot and reactionary—which he surely is—the SWP declaimed: "...it was a small step for this ex-cop's bigoted hatred and frustration to drive him into firing his gun at two elected officials especially since one of these victims was gay."

Just who are these "elected officials" anyway? Isn't Moscone the same capitalist politician who crushed the 1976 San Francisco municipal craft workers strike? Isn't Milk responsible for funneling votes of the large homosexual "community" to the party of Anita Bryant, the Dixiecrats and the Vietnam War? Not according to the SWP. For them the Milks and Mosconis are the voice of bourgeois "sanity" menaced by crazy right-wingers. These reformists are so eager to prove their respectability and cash in on illusions in the popular former gay rights activist Milk, that they "forget" such elementary Marxist facts as the class character of the Democratic Party.

It happens that the assassin was also an "elected official," elected by a two-to-one margin. However, complaining that his supervisor's salary was too low, White resigned from the board to run a hot potato stand on the S.F. wharf. When this self-appointed Mr. America later changed his mind, he was enraged to find that the mayor had already picked out a fellow liberal to replace him. So minutes before the new appointee was to be sworn in, White marched into City Hall and took out his frustrations by pumping bullets into Moscone and Milk. The debonair mayor meant to step on White like a worm, but the worm hit back. No doubt acting mayor Diane Feinstein will be more circumspect in dealing with her colleagues.

White the ex-cop did not fit in with the claque of slick professional pols who make up the S.F. Board of Supervisors—the well-off businessmen, realtors and lawyers for whom such *open* contempt for the oppressed is considered bad taste. So naturally the SWP and CP paint Moscone and Milk as progressive martyrs cut down by reaction. They focus particularly on Milk, a man who was not only possessed of considerable personal charm and courage, but was also the first open homosexual elected to a major San Francisco office. This is particularly significant in a city where the gay population is large and politically well-organized (it has been estimated that up to 30 percent of S.F. registered voters are homosexuals). Milk was a symbol to Castro Street of the possibility of acceptance and success in bourgeois society.

His vehicle was the Democratic Party, for which he tried to organize homosexuals as yet another "constituency." And his skill brought him success in this liberal city which hangs out signs reading, "Gays Welcome Here." But Milk's personal success was bought by selling the party of savage counterrevolution in the Korean and Indochinese Wars of Truman, Kennedy and Johnson; the party which under Carter has relentlessly slashed away at democratic rights for blacks, women and homosexuals. So when the *Militant* announces a New York City candlelight vigil for Harvey Milk, they know full well they are lighting a candle for the Democrats.

For the SWP this expression of an appetite for bourgeois respectability is nothing new. When John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963 the SWP sent a cringing telegram to the widow of the chief imperialist in the world expressing their sympathies. This message of condolences was another dramatic sign of the SWP's degeneration from revolutionary Trotskyism into treacherous reformism. We said then and say now that it is not the business of the working class to mourn capitalist rulers. As communists *our* sympathies are with their victims, the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese slaughtered on orders of JFK and LBJ, the strikers arrested by Moscone.

We have tears for the striking Bay Area Teamster run over by a scab on the picket lines last summer, but we have no tears for the Mosconis and Milks, the JFKs and RFKs. Our job is to organize the workers against these phony "friends of labor"; we leave the "responsible" mourning for strikebreaking, witchhunting, warmongering Democrats to the likes of the SWP and CP. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Not One Layoff, Wipe Out the Debt!

What's Happening in Cleveland?

CLEVELAND—It seemed too much like a comic-opera Christmas skit to be the most important urban financial crisis since New York City's near plunge into bankruptcy. Visions of civil disaster and massive layoffs danced ominously in the heads of Clevelanders as the banks demanded payment on $15.5 million in short-term notes. Then, at the stroke of midnight on December 15, this Great Lakes port became the first major U.S. city to default on its bank loans since the 1930's depression.

But who could take seriously the plight of Cleveland so long as center stage was occupied by the "Animal House" antics of its 32-year-old mayor, demagogic "urban populist" Dennis Kucinich. A few days after default he retaliated against the city's biggest bank by marching into the neo-Grecian rotunda of Cleveland Trust with a bevy of reporters to withdraw his $9,197.99 in personal savings. "I will not keep my clean money in a dirty bank," he declared as his backers chanted, "You can't trust Cleveland Trust."

In the heated atmosphere of this mid-winter financial crisis all sides paint a picture of a city about to go under as its funds to meet day-to-day expenses run out in February and further borrowing is impossible. On December 16 Kucinich announced that one municipal worker in five would be laid off at the beginning of January due to default. However, just before New Year's he rescinded most of the layoffs pending a February referendum. Thus the mayor who was elected on the basis of opposition to tax increases and retention of a run-down city-owned electrical facility is trying to salvage his career by pushing a city income tax hike and putting the Muny Light Co. sale to a vote.

From afar it might seem like a battle between the banks and the "people's mayor." But the amount of money involved is downright puny: in NYC, Wall Street extorted $3.7 *billion* (i.e., $3,700 million) from union pension funds alone to cover the shortfall, whereas the total sum involved in Cleveland is *less than one half of one percent* of that. In reality what is going on here is the same old fight among Cleveland Democrats which earlier in the year forced Kucinich into a recall election (see "Cleveland Mayor Squeaks By in Recall," *WV* No. 214, 8 September).

While Kucinich blamed default on a "dirty" bank conspiracy, black Democratic city council head George Forbes backed up by the banks was screaming that the mayor and his administration were "snake oil" salesmen dragging the city over a precipice. They know each other well. There is without doubt a bank conspiracy to topple the Kucinich administration, which has indeed sold an overdose of snake oil to Cleveland.

Kucinich makes an easy target for the "responsible" bourgeoisie. There is after all plenty of embarrassing incompetency in the present administration, derisively known as the "kiddie corps." When Kucinich was elected, the JayCee booster outfit, Cleveland Growth Association, came up with the slogan, "There's a New Generation in Cleveland." The trouble is that this "new generation" runs Cleveland like it was some sort of National Lampoon fraternity romp. When the 27-year-old school board president, John Gallagher, was arrested a few months ago for exposing his ass on a public highway (widely referred to locally as "the great moon shot of '78"). *Cleveland Magazine* moaned that such acts "lent credence to the widespread belief that Cleveland is being run by a band of post-pubescent crazies" (January 1979). It sure does seem so.

In the midst of the financial crisis, attention has focused on the mayor's Director of Finance, Joseph Tegreene, 25 years old, whose main claim to financial expertise is a two-month internship on Wall Street. Betty Grdina, the Cleveland Community Development Director, is also 25. When she found her house picketed over the failure to build a promised fire station, she called her younger sister, the Assistant Safety Director, who had the police harass the demonstrators.

Some of Cleveland's absurd criminal shenanigans predate the Kucinich regime. Under Republican mayor Perk, hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of fireplugs were stolen from the municipal water system. They mysteriously showed up later, repainted, on streetcorners in the suburbs. The Kucinich administration at one point even tried a Watergate-style raid on the offices of a former city administrator to get the "goods" on the previous Republican administration. The bungling burglars found nothing but a cache of liquor, which was emptied by morning. Besides getting themselves apprehended the Kucinich gang managed to punch a hole through the wall of the office and to drop a safe on the foot of one of the apprentice "plumbers." This action, too, was defended by the mayor's aide who authorized the job. "People are born at night. People die at night. I guess we can go into people's offices at night," he said.

And to make things even worse for Kucinich, on the same day he made his famous retaliatory withdrawal at Cleveland Trust, his mentally disturbed younger brother was arrested for making a "withdrawal" at another local bank... by handing a teller a Christmas card with the holiday greeting: "All your $ or die."

Warren Browne

Dennis Kucinich: the "urban populist" mayor threatens to stuff layoffs down throats of Cleveland workers.

Banks and Mayor Target Labor

To Cleveland workers the comedy was not so funny, for the war in the Democratic Party had the guns of both sides turned on them. The day after declaring default, Kucinich announced layoffs of 2,000 municipal workers—some 20 percent of the city workforce. Immediately 16 unions along with the cops' "union" formed a coalition to fight the layoffs. There was even talk of a general strike, but after a quick consultation with George Forbes the local bureaucrats backed off in a hurry. After wildcats by repairmen, electrical workers and the long, bitter teachers' strike which went down to defeat in late October, the ranks of city labor might have turned to a general strike call with enthusiasm. The piecards opted for a safer channel and went to court.

Kucinich went after the city unions with a vengeance he was supposed to have reserved for "big business." The mayor wailed that "we won't tolerate any strikes called to dictate policy. Strikes are for collective bargaining only. They are not for mob rule in the usurpation of an administration." When Paul Wells, president of Laborers Local 1099, initially threatened to pull out his entire local if there were any layoffs, Kucinich replied that if the Laborers set up pickets, he would "put the union out of business."

On December 28, Kucinich canceled 1,600 of the scheduled layoffs and postponed the other 400 until January 5. The mayor claimed that this was based on an understanding with Cleveland Trust, which has apparently decided to await the outcome of the February 27 referendum on the income tax hike and proposed sale of Muny before pressing its claims for $5 million owed it by the city. The other Cleveland banks are expected to follow suit.

Kucinich's initial announcement of layoffs, whose scope shocked even the bourgeois press, certainly did not win him any new friends in the Cleveland labor movement. The only significant union that has given the mayor any real support is the United Auto Workers (UAW), and this mainly because a former UAW local leader, Bob Weisman, is the mayor's second in command. The Cleveland city labor council, on the other hand, last year demanded the recall of Kucinich. AFL-CIO bureaucrats, and particularly the Steelworkers, were miffed at the administration's opposition to tax writeoffs to Republic Steel for expansion of a Lake Erie ore dock, fearing it would cost union jobs. The projected dock was later relocated

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"What do you suppose will happen in Cleveland?"

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 223 19 January 1979

Workers Must Oppose Islamic Reaction!

Shah Flees

JANUARY 16—Within minutes of the announcement that the shah of Iran had stealthily slipped out of the country, tens of thuusands of jubilant Iranians puured into the streets of Teheran. As the thousands swelled into millions a carnival atmosphere swept the city. Some of those celebrating were observed tearing the shah's portrait out of their paper currency.

By the end of his 38 years of regal dictatorship, the regime of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi was felt to be an unbearahly oppressive burden by the vast majority of the urban population. The "white revolution" façade had crumbled, exposing a currupt and rapacious cuurt looting the country to salt away fortunes in Swiss banks and Los Angeles real estate.

No more could a technocratic middle class dream of becoming a world power by the turn of the century; instead they saw the oil billions being used to equip an overbearing Prussian-style military caste which grew more insolent by the year.

Now the victims of torture were not limited to the Communists but were to be found at every level of society as the hrutal SAVAK relished its American equipment, Israeli instructors and Nazi techniques.

And in the last year the shah's savage repressive machine declared open seasun on the populace, on several occasiuns murdering more than 500-1,000 protesters in a single demonstration. This was a regime that had clearly entered its death agony, flailing out in every direction, sustained only by its bayonets and tanks and the support of Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter.

The shah had fled! The masses breathed a giant sigh of relief...but it was clear that the dramatic confrontations were far from over. Was the high-living fashionable torture-shah really gone for good? In 1953 he left and was back in a week thanks to the CIA. Would the U.S. and hard-line generals organize a coup?

Most importantly, the artificial unity of the anti-shah opposition must soon come apart. Rather than resolving the situation, the departure of the shah simply takes the lid off the pot. With the fire still on full blast the Iranian pressure cooker threatens to boil over at any moment. The seething opposition runs from "Marxist-Leninist" guerrillas to ultra-reactionary Muslim preachers. A time of reckoning is approaching.

But up until now it has been the Islamic religious hierarchy that has been the dominant political leadership. From exile in France Muslim patriarch

No Asylum for Butcher Shah!

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini announced his imminent return to Iran and issued a stern warning: "I call on Iranian youth to prevent any destruction or disorder. Those who create disturhances create an environment for foreigners to intervene and will be severely punished" (UPI dispatch, January 16).

What has been absent above all is a *revolutionary* leadership mobilizing the working class. Instead all sectors have bowed to Khomeini. This prepares the way for the possible imposition of an "Islamic Republic" whose rigidly feudalistic reactionary social and political program will give a rude shock to the democratic aspirations of the Iranian masses. A revolutionary leadership is needed which can break the exploited and oppressed from the reactionary leadership of the mullahs. In the coming days the masses' long-suppressed hatred of the shah and his torturers will explode in a wave of popular retribution. Revolutionary Marxists demand that the shah be subjected to something more than a "brief vacation"—revolutionary proletarian justice.

In this politically fluid situation all eyes are on the army. Demonstrators place red carnations in the barrels of soldiers' guns, hoping to win them over to the anti-shah forces through fraternization. Speculation is rife concerning a pro-shah coup by hard-liners in the general staff, or the seizure of power by generals or junior officers loyal to Khomeini.

Now more than ever must Marxists fight for an independent proletarian axis counterposed to the reactionary social program of the Muslim religious opposition. This is a life or death question for the Iranian proletariat. It was the economically strategic oil workers who played a decisive role in bringing down the shah, but without a Trotskyist vanguard party a viciously anti-communist and anti-working-class theocratic dictatorship will ride to power on the backs of the Iranian masses.

Despite the mullahs' present popularity, an Islamic Republic, quite likely ruled by a Persian version of Pakistan's General Zia, would be no less reactionary than the shah. In fact, the religious opposition's attitude toward women—a key social question in backward, especially Islamic, societies—is *more reactionary* than the shah's superficially modernizing regime. The ayatollahs (high Muslim clergy) are also hostile to the shah's limited land reform, which seized mainly lands of the clergy, and have made it clear that they will not cooperate with communists in any way. Thus, while the legions of opportunists calling themselves Marxists were enthusing over the Muslim masses taking to the streets, the international Spartacist tendency was *unique* on the left in giving no support to the religious opposition. Instead we raised the slogan: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!"

The disintegration ot the shah's regime, the keystone of the U.S.' anti-Soviet strategy in the region, has produced a vicious backbiting debate in Washington over "who lost Iran." Cold warrior Zbigniew Brzezinski is sounding the alarm against a supposed Soviet offensive in an "arc of crisis" stretching from Ethiopia to India, and is being echoed by the bourgeois media. (*Time* magazine has even revived the stock Cold War cartoon image of the menacing Russian bear for its front cover.) The CIA, now busy dismantling its listening posts on the Soviet-Iranian border, is under attack for incompetence because it gave Carter no warning that the shah faced any trouble last year. Even the nomination of Shahpur Bakhtiar to head the shah's new civilian government came as a complete surprise to the U.S. Embassy. Having clung for too long to the shah and deluded themselves that he was secure on the Peacock Throne, U.S. policy makers are now trying desperately to preserve their influence in Teheran.

Bakhtiar on the Brink

One thing is clear ahout the coming period: the government headed by the shah's appointee Shahpur Bakhtiar has little hope of retaining the reins of power. It must be remembered that in

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For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba!/6

No Asylum for the Bloody Pahlavis!

As the gilded torture-chic court of the doomed Pahlavi dynasty seeks luxurious asylum in the rolling hills surrounding Los Angeles, officials of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) are sweeping the city for Iranian student protesters. The INS manhunt comes in the wake of the vicious January 2 cop assault on some 500 Iranian demonstrators who had surrounded the palatial Beverly Hills estate of Princess Shams Pahlavi, the hated sister of shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

Just the previous day the shah's mother along with several of his younger offspring had fled from Teheran to safety at the $600,000 hillside mansion of Princess Shams, whose notoriety as a sinister drug-runner rivals that of the Vietnamese Madame Nhu. In the ensuing cop riot, protesters were attacked with tear gas, billy clubs and fire hoses while police cruisers tore into the crowd at top speed, leaving some 40 people injured and seven others arrested.

In normal times, the star-studded bedroom communities of Beverly Hills and Bel Air are policed as though they were private country clubs; motorists venturing off Sunset Boulevard who don't look like they "belong" are likely to be stopped and questioned by the police. So when 2,000 protesters marched into the area and some 500 proceeded toward the shah's sister's estate, the cops went berserk. As the demonstrators marched along the public street, police pelted them with rocks. Brush fires broke out as cops lobbed exploding tear-gas canisters while witnesses reported at least two shotgun blasts.

News photographers have documented in chilling color how sheriff's deputies slammed their squad cars into the crowds, injuring scores and leaving one demonstrator with both legs crushed. Indeed, while it is usually difficult to pinpoint the identity of police assailants, in this case photographers have provided irrefutable evidence: the drivers of Sheriff's Department squad cars numbers 60 and 62 should be jailed for attempted murder!

Following the demonstration, the L.A. city council demanded Iranian students be rounded up and their visas revoked. A day later Carter's "human rights" attorney general, Griffin Bell, pronounced that "all participants in such violence will be deported to the extent which the law permits and requires" (*Los Angeles Times*, 4 January). *This is no hollow threat*—Iranian students have reported that INS officers immediately swarmed down upon their homes, also entering mosques, demanding to see passports and attempting to identify individuals from videotapes taken on January 2. By press time, some 301 Iranians have reportedly been "surveyed" for visa violations and 50 have been arrested!

Wasser/Time

Cops crush the legs of anti-shah demonstrators beneath their wheels to protect the Beverly Hills mansion of the shah's family.

This chauvinist witchhunt demands an immediate response by the American left. The Spartacist League quickly issued a call for a united demonstration around the demands, "No Deportations—Hands Off the ISA—Drop the Charges!" and "No Asylum for the Butcher Shah and His Supporters!" With the exception of the Revolutionary Socialist League, the ostensibly socialist organizations in the Los Angeles area refused to join in united action in defense of the victimized ISA supporters. Nevertheless, the demonstration took place January 10, with some 40 people picketing the Federal Building in downtown Los Angeles.

The working people of the U.S. do not welcome the grisly collection of Iranian torturers, gusano bombers and Vietnamese generals who are brought to this country by their CIA mentors when they get in trouble at home. Elementary justice demands that the criminals of the despised Pahlavi dynasty be brought before people's tribunals in Iran to stand trial before the victims of their blood-drenched rule. The Iranian working masses should see to it that this crowned butcher and his cohorts meet the fate of the Romanovs at the hands of the revolutionary Bolsheviks! ■

Alan Thornett Gets a Lesson in Workers Democracy

SAN FRANCISCO—Alan Thornett, big-shot leader of the Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Britain recently received a valuable lesson in workers democracy from the Spartacist League and its supporters here. Whether he learned it is another question altogether.

Late last month Thornett was the featured speaker at a forum sponsored by the WSL's American ally, an outfit of a half-dozen members calling itself the Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (SL-DC). It was a tough night for Thornett and the SL-DC. At first their TV cameras didn't work. Why TV cameras? Because the delusions of grandeur nursed by the WSL/SL-DC include the desire to establish "the first international Trotskyist videotape network on a monthly basis" (SL-DC *Internal Bulletin*, June 1978). But these technical difficulties in their media mania were only the beginning of what was beyond their control that evening.

The real problem for Thornett and his cronies was that at least two thirds of the audience of about 75 were supporters of the Spartacist League, including numerous trade unionists and a good number of union executive board members and shop stewards. They were not about to be huffaloed by Thornett's self-aggrandizing account of the world as seen from the Cowley auto plant of British Leyland.

John Sturrock/Report

Alan Thornett: Taught.

For an hour Alan Thornett talked about Alan Thornett and his world at Cowley. Recounting his odyssey as a militant trade unionist, he barely mentioned his move from the Communist Party to the Healyite SLL/WRP to the WSL, of which he is the major spokesman. Although the audience had come to hear him speak on "A Strategy for the Working Class in Britain," Thornett spent altogether perhaps five minutes on the subject of strategy.

Even then his only "strategy" turned out to be pressuring the reformist parliamentary labor lieutenants of the British capitalists to fight their bourgeois paymasters. According to Thornett, "the only way to fight social democracy is to put them in office." And since the WSL's policy is to vote Labour under any and all circumstances, he should have added a rider: "and keep them there." Like in Germany in 1918?? The counterrevolutionary implications of this idiot position are obvious.

Before the discussion period began, the meeting's chairman, SL-DC leader Steve Bryant, looked out over the array of experienced class-struggle unionists eager to expose Thornett's myopic opportunism. Sizing up the audience he announced that anyone who wished to speak would get three minutes. Which meant that "certain" speakers would get the promised three minutes, while any SL supporters would have to fight to get even half that much before Bryant cut them off.

So when Jane Margolis, a member of the executive board of Communications Workers of America Local 9410 (San Francisco) took Thornett to task for his failure to struggle for the Transitional Program in his trade-union work, Bryant cut her off after a minute and a half. He did the same to a steward from International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6.

However, when Howard Keylor, an executive board member of ILWU Local 10 took the floor, an incensed audience was having none of Bryant's sneaky "half-time for revolutionaries" tactics. When the chair tried to muzzle him as well, the crowd backed Keylor up. He completed his remarks, denouncing Thornett for failing to address the question of state power and a workers government.

Unable to get away with shaving the speakers' time allotments, Bryant turned over the clock to one of his comrades, who to his credit did an honest job. SL speakers and labor militants continued to score Thornett for turning electoral support for Labour into a principle, for his capitulation to Irish nationalism and his general parochial workerism. The WSL leader tried to counterattack, at first with the oft-repeated slander that the SL "abstains from the class struggle." With about two dozen active trade-unionist supporters of the SL in the audience, this line of defense was not much use.

So Thornett retreated to a bigger lie, attacking the Spartacist League as "racist" and claiming that the SL supports immigration controls by misquoting an

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Class-Struggle Militants Re-Elected in ILWU Local 10

SAN FRANCISCO—The first round of elections of the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 were concluded this Friday as Larry Wing, once a leader of dissident bureaucrats opposed to the policies of former International chief Harry Bridges, won re-election to the Local presidency. George Kaye, another former Bridges "opponent" was elected secretary-treasurer, succeeding his cohort Herb Mills.

While Wing was re-elected, the results by no means indicate a clear mandate for the class-collaborationist policies he has pursued uninterruptedly over the past year. Wing's election last year represented in part a desire for change by the Local 10 ranks, many of them taken in by his previous posture of "opposition" to the then Bridges-led International. But for two years running Wing has won with less than 50 percent of the total vote, reflecting increasing distrust and disgust with the role he has played in administering every major sellout of Jimmy Herman's International.

Facing no serious opposition, Wing suffered the effects of what was clearly a protest vote. In addition to a large vote for John Carr, an unknown, some 242 men abstained from voting for the Local's top officer. In addition, the presence on the ballot of a number of "'69 men" (the last group of Longshoremen hired into the Local was in 1969) indicated a desire for change by a section of the membership.

At the same time, the improved showing of class-struggle militants Howard Keylor and Stan Gow, publishers of the opposition newsletter "Longshore Militant," reflects the determination of a significant section of the membership to break with the servile business unionism of the International and Local bureaucrats and take the bosses on in a hard fight to preserve historic union gains and win jobs for all longshoremen. Gow and Keylor were re-elected to a fifth straight term on the Executive Board, polling 291 and 335 votes respectively, or about 20 percent of the total vote.

These militants have stood out from all sections of the leadership in pointing the way forward for West Coast longshoremen. Last summer they opposed ratification of Herman's sellout contract and were alone in calling for a strike, raising demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, abolition of all steady-man categories, union-set manning scales on all operations, full cost-of-living protection, and a right to strike over grievances and in defense of other workers.

Gow and Keylor exposed Herman's Special Equipment Board as nothing but a fraud that will strengthen the steady-man system. They are continuing to fight implementation of this section of the contract, demanding instead skills training for all on a voluntary basis, paid for by the bosses' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). They opposed (and won the support of nearly a third of the October membership meeting) Local 10 endorsement of Democrat Yvonne Burke for California attorney-general, arguing instead for a break with the capitalist parties and formation of a workers party and a fight for a workers government.

Herman's contract sellout last summer, preventing a decisive showdown with the PMA bosses, has given them the green light to intensify a series of job-slashing attacks inflicted on the union over the last several years. In spite of a tripling of cargo tonnage since implementation of Bridges' sellout mechanization and modernization (M&M) contract in 1961, the longshore division of the union has suffered a massive loss of jobs and erosion of historic union gains. And in spite of the recent increase of shipping on the West Coast and the projected "boom" of the China trade, the employers remain determined to bolster their profits as part of the strikebreaking Carter administration's anti-union offensive.

For the last three years, Local 10—the traditional center of the union—has borne the brunt of these PMA attacks, while the Wing/Mills leadership has done the job for the shipping bosses. Going into last summer's contract period, a particularly popular demand among S.F.' longshoremen was the elimination of all so-called "steady" jobs, returning the Local to its historic practice of dispatching all jobs through the hiring hall on a daily basis. Under pressure from the Local 10 ranks, Wing, Mills & Co. adopted an empty posture of opposition to the continuation of steady categories, all the while refusing to call for a strike and sabotaging Howard Keylor's motion for a strike at a July 23 membership meeting.

The Special Equipment Board (SEB) section of the contract—set up by Herman as a compromise "solution" to quell unrest over the steady-man issue—would in fact double the number of steady men and serve as the central instrument in Local 10 for PMA's "productivity" drive. Older and disabled workers not "suitable" for the bosses' purposes are to be driven off the waterfront.

The SEB provides for an increase in the number of job categories to be filled by steady men and includes a stipulation that SEB steady men be required to perform all types of skilled work, in many cases combining jobs by operating several different pieces of equipment in a single eight-hour shift. Traditionally, union control of the hiring hall has required the bosses to hire one man from the hall for *each* piece of equipment to be operated in the course of a shift.

Since contract ratification, Wing, Mills & Co. have been cooperating with the International and PMA in setting up the SEB. At the same time, nearly half of the first group of 60 men selected for training were disqualified by PMA for "medical reasons," while others were arbitrarily eliminated while in training. PMA clearly intends to select younger men—making a joke out of the promotion-by-seniority provision.

Another element in PMA's current drive was unveiled in October when the Local 10 bureaucrats, under pressure from the bosses, sold the membership on the idea of eliminating all "volunteers" dispatch categories. In the past, longshoremen were not required to take certain particularly difficult "volunteer" jobs dispatched off their boards—a protection for the older and disabled men. These moves, taken together, will create an impossible situation for these men, forcing them to compete for a declining number of jobs (many of which they are not physically capable of doing), depriving them of pay guarantee benefits if they refuse any job, and forcing them to accept an inadequate cash "buy-out" by PMA in return for elimination of their jobs.

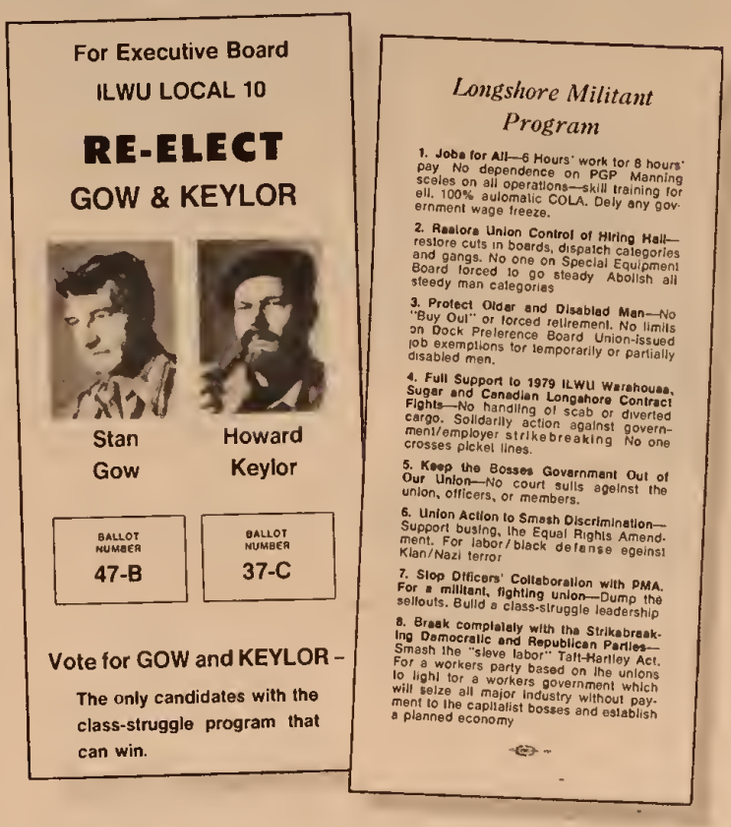
The bosses' drive to create a docile workforce is not limited to Local 10. As reported in the 11 January Local 10 "Bulletin," a superintendent for American President Lines in Seattle threatened a Seattle Local 19 business agent with deregistration (firing from the industry). The move backfired on the shipping bosses when the Local responded by shutting down three APL ships for 48 hours, resulting in withdrawal of the firing threat against the B.A. The Local 10 bureaucrats hypocritically hailed this action, declaring, "Job action is alive and well in Seattle!" At the same time, Wing, Mills & Co. have blocked every proposal by the "Longshore Militant" for job action to repel the current round of PMA attacks.

In sharp contrast to the solid vote for the "Longshore Militant" candidates was the showing of supporters of the *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the Communist Party (CP). Since the retirement of prominent CP longshoreman Archie Brown, this grouping has been unable to elect a spokesman to any significant union office in Local 10. This time around, CP supporter Billy Proctor was decisively repudiated by the membership in his second bid for election to the Executive Board and the Local's Publicity Committee, polling only 141 votes and 205 votes respectively. Leo Robinson, Proctor's frequent bloc partner, was re-elected to the Executive Board, polling 274 votes, a slight decline from last year.

During the contract period, Proctor, Robinson & Co. continued the long-time Stalinist practice of acting as a "left" cover for the bureaucracy. Leading up to the ratification vote, they preached the line that "voting no doesn't mean a strike" where it was perfectly clear that to make any gains, longshoremen had to back up a "no" vote with effective coastwide strike action.

Dissatisfaction with the defeated leadership cliques was reflected in the spread of votes given to a number of men running for the first time, including

continued on page 11



Election palmcard of Gow and Keylor.

WV Photo

Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, right, campaigning for re-election to Executive Board.

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

1953 the shah also took a "vacation" only to return within a week after a CIA-organized coup had toppled his opponent, Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq. Today the U.S. imperialists' ability to intervene is much weaker, the Iranian army less cohesive and reliable. But Bakhtiar may still be overthrown by a military coup conducted by hard-line pro-shah generals.

Otherwise Bakhtiar will be replaced by some kind of "Islamic Republic" overseen by Muslim patriarch Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. The first two days of the Bakhtiar government were greeted with a general strike and mass demonstrations called by Khomeini and his allies, the bourgeois politicians of the National Front. Khomeini branded Bakhtiar a "tool of Satan" and called on government employees to boycott his administration. As a result, Bakhtiar's newly appointed ministers found themselves alone in their vast ministries. Khomeini has countered Bakhtiar's formation of a regency council to replace the shah with the announcement of his own "Council of the Islamic Revolution" charged with selecting members of a provisional government for an Islamic Republic, which he says will be formed within a matter of days.

The government has been unable to stem the daily demonstrations which chant "Bakhtiar hi-ekhtiar" (Bakhtiar is a puppet). In the northeastern city of Meshed where, according to opposition sources, 2,000 protesters have been killed by the shah's troops, the army has been effectively driven out of the city and confined to its garrison post by a mass uprising of the city's population. The city and its public services are under the control of the Islamic religious hierarchy.

Bakhtiar had counted on the support of his erstwhile comrades of the National Front and on the less militant wing of the religious opposition, represented by Ayatollah Shariatmadari. Bakhtiar pledged to free political prisoners, disband SAVAK, lift martial law (albeit "gradually"), deny oil to Israel and South Africa and execute corrupt officials—all of which are demands of the opposition. He seemed to have gained its tacit cooperation when striking oil refinery workers began to return to work on January 10.

Bakhtiar proved unable, however, to fulfill his stated intention of filling half of his cabinet posts with National Front members. Front leader Karim Sanjabi, who had at various times over the last year aspired to play the role Bakhtiar is now playing, denounced Bakhtiar and expelled him from the National Front. Sanjabi is following the dictates of Khomeini, recognizing him as a far stronger contender for power. Khomeini's return to Iran, which is expected to occur imminently now that the shah has fled, will doom any further attempts by the government to find support among the anti-shah forces.

The Contest for the Army

Clearly the new prime minister had no chance of appeasing the anti-shah forces as long as the shah remained in the country. But with the shah gone it is not at all clear that the generals loyal to the throne will follow Bakhtiar's orders. Three hard-line generals—former Teheran military commander Gholam Ali Oveissi (who has since left the country with $17 million), army aviation chief Manochehr Khosrowdad, and air force commander Amir Hossein Rahii, all resigned the day before Bakhtiar assumed office. Khosrowdad openly stated that if the shah goes the army will not obey Bakhtiar.

The possiblity of a military revolt against the government was further heightened when Bakhtiar's nominee for war minister, General Fereidoun Djam refused to join a government he saw was obviously doomed. Djam, respected by the officer corps, had also acquired a reputation as a critic of the shah in past years. He had insisted on complete personal control over the armed forces, a condition rejected by both the shah and Bakhtiar.

The shah also fueled coup rumors in an interview with the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro*, in which he expressed doubt that the government could survive if he left the country. He also claimed to have considered re-enacting the events of 1953, but said he had rejected this plan as involving too much bloodshed.

This leaves the U.S. government as Bakhtiar's sole supporter—at least on the surface. However, this support is extremely unpredictable. Secretary of State Vance's policies are continually contradicted by Brzezinski, who is in constant communication with Ambassador Zahedi. The U.S. dispatched deputy NATO commander General Robert Huyser to Iran as a liaison to the Iranian generals and supposedly counseled them to stand behind Bakhtiar. But the administration's real intentions were questioned by a CBS correspondent's report that the White House feared "leftist radicals would soon dominate a religious government" and that "the Carter Administration currently favors a military takeover in Iran.... "

Sygma

Ayatollah Khomeini

At the very least the U.S. is trying to hedge its bets on Bakhtiar and to keep up its ties to the general staff. U.S. imperialism's attitude toward Khomeini remains hostile. Although Khomeini has stated his willingness to continue to sell oil to the U.S., he has refused to accept the presence of American military bases or personnel on Iranian soil.

For their part Khomeini and Sanjabi have redoubled their appeals to the military hierarchy. Sanjabi made his pitch to the officer corps by vowing, "We in the National Front want to maintain the Army, we need a strong Army, and we don't want to do anything to discourage the Army.... We have never called for desertions or tried to create indiscipline" (London *Guardian*, 13 December). Khomeini stressed in a CBS interview aired January 14 that:

> "It is not to say that in the army everyone is for the shah, supporting the shah. A great part of the army also has relation with the nation and will act accordingly. At the moment it is the foreign hand within the army which forces the army to act like that, otherwise they would also be acting according to our national interest ... I don't think the army will be loyal to the shah or to wish to follow some traitor."

The example of Pakistan, where a mullah-led Islamic opposition brought down the dictatorship of Ali Bhutto only to bring to power the equally reactionary Muslim fanatic General Zia shows the danger for Iran of a bloc between Muslim reaction and a military strongman. In Pakistan today none of the democratic aspirations of the masses have been satisfied instead the army rigorously enforces the mullahs' barbaric Islamic judicial code with all its medieval cruelty and savagery and suppresses the trade unions and student protests.

People's Justice, Not the "Just Rule of Islam"

The Iranian masses have forcefully demonstrated their bitter hatred for the shah's terrorist rule by targeting its most feared instrument—SAVAK. The names, addresses and phone numbers of its agents are being posted on city walls and the houses of SAVAK officers burned and bombed. SAVAK agents have been lynched in Meshed, and in Shiraz the secret police headquarters were sacked and burned to the ground and four SAVAK men beaten to death by a crowd. Suspected agents are now placing ads in the Teheran newspapers protesting their innocence.

However, populist outrage against American backing of the shah and the Iranian ruling class' luxurious corruption is heavily marked by religious prejudices. It is not only SAVAK buildings which have been burned but also "immoral" movie theaters, bars and restaurants serving liquor, and banks which charge interest on loans in violation of Islamic law. In Shiraz demonstrators attacked the house of a member of the Bahai sect, charging that all Bahais support the shah (in reality Bahais have long been targeted for their heretical deviation from Shi'ite Islam). In Qarchak near Teheran two Afghani workers accused of theft were hanged from lamp posts by zealous Muslims who exceeded the Koranic penalty of amputating a thief's hand!

The universal hatred for the shah's dictatorship has, in the absence of a genuine and broadly based working-class leadership, been given a political ideology and leadership by the reactionary Shi'ite mullahs. But the mullahs' program for the establishment of an Islamic state will do nothing to attack the underlying causes of the oppression and exploitation of the Iranian workers and peasants and does not even represent a democratic alternative to the Pahlavi dictatorship. The mullahs' opposition to the shah dates only from the point at which the shah, in a largely cosmetic "modernization" drive, gave women the vote and launched a token land reform program.

In his writings and speeches, as well as through the actions of his followers, Ayatollah Khomeini, the undisputed leader of the Islamic opposition, has made the policies of his proposed Islamic republic perfectly clear. Under such a reactionary theocratic dictatorship the law of the Koran, in all its medieval barbarity, would become the law of the land. Theft would be punished by amputation, and fornication by stoning.

The legal enslavement of women would be reinforced. The *chador*, the Persian version of the Muslim woman's veil, would be mandatory. The *chador* is more like a straitjacket than a "veil." It covers a woman's body from head to toe and, because it lacks buttons or hooks, must be held closed at all times by gripping it tightly at the neck or holding it clenched in the teeth! But Abdul-Reza Hejazi, a prominent mullah in Teheran, provides a breath of "liberalism": a woman need not wear the *chador*. "She just has to be dressed so that all the ups and downs of her body cannot be discerned" (*Time*, 25 December).

A Spartacist League Forum

For Workers Revolution in Iran!
Down with the Shah!
Down with the Mullahs!

Saturday, January 20, 1979, at 7:30 p.m., in Altschul Hall, Lehman Auditorium, Barnard College (116th and Broadway) $1 donation

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NEW YORK CITY

The rights of minority religions will also come under attack in Khomeini's Islamic state. Although he protests that tolerance will be greater than under the shah, his published lectures are filled with attacks on Jews, as well as calls for banning women from the workplace and for absolute religious rule. When challenged on this by CBS interviewers, Khomeini simply asserted that such statements could not be found in his books, but did not deny the authenticity of the published lectures attributed to him!

Khomeini's appetite to suppress the left has been made clear time and again. He has promised that "After the Shah leaves, the press will be free except for those articles which would be harmful to the nation" (*New York Times*, 11 January). During his CBS "Face the Nation" interview, Khomeini indicated that under Islamic rule parties "working for the domination of foreign powers" would be banned. Of course it is not only the pro-Moscow Stalinists, but all those who put the class struggle above "national unity" who would be threatened with imprisonment or execution under such a regime.

For Proletarian Revolution in Iran!

The plebeian masses' concern for swift and sure justice against the shah's henchmen provides a wedge with which communist revolutionaries can split them from their religious leaders. The mullahs and the National Front have denounced the attacks on SAVAK agents and offices. Ayatollah Taleghani, linked to the Front, proposed taking the trial of suspected SAVAK agents out of the hands of the people by bringing them before "Islamic tribunals." Khomeini himself issued a message condemning the masses' actions and warned against "trying to create a panic which might justify a military coup" (*Washington Post*, 12 January).

Thus the mullahs correctly see the popular mobilizations against SAVAK as counterposed to building up their jurisdiction and keeping up good relations with the officer corps. People's tribunals to punish the SAVAK torturers could be the beginning of revolutionary dual power, directed against both the religious hierarchy and officer corps. No interference, by the mullahs or soldiers, in popular vengeance against SAVAK criminals!

The fight for such democratic measures as the abolition of SAVAK, the ending of martial law and the establishment of a sovereign, secular constituent assembly in Iran must be combined with a strategy for workers revolution. The revolutionary proletariat must establish itself as the tribune of all the oppressed, for only when it takes power can such democratic goals as the right of self-determination for Iran's national minorities, land to the tiller, full equality for women and national emancipation be achieved.

The international Spartacist tendency has stood alone on the left in opposing both the shah's savage dictatorship and the right-wing religious opposition of the Islamic clergy. That our position is the genuine communist one has lately been recognized from an unexpected source. In a recent BBC interview one of Khomeini's aides, Ibrahim Yazdi, stated that the communists call for: "Down with the mullahs! Down with the shah!" But in fact the main so-called "communist" tendencies—the pro-Moscow Tudeh, Maoists and Pabloite "Trotskyists"—are all tailing the Islamic opposition. With the keen class instinct that reactionaries sometimes possess, Khomeini's spokesman understands that real communism does mean "Down with the mullahs" as well as the shah. A central task of an Iranian Trotskyist vanguard party, future section of a reforged Fourth International, is to combat all forms of bourgeois domination over the workers and peasants, not least Islamic fundamentalism ■

Don't Deport Marroquín!

"Your application for political asylum is...denied," wrote the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in a December 21 letter to Héctor Marroquín Manriquez. Fighting to remain in the U.S., Marroquin, a member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), faces deportation hearings in Texas set for January 17. If asylum is denied, Marroquin will be returned to his native Mexico where he has been sought on a 1974 frame-up murder charge. The left and labor movement must protest these deportation proceedings and demand that Marroquin be granted political asylum. Deportation could mean imprisonment, torture or even death by "disappearance"—a too-common fate of left-wing militants in Mexico.

In September 1978 the Mexican government decreed an amnesty for certain political prisoners and exiles, among whom was listed Héctor Marroquín. The State Department has used this "Amnesty Law" to alibi the López Portillo government, which the U.S. is currently flattering, in hopes of getting Mexican approval for an INS plan to erect a barbed-wire "Cactus Curtain" along the border in order to cut down on illegal immigration. The U.S. now claims that "fair public trials" in Mexico are the "norm" and echos the official lie that there are "no political prisoners" in Mexican jails.

Young Socialist

Héctor Marroquín

However, a recent report issued by the Commission of Inquiry to Mexico (jointly sponsored by the International League for Human Rights, the Fédération Internationale des Droits de l'Homme and PAX ROMANA) has exposed some of the brutal truth behind the lying decrees and "human rights" rhetoric. The report states that Mexico is second only to Argentina in the number of "disappeared" persons, many of whom were released by the amnesty and some of whom are known to have been subsequently killed. Proof was also provided to show that prisoners are held without trial or sentencing, tortured, forced to sign blank or prepared confessions. The existence of the *Brigada Blanca* (White Brigade), a clandestine terror police group, is also confirmed by this report.

Marroquin's defense is being conducted by the SWP-sponsored United States Committee on Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). A wide spectrum of left, labor and civil liberties groups has joined in protesting the U.S. government's refusal to grant asylum to this Mexican socialist militant. Deportation would be a threat to Marroquin's life, an attack on the left and a whitewash of the brutal policies of the Mexican government. Three other student activists framed up on the same charges as Marroquin have already tasted Mexican "justice": two were gunned down in the streets of Monterrey by right-wing death squads while the other was arrested and "disappeared." Marroquin must not share their fate!

Political asylum now for Héctor Marroquin! Free all left-wing prisoners in Mexico!

* * * * *

Leunel Castillo, Director
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Washington, D.C. 20536

We protest your refusal to grant asylum for Héctor Marroquin. For the U.S. government "human rights" means open borders for mass murderers like the shah, counterrevolutionary Cuban terrorists, and South Vietnamese generals. But the borders are closed to the victims of right-wing repression.

Your continued refusal to grant him asylum threatens Héctor Marroquin with the common fate of too many other left-wing militants in Mexico—imprisonment, turture or death by "disappearance." Héctor Marroquin must not be deported!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99 Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

Cambodia...

(continued from page 12)

plead its cause before the United Nations. But hardly were the words out of his mouth than the flamboyant, unstable "Comrade" Prince began denouncing violations of "human rights" in Democratic Kampuchea. Asked about his long-standing relationship with Peking, he replied:

> "Mao Tse-tung used to tell me that I was an adorable prince and that I should convert to Communism. But for me, Communism is like mathematics, physics and chemistry—I don't understand a thing about it."

Then, remembering why he had been released, the prince quickly added that his three-year Phnom Penh house arrest had come complete with air-conditioner and swimming pool, and that

> "The people were not unhappy. They smiled. On their lips were songs, revolutionary songs. I prefer love songs. I was a crooner and composed love songs, but revolutionary songs are not bad."
>
> —*New York Times*, 9 January

With the blasé fatalism of irrelevance, Sihanouk has not lost a sense of realism. "If the Cambodians feel themselves happier under the Vietnamese than with Pol Pot," he said, "even the most massive Chinese aid will not bring Pol Pot back." Some of his remarks may have sounded risqué to his hosts, but they did not worry. They keep him in reserve precisely in order to present a favorable image to the West when necessary. No doubt Sihanouk's Peking antics were also an attempt on China's part to dissociate itself from the Pol Pot regime.

From China, Sihanouk went on to New York and a United Nations debate on the Cambodian situation. Here he titillated the slick representatives of the mass-murdering imperialist regimes by getting into a verbal slugging match with the Cuban delegate, Dr. Raúl Roa. To Roa's charges that he was an "opera prince," Sihanouk retorted that Fidel Castro was an "opera premier, always dressed in that silly military uniform." But within a few days, the entertainment value of such sparring had worn off. At press time, it was reported that the prince had checked into a hospital suffering from acute exhaustion, thus depriving his fan club of any more thrills. No doubt "*Sandech*" Sihanouk will soon be off to a lengthy reeuperation at his Mediterranean villa near Nice, while the UN, for its part, is not expected to do anything in particular about Cambodia.

SWP Supports Vietnamese Invasion

Strangely enough, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has come out in support of the Vietnamese invasion, on the grounds that Pol Pot's Cambodia represented simply a "tyranny" and for Hanoi the invasion represented "the military defense of the workers state against this parasitic caste feeds on." The 19 January *Militant* article by Fred Feldman, "Behind the Fall of Pol Pot," at one point refers to Democratic Kampuchea vaguely as an "agrarian regime," while elsewhere the article characterizes it as "bizarre authoritarianism based on the labor of a militarized peasantry." But while the SWP apparently can't figure out just what the class nature of Pol Pot's Kampuchea was, it has concluded that there is a class difference between the Cambodian and Vietnamese Stalinist regimes and is now portraying the invasion as a "defensive" expansion of the "bureaucratized" Vietnamese workers state.

UPI

Women soldiers of FUNSK celebrate after taking Phnom Penh.

According to the SWP's clock South Vietnam itself only just became a workers state (or region?—it was already part of the "Socialist Repuhlic of Vietnam") last year, when private business was nationalized. This curious position derives partially from the SWP's theoretical quirk whereby it claims that nothing can be a workers state until the means of production have been nationalized (thereby denying that Russia was a dictatorship of the proletariat until late 1918, even though the Bolsheviks were in power). More importantly, its claim that South Vietnam was still capitalist after the victory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam/National Liberation Front (DRV/NLF) in 1975 is part and parcel of the SWP's classless policy during the Vietnam war. By denying there was a civil war going on at all and claiming that the only question was self-determination, the SWP justified its call only for "U.S. Troops Out," while refusing to take sides in the vast social revolution raging throughout Indochina.

For years the Vietnamese and Cambodian Stalinists sought to make a coalition government with sections of the bourgeoisie. But when the Vietnamese army finally drove the puppets of U.S. imperialism out of Indochina, the Stalinists subsequently held power alone, not in alliance with any bourgeois force. To defend their rule they would be forced to expropriate the capitalist class; in Saigon, it simply took them three years to get around to it. But while in reference to Vietnam the SWP's position is merely a curiosity, when applied to Cambodia it takes on bizarre implications. Here, the Khmer Rouge immediately collectivized everything in sight. The expropriation of all property-owning classes was so extreme that even currency was abolished. This forced the SWP into the ridiculous position of arguing that a capitalist economy (unless it wants to argue that Pol Pot took Cambodia back to feudalism) can exist without money, and while being ruled by a Stalinist party!

If there is any serious content to the SWP's murky characterization of Cambodia, it would be to liken it to something on the order of a Mozambique run amok, with its collectivized villages and its "Comrade President" bombastically proclaiming the "dictatorship of the proletariat." But this simply emphasizes what is different in the two cases. In Cambodia both Pol Pot and his successors in the Vietnamese-sponsored FUNSK have been trained for years in the Stalinist movement. Secondly, they did not merely expel a foreign colonial power, but drove out their own domestic bourgeoisie. And while the African petty-bourgeois nationalists use their state power to foster a new exploiting class and in the process to line their own pockets, when the Khmer Rouge took power it could do nothing else but abolish private enterprise as a threat to its rule.

For a Soviet Federation of Indochina

After Pol Pot had been routed, Hanoi announced that the three countries of Indochina—Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia—could henceforth build a "common destiny" (*Le Monde*, 10 January). And on Phnom Penh radio FUNSK communiqués, after warning Peking against foreign intervention in Cambodia's affairs (!) and attacking U.S./Chinese "hegemonism and expansionism," went on to promise the restoration of the traditional "solidarity and friendship" between the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia! In the mouths of the Hanoi bureaucrats and their protégés in the FUNSK, such statements have a cynical quality.

A *genuine* soviet federation of Indochina, in which Vietnam would necessarily play a leading role, would be a considerable advance. But enduring solidarity between the Khmer and Vietnamese peoples cannot be achieved on the bayonets of the occupying Vietnamese army or with a puppet government installed in Phnom Penh. It can be established only through the ousting of the Stalinist parasitic caste in Hanoi and Phnom Penh. For proletarian political revolution in Vietnam and Cambodia, led by a Trotskyist party of Indochina! ■

PART ONE OF TWO

Spartacist Spectre H

FOR
POLITICAL
IN

A little bit less than two decades after the Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd, Joseph Stalin issued a new constitution of the USSR proclaiming that classes had been abolished among the Soviet people and the revolution entered the stage of socialism. This bombastic claim was belied by the overwhelming poverty of the collective farms, the huge military expenditures made necessary by capitalist encirclement, the tremendous disparity between the living standards of the working people and the new elite of the "Soviet" bureaucracy. Yet with its tremendous resources, geographical isolation and a worldwide propaganda apparatus at disposal, the Kremlin rulers were able to convince millions of the Stalinist myth of "socialism in one country."

But 20 years after the Cuban Revolution no one would believe that "socialism on one island" could exist in the middle of that American lake called the Caribbean, with Guantánamo Naval Base at its back door and the nest of gusano bombers and assassins in Miami staring at it across a mere 90 miles of the Florida Strait. The very fact that Fidel and Raúl Castro had to make the U.S.-imposed economic, political and military blockade the theme of their anniversary speeches is proof enough. Still living under siege conditions, perhaps more than any other of the countries which have overthrown capitalist rule since World War II, the fate of Cuba is inseparably bound up with the question of international revolution.

Even though the Cuban leaders no longer talk of continental guerrilla war in Latin America, the "Cuban question" is still fought out on battlefields as far away as Angola and Ethiopia. But things have changed somewhat, as the guerrillas in olive drab are no longer talking of creating "two, three, many Vietnams" and are now supporting capitalist governments. Moreover, Havana's foreign policy has for some years worked closely in tandem with the détente policies of the Soviet bureaucracy. And the regimes that Castro supports have brutally suppressed leftist students and wars of national liberation by oppressed peoples. Even though neanderthal elements in the Pentagon still talk of Cuban forces as "international bandits" for their role in Angola, many leftists have begun to ask serious questions about the Castro regime.

If Cuban policy is an example of proletarian internationalism, then why does it aid Mengistu's Derg in Ethiopia, which slaughters the Guevarist student leftists of the EPRP and rains bombs on the Eritrean independence fighters who only a few years ago received military aid from Havana? The Cuban role (with essential Soviet back-up) in beating back the South Africa/CIA imperialist invasion in Angola in 1975-76 was decisive, but why does Havana now aid in building up Neto's secret police, who repress popular discontent in the Luanda slums? Why does Castro hobnob with military dictators like Torrijos in Panama, who is beholden to the New York banks and Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" campaign?

No cult of the personality in Cuba? Black Star

The course of the Cuban Revolution: Posters of Brezhn

And more. If in 1972 Castro praised Allende's "peaceful road" in Chile, which then led to a bloodbath of disastrous scope, did this represent a new policy for Cuba? What about the praise for the Peruvian junta as "anti-imperialist"—the same junta which murdered striking miners and peasants "invading" their ancestral lands? If this represented a turn, then when did it occur and why? But then there was Castro's support to the Goulart government in Brazil, to Araujo in Ecuador, Jagan in Guyana, etc. If there is no fundamental shift in Cuban policies, then what does that imply about the nature of the Castro regime?

These questions are hardly abstract—they have tormented a whole generation of Latin American youth, many of whom went into the hills in the early and mid-1960's, only to straggle back in defeat and confusion. Some of those who have since become the most critical of Castro's Cuba are precisely those who themselves experienced the bankruptcy of Guevara's guerrilla war strategy, watching their own comrades die in hopelessly unequal battle, and then stood by helplessly as the supplies from Havana dried up. This was the case of Venezuelan FALN leader Douglas Bravo, who in 1970 denounced Castro's submission to Soviet détente policies. The significance of this reexamination of Cuba is tremendous, for in Latin America the Castroite generation is the equivalent of the New Left in the United States or the generation of '68 in France.

The course of Cuban foreign policy has been treated extensively in two previous articles, "Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente" (*WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977) and "Castro Exports Stalinist Betrayal" (*WV* No. 219, 17 November 1978). However, the questions raised by this investigation go straight to the fundamental issue of the class character of the Castro regime. This was a subject of great debate in the Trotskyist movement in the early 1960's, for the Cuban Revolution posed problems which had not previously been faced head-on by Marxists. The question of questions was whether petty-bourgeois-led, peasant-based guerrilla movements could replace the Leninist party of the working class as a revolutionary vanguard.

In the flush of enthusiasm for Castroism that swept through the left, most of those groups laying claim to the Trotskyist heritage and program put in with the Cuban regime. True, the revolution wasn't led by a Leninist party, they admitted, but it is the first revolution since October which has "bypassed the obstacle of Stalinism." Perhaps there were no soviets, but didn't Castro mix with the people, hold mass rallies to mobilize the workers for revolutionary struggle? It was on the basis of political capitulation to Castroism that the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) was formed in 1963. And on this basis also that their Latin American activities, notably the USec's guerrilla war orientation, were directed until the mid-1970's.

There were other responses to the theoretical/programmatic challenge posed by the Cuban Revolution: some closed their eyes and denied that capitalism had been overthrown; others sought to hide behind an amorphous conception of workers and peasants governments that were neither capitalist nor proletarian in their class character. But the only response which upheld the fundamental principles of the Trotskyist movement while giving a Marxist explanation of the development of the Castroite movement was that put forward by the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States. The RT and its successor, the international Spartacist tendency, have been *unique* among ostensible Trotskyists in consistently maintaining that Cuba had become a bureaucratically *deformed workers state* in the fall-winter of 1960, and that further progress toward socialism required a *political revolution* to establish soviet organs of workers democracy.

The various theories of the Cuban Revolution have now been submitted to the test of time. Many of those who during the "heroic" period of Castro/Guevarist guerrillaism held that Cuba was a healthy workers state with a revolutionary leadership have become "sadder and wiser"...and often bitter. In renouncing their previous guerrillaist positions, the centrist majority of the USec led by Ernest Mandel reached the conclusion that Cuba is today a "bureaucratized workers state," although they do not mention political revolution. The reformist minority of the USec led by the SWP continues to hold that the Cuban regime has not qualitatively degenerated. Still others, formerly associated with the SWP-led faction, have recently advocated a deformed workers state characterization of Cuba, but as a move to the *right*, in order to have a consistently Stalinophobic position.

The Spartacist program is the only one that has proved to be consistently correct in its analysis of the Cuban regime and revolutionary in its conclusions over the course of the past two decades. The core of this position is set forward in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory." However, as various tendencies seek to grapple with the contradictions of their policies it is worthwhile contrasting their analyses with the realities of the Cuban regime as it has subsequently developed.

Militant

Joseph Hansen

Spartacist Spectre Haunts USec Debate on Castroism

FOR WORKERS POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA!

No cult of the personality in Cuba? Black Star

The course of the Cuban Revolution: Posters of Brezhnev and Che in the Plaza de la Revolución. Prensa Latina

in building up Neto's secret police, who repress popular discontent in the Luanda slums? Why does Castro hobnob with military dictators like Torrijos in Panama, who is beholden to the New York banks and Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" campaign?

And more. If in 1972 Castro praised Allende's "peaceful road" in Chile, which then led to a bloodbath of disastrous scope, did this represent a new policy for Cuba? What about the praise for the Peruvian junta as "anti-imperialist" the same junta which murdered striking miners and peasants "invading" their ancestral lands? If this represented a turn, then when did it occur and why? But then there was Castro's support to the Goulart government in Brazil, to Araujo in Ecuador, Jagan in Guyana, etc. If there is no fundamental shift in Cuban policies, then what does that imply about the nature of the Castro regime?

These questions are hardly abstract—they have tormented a whole generation of Latin American youth, many of whom went into the hills in the early and mid-1960's, only to straggle back in defeat and confusion. Some of those who have since become the most critical of Castro's Cuba are precisely those who themselves experienced the bankruptcy of Guevara's guerrilla war strategy, watching their own comrades die in hopelessly unequal battle, and then stood by helplessly as the supplies from Havana dried up. This was the case of Venezuelan FALN leader Douglas Bravo, who in 1970 denounced Castro's submission to Soviet détente policies. The significance of this reexamination of Cuba is tremendous, for in Latin America the Castroite generation is the equivalent of the New Left in the United States or the generation of '68 in France.

The course of Cuban foreign policy has been treated extensively in two previous articles, "Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente" (*WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977) and "Castro Exports Stalinist Betrayal" (*WV* No. 219, 17 November 1978). However, the questions raised by this investigation go straight to the fundamental issue of the class character of the Castro regime. This was a subject of great debate in the Trotskyist movement in the early 1960's, for the Cuban Revolution posed problems which had not previously been faced head-on by Marxists. The question of questions was whether petty-bourgeois-led, peasant-based guerrilla movements could replace the Leninist party of the working class as a revolutionary vanguard.

In the flush of enthusiasm for Castroism that swept through the left, most of those groups laying claim to the Trotskyist heritage and program put in with the Cuban regime. True, the revolution wasn't led by a Leninist party, they admitted, but it is the first revolution since October which has "bypassed the obstacle of Stalinism." Perhaps there were no soviets, but didn't Castro mix with the people, hold mass rallies to mobilize the workers for revolutionary struggle? It was on the basis of political capitulation to Castroism that the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) was formed in 1963. And on this basis also that their Latin American activities, notably the USec's guerrilla war orientation, were directed until the mid-1970's.

There were other responses to the theoretical/programmatic challenge posed by the Cuban Revolution: some closed their eyes and denied that capitalism had been overthrown; others sought to hide behind an amorphous conception of workers and peasants governments that were neither capitalist nor proletarian in their class character. But the only response which upheld the fundamental principles of the Trotskyist movement while giving a Marxist explanation of the development of the Castroite movement was that put forward by the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States. The RT and its successor, the international Spartacist tendency, have been *unique* among ostensible Trotskyists in consistently maintaining that Cuba had become a bureaucratically *deformed workers state* in the fall-winter of 1960, and that further progress toward socialism required a *political revolution* to establish soviet organs of workers democracy.

The various theories of the Cuban Revolution have now been submitted to the test of time. Many of those who during the "heroic" period of Castro/Guevarist guerrillaism held that Cuba was a healthy workers state with a revolutionary leadership have become "sadder and wiser"...and often bitter. In renouncing their previous guerrillaist positions, the centrist majority of the USec led by Ernest Mandel reached the conclusion that Cuba is today a "bureaucratized workers state," although they do not mention political revolution. The reformist minority of the USec led by the SWP continues to hold that the Cuban regime has not qualitatively degenerated. Still others, formerly associated with the SWP-led faction, have recently advocated a deformed workers state characterization of Cuba, but as a move to the *right*, in order to have a consistently Stalinophobic position.

The Spartacist program is the only one that has proved to be consistently correct in its analysis of the Cuban regime and revolutionary in its conclusions over the course of the past two decades. The core of this position is set forward in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory." However, as various tendencies seek to grapple with the contradictions of their policies it is worthwhile contrasting their analyses with the realities of the Cuban regime as it has subsequently developed.

This is the purpose of the present article in two parts, the first dealing with the SWP and the second dealing with those groups which have adopted a critical posture toward Castroism.

The conclusion of both sections is that it is impossible to grasp the nature of the Cuban Revolution without confronting the Spartacist analysis. And this analysis/program in turn provides a key for unlocking many of the key theoretical problems posed by the appearance of a series of deformed workers states in Europe and Asia following World War II.

"Trotskyist" Fidelistas

Among those who claim to stand in the tradition of Trotskyism, the most enthusiastic supporters of the Castroite regime in Cuba are unquestionably the leaders of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Soon after the Rebel Army marched into Havana the SWP jumped with all fours on the bandwagon. As the Cuban Revolution moved to the left under the blows of American imperialism the *Militant* began effusively praising "Fidel" as a revolutionary of epic stature. By 1961-62 the party was totally immersed in its defense (not only military but also political) of the Castro regime: the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was far and away the major SWP activity; every issue of the paper had an article on Cuba (sometimes two or three); translations of speeches by Castro and "Che" Guevara were distributed by the thousands.

The SWP leaders made no bones about what they were doing. When a minority in the party objected to the blatant political support being offered to Castroism, Joseph Hansen summarized the official position as being "to accept the Cuban revolution as it is, plunge in fully and completely, attempt to form relations with the revolutionaries and cement those relations if possible." Against attacks from old-line Cuban Stalinists he replied that "The mainstream of world Trotskyism...could with some justification even be called 'Fidelista'." Not only that, these "Trotskyist Fidelistas" believed their attentions were being returned. The founding document of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) stated dramatically:

> "As I.F. Stone, the acute American radical journalist observed after a trip to Cuba, the revolutionists there are 'unconscious' Trotskyists. With the coming of full consciousness among these and related currents, Trotskyism will become a powerful current."
> —"Dynamics of World Revolution Today" (1963)

After years spent crossing the desert, latching onto Castroism would finally put them on the road to power.

Che Guevara: The USec's archetypal romantic "unconscious Trotskyist." In power he was a Stalinist persecutor of the conscious Trotskyists.

However, there was a price to pay. For the SWP, the Cuban Revolution marked the turning point at which it abandoned the Trotskyist program and commenced a rapid slide into reformism. As usual in such cases, opportunist appetite preceded full-blown theoretical revision. But as Hansen and the central SWP leadership steered onto this rightist course they faced the difficult problem of coming up with a justification for Castroism using their accustomed Marxist terminology. In the process they had to turn the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution on its head and do considerable violence to the history of the Cuban Revolution besides.

Many of the SWP's distortions and anti-Marxist apologies for Castro have recently been collected in a volume of essays and documents by Hansen, entitled *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* (1978). These focus on the key question of revolutionary leadership. Where was the Leninist vanguard party which Trotskyists hold is necessary to lead the socialist revolution? Fidel Castro's July 26th Movement was not even part of the workers movement, and Castro himself had been a parliamentary candidate on the slate of the bourgeois Ortodoxo Party in 1952. His program from the time of the attack on the Moncada barracks up through the early months of the Revolutionary Government included nothing more radical than return to the 1940 constitution. Did this mean that petty-bourgeois populists could replace the communist vanguard?

Well, Castro did successfully lead a revolution, and that was enough to convince the SWP. *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* is chock full of paeans to the "Cuban revolutionary leadership." Even before the decisive nationalizations of October 1960, Joseph Hansen was effusively praising the "Castro team" and declaring that they would overthrow capitalism:

> "To finally break the hypnosis of Stalinism, it became necessary to crawl on all fours through the jungles of the Sierra Maestra.
> "Men and women capable of that, will prove capable, we think, of transcending the bourgeois limits set at the beginning of the Cuban revolution."
> —"Ideology of the Cuban Revolution" (1960)

And in his first document, "The Character of the New Cuban Government," written in July 1960, Hansen termed the Castro regime a "workers' and farmers' government of the kind defined in our Transitional Program as 'a government independent of the bourgeoisie'."

Elsewhere in the volume, the SWP's leading theorist admits to using the term in a very different sense from that of the Communist International: "...they also called the dictatorship of the proletariat a workers' and farmers' government," he notes. Moreover, "The Communist delegates in 1922 could not visualize such a change without the helpful presence of a genuine revolutionary socialist party such as the Russian workers had in the Bolsheviks. A key question requiring our attention, therefore, is the absence of this factor in Cuba" ("Theory of the Cuban Revolution"). Thus Hansen had already concluded, based on the Cuban experience, that it was no longer necessary to have a Leninist party to lead the socialist revolution.

On what did the SWP leadership base its confidence that the "revolutionary process" would give birth to a workers state? On the Castro regime's "tendency to respond to popular pressures for action against the bourgeoisie and their agents, and its capacity...to undertake measures against bourgeois political power and against bourgeois property relations." And what gave it this tendency and capacity? Why the "dynamic rather than static character of the Castro leadership," of course. Poor Bolsheviks! They thought it was necessary to build a communist party, steeled in combat for the Leninist program; and to form soviets, as revolutionary organs of workers democracy. Unnecessary, says Hansen. All they would have had to do was bring in the populist Narodniki on the basis of a peasant uprising and the problem would be solved.

But this idyllic picture completely distorts the actual record of the early years of Castro's rule. While the Rebel Army had destroyed Batista's private police and praetorian guard army, this did not impart a "socialist dynamic" to the Cuban Revolution. And, in fact, the first Revolutionary Government headed by the judge Urrutia and the lawyer Miró Cardona was simply pledged to clean government and social justice. It would be too simplistic to argue, as did some liberal circles in the 1960's, that Cuba "went Communist" solely due to U.S. hostility and the economic blockade. However, it is a fact that during his first six months in power, Castro carefully avoided any move which would necessarily have produced a split with Cuban liberals or with Washington.

The first measures of the Urrutia-Miró Cardona cabinet were to outlaw gambling, suppress prostitution and seize the holdings of Batista and his henchmen: nothing out of the ordinary for a bourgeois reform government dedicated to cleaning up the "bordello of the Americas." In March Castro cut rents by 50 percent for the poor and lower middle class: although it sent shudders through the landlords, this measure had been part of the Ortodoxo program since the late 1940's. Even Castro's May 17 land reform corresponded to this political framework. In line with the 1940 constitution, the law called for a maximum landholding of 1,000 acres (while allowing the most efficient plantations and ranches more than triple that amount). These limits far exceeded those in almost any of the bourgeois land reforms of the 20th century.

At this point, nothing the government had done went beyond measures advocated by various middle-class populists in the short-lived cabinet of Grau San Martin following the fall of the Machado dictatorship in 1933. Grau, however, had been overthrown a few months later by Sergeant Fulgencio Batista with the connivance of U.S. ambassador Sumner Wells. Two decades later in Guatemala, President Jacobo Arbenz suffered the same fate at the hands of the CIA. Castro and Guevara (who had personally experienced the Guatemalan coup of 1954) were not about to let this happen to them without a fight.

There followed a process of blow and

Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

counterblow in which the Cuban leaders responded to each imperialist attack with increasingly radical measures. In the cabinet crisis of June 1959 Castro booted out opponents of the agrarian reform within the July 26th Movement. A month later President Urrutia was ousted for joining in the anti-Communist uproar sparked by defecting air force commander Diaz Lanz. This pattern was repeated throughout 1960. When Eisenhower asked Congress in January for authorization to cut the Cuban sugar quota, a few days later Castro signed an agreement with Soviet deputy prime minister Mikoyan for the USSR to purchase one million tons of sugar yearly from Cuba. When in June imperialist-owned oil refineries refused to handle Russian crude, they were "intervened" by Cuban authorities. Eisenhower thereupon eliminated the sugar quota, and Castro responded on August 6 by nationalizing U.S.-owned properties in Cuba: 36 sugar mills, three oil companies, the power company and the telephone company.

The process of retaliation by nationalization reached its crescendo in the fall of that year. Faced with the escalating imperialist offensive, the Cuban government struck a decisive blow against the economic base of domestic reaction; on October 13 it nationalized all banks and 382 businesses, amounting to 80 percent of the country's industry. When the U.S. slapped an embargo on trade with Cuba, Havana responded by expropriating all remaining American properties in the country. To complete the cycle, it was on 16 April 1961 that Castro baptized the Cuban Revolution as "socialist," during his speech mobilizing the working people to fight against the U.S.-sponsored invasion at Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs).

Was this merely the unfolding of a dynamic inherent in the Cuban Revolution from the beginning? Joseph Hansen says yes, discerning a socialist tendency and capacity of the Castro regime and labeling it a workers and peasants government. And capitalism was overthrown in Cuba, so why argue with success? But this whole objectivist

AFP

Raul Castro: head of the armed forces.

schema leaves out several radically different possible outcomes. The Castro brothers and Guevara might have been defeated by the right wing of the July 26th Movement (regional army commander Hubert Matos, trade-union chief David Salvador), for example. Or there might have been a stand-off between the left and right wings, with Castro acting as the supreme arbiter (as he did during the early months). This situation could have led to a successful counterrevolutionary coup or invasion.

On the other hand, there were conciliationist elements in the U.S. ruling class (e.g., Ambassador Bonsal) who under different circumstances might have held the upper hand. In order to keep Cuba in a neocolonial position (which it could do easily enough through control of the sugar quota), Washington could have accepted the agrarian reform and even subsidized some of the nationalizations. The latter option was precisely the course taken by de Gaulle in Algeria, through the 1962 Evian Accords. Interestingly, the SWP and the USec also called the Ben Bella government in Algeria (1962-65) a workers and peasants government. When challenged later to explain why it was so easily overthrown by Boumediene's palace coup, Hansen replied lamely, "Ben Bella was no Fidel Castro, Houari Boumediene no Che Guevara" ("The Algerian Revolution and the Character of the Ben Bella Regime," in SWP Education for Socialists bulletin, *The Workers and Farmers Government*).

In other words, "You win a few and you lose a few." In contrast to this passive guesswork, those in the SWP who rejected the capitulation to Castroism by the party leadership upheld the original Bolshevik program of a workers and peasants government based on soviets led by a vanguard Leninist party. The Revolutionary Tendency (RT), the opposition which was later expelled from the SWP and subsequently became the Spartacist League/U.S., ridiculed Hansen's "queer animal—a 'workers' and farmers' government' in which there are no workers or farmers and no representatives of independent workers' or farmers' parties! Surely neither the Fourth Congress of the CI nor the Transitional Program envisaged such a phenomenon" ("The Cuban Revolution and Marxist Theory," *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8).

SWP Apologizes for Stalinist Repression in Cuba

While posing as the "best builders" of Castroism, the SWP does not fail to make a few "comradely criticisms." In a *Militant* interview (22 December), Hansen claims that from the beginning they had argued for the "development of structured workers democracy" in Cuba. Actually, during the early 1960's the SWP leadership hardly ever mentioned the subject of workers democracy in Cuba publicly, and then only as helpful hints to Castro. Instead of a Trotskyist critique of the untrammeled one-man rule, Hansen & Co. tried to pass it off as democratic, even going so far as to excuse Stalinist repression against Cuban Trotskyists.

In the "Draft Theses on the Cuban Revolution" (December 1960), where the SWP majority first declared that Cuba was a workers state, it used the following characterization of the Castro regime:

> "10. When the capitalist holdings in the key sectors of Cuban economy were taken over by the government, Cuba entered the transitional phase of a workers' state, although one lacking as yet the forms of democratic proletarian rule."

Lest anyone take this as a criticism, the theses immediately add that although there are no workers, soldiers and peasants councils, "as it [the Cuban government] has moved in a socialist direction it has likewise proved itself to be democratic in tendency." And to underline the SWP's political confidence in the Havana rulers:

> "13. If the Cuban revolution were permitted to develop freely its democratic tendency would undoubtedly lead to the early creation of proletarian democratic forms adapted to Cuba's own needs."

Well, it's been 18 years now, comrade Hansen, and the Cuban working people are still waiting.

Repeatedly in the early years of the Castro regime SWP leaders lauded it as revolutionary, "democratic and socialist in tendency," only occasionally mentioning the minor blemish that workers democracy had not yet been "formalized." Surely this was just a matter of loose ends—an oversight, perhaps—which could be tied up later. (They neglected to mention how you could have democracy that was *not* formalized.) Not only did Hansen and his associates view Cuba as "an uncorrupted workers regime," they publicly polemicized against those Trotskyists who termed it a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

The Summer 1961 issue of *International Socialist Review* printed an article on the Cuban Revolution by the Chilean Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), which argued:

> "In Cuba on the downfall of Batista, a workers government based on soviets—as in the Russia of 1917—was not inaugurated; instead a different process took place in which the capitalist state was liquidated without the establishment of workers organs of power or workers councils to administer the country's economy....
>
> "In view of these considerations, we believe that Cuba is a deformed workers state. A state that was born with deformations, fundamentally because of the absence of a revolutionary Marxist party."

The SWP tops scolded their Chilean comrades for such a gloomy outlook: "...we think that the use of 'deformed' to indicate the kind of workers state is not a happy choice." The *ISR* editors even pointedly *refuse* to call for soviets: "We are not inclined to specify the exact form which we think proletarian democracy should take in Cuba." While it is true that scattered references to the "lack (as yet)" of "forms of proletarian democracy" under Castro may be found in Hansen's recent book, it should be pointed out that most of his texts from the early 1960's were *internal* to the SWP. Externally the party made almost no criticisms of "Fidel": in 64 articles on Cuba published in the *Militant* during 1961, only one even mentions the question of workers democracy!

Even worse than remaining silent on this crucial question—above all for those who claim to be Trotskyists—the SWP leaders were forced by the logic of their positions to cover up and even make excuses for the most vicious Stalinist repression *directed against Cuban Trotskyists*. In late May 1961 the Havana government seized the newspaper *Voz Proletaria*, published by the Cuban POR (which was associated with the Latin American Bureau of J. Posadas), as well as destroying the type for an edition of Trotsky's book *The Permanent Revolution* and taking over the small print shop for allegedly publishing "counterrevolutionary propaganda." The response of the SWP was a "Balance Sheet" in which it gives the regime a clean bill of health ("The main tendency of the Castro leadership is democratic") and tells its followers to take it all in stride:

> "We think that defenders of the Cuban revolution could make no graver error than to lose their sense of proportion and give up the revolution as lost because the Cuban Communist Party leaders, with their propensity to abuse positions of trust, have been making undue headway."
>
> —*Militant*, 7/14 August 1961

This was no isolated incident but a consistent pattern by Hansen over the years. When Guevara later said in an interview that smashing the printing plates was "an error," our "Trotskyist" theoretician saw this as "fresh confirmation of our opinion that the top leaders of the Cuban Revolution are democratic in outlook...." He considered it unworthy of comment that Guevara immediately added:

> "However, we consider the Trotskyist party to be acting against the revolution. For example, they were taking the line that the revolutionary government is petty bourgeois, and were calling on the proletariat to exert pressure on the government, and even to carry out another revolution in which the proletariat would come to power. This was prejudicing the discipline necessary at this time....
>
> "You cannot be for the revolution and against the Cuban Communist Party [that is, the PSP]."
>
> —*Militant*, 9 April 1962

January 1, 1959: Liberated from Batista's jails, and armed.

Rather than protesting this outrageous accusation of counterrevolutionary activity and peremptory ban on criticism of the PSP, instead of demanding that the Trotskyist press be allowed to publish freely, Hansen distances himself from the POR ("In general, we have the impression that the Cuban Trotskyists have been overly critical") and opines:

> "...the fact that such opinions can be freely expressed testifies to the health of the Cuban Revolution and to the promise it holds for the expansion of workers democracy."

The incident and Guevara's "self-criticism" were certainly eloquent testimony, though hardly to the expansion of workers democracy. *Voz Proletaria* could only come out in mimeographed form, since its printer had been "intervened," and POR salesmen were regularly detained for distributing their newspaper. This finally resulted in the arrest of three leaders of the Cuban Trotskyists in November 1963 and their imprisonment for 17 months. The SWP did not say one word in their defense during this time, not even mentioning the case until several months after their release.

The Spartacist tendency was the first group outside of the Posadistas themselves to defend the Cuban Trotskyists and bring their case to world attention. Hansen and his colleagues remained silent, tried to pin the blame on old-line Kremlin supporters rather than the top Cuban leaders, and above all sought to get out of the line of fire. In response to Castro's violent diatribe against Trotskyism at the 1966 Tricontinental Congress, Hansen alleged it was most likely a case of "mistaken identity" and at worst a "belated echo" of Stalinist slanders, "the purpose of which remained completely obscure." Of course,

to those on the receiving end—particularly the Guatemalan MR-13 guerrillas, accused of being "agents of imperialism" because they called for socialist revolution—the purpose of this hatchet job was not at all obscure.

A final observation on the subject of anti-Trotskyist persecution in Cuba: polemicizing against the views of his French comrades, Hansen remarks that "The meaning of the attacks on the Cuban Trotskyists is exaggerated and placed at the wrong door...." Actually, while former PSP leader Blas Roca set his poisoned pen to writing several lengthy articles in the style of the Moscow Trials, the most active slanderer of Trotskyism in the Cuban leadership has been Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Nor was his purpose obscure: he attacked the POR comrades on several different occasions in 1961, just at the time the Organizaciones Revolucionarias Integradas (ORI) was being formed as the precursor of the Communist Party (PCC). Guevara was reportedly the moving force behind the fusion of the July 26th Movement with the old pro-Moscow Stalinist PSP, and therefore wanted to clamp down on all criticism of the "Old Communists."

Hansen Invents "Struggle Against Bureaucracy"

The formation of the ORI in mid-1961 marked the integration of a bureaucratic apparatus to politically organize the state machinery. It was the mouthpiece of the Stalinist ruling caste in formation rather than a workers party. But since no one ever ruled in the name of bureaucratic bonapartism, and since the SWP terms this party "revolutionary," our revisionist pundits are called upon to do another public relations job, this time discovering a "struggle against bureaucracy" in the Escalante affair. In this instance the burden fell mainly on SWP journalist Harry Ring. In a 1972 pamphlet Ring wrote:

> "In 1961 [1962], the conflict between the Fidelistas and Stalinists exploded with the ouster of the CP back Anibal Escalante from the post of general secretary of the predecessor political formation to the present Communist Party of Cuba. In motivating that ouster, Fidel's scorching denunciation of bureaucracy and sectarianism was heard around the world."
>
> —"Cuba and Problems of Workers Democracy"

In a recent SWP internal document Hansen asserts that Castro's "blistering attack on Escalante and the growth of bureaucratism in Cuba" was "recognized everywhere as an attack on Stalinism."

What actually took place was an internecine bureaucratic clique fight, in which one side purged the other. Escalante, the former organization secretary of the PSP, naturally saw to it that "reliable" elements (i.e., his own men) were placed in the key positions of the ORI. Castro gave him the boot because *his* people, the former members of the July 26th Movement, were systematically excluded from positions of authority.

As bonapartist head of the bureaucracy, Castro did have a real grievance against Escalante: the latter was setting up a rival center of power. On that the *líder máximo* was quite eloquent, in the process revealing a good deal about the nature of the "United Party of the Socialist Revolution" being constructed:

> "...we were making a leash, a straitjacket.... Here we speak of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, but what were the organizations?...
>
> "...how were the nuclei formed? I'll tell you. In all the provinces the secretary-general of the PSP was made secretary-general of the ORI; in all the municipalities the secretary-general of the PSP was made secretary-general of the ORI, in all the nuclei a member of the PSP was made secretary-general of the nucleus. Is this integration?"
>
> —"On Sectarianism" (26 March 1962)

At no point in this speech (which was distributed in thousands of copies by the SWP) did Castro mention bureaucracy, bureaucratism or the like. Once, however, he cogently described an aspect of the phenomenon:

> "In other words, there was not a single subject, not a single question, not a single detail which did not have to be discussed in the organization office of the ORI [Escalante's den]. Whether at the higher level or at the lower—don't think it would be a matter of weeks, when it might be months—a truly abnormal, absurd, intolerable, chaotic, anarchic procedure was being established, a habit of ordering people about, an avid urge to take decisions on all problems."
>
> —*Ibid.*

No doubt this was all true of the Comrade General Secretary. But there was another person to whom it applied even better, as everyone well knows: *Comandante* Fidel Castro Ruz. As far as resolving the problem, the only known measures taken were a reshuffling of the ORI secretariat to give a majority of July 26th leaders over the ex-PSPers, and the banishment of Escalante to Prague. End of Castro's titanic "struggle against bureaucratism."

What lay behind this outburst was simple enough. Bureaucracies are supposed to be monolithic. By breaking this cardinal rule, Escalante had committed a "crime against the state," for Castro, like all bonapartist rulers deeply believes that "L'état, c'est moi!" The new party should be loyal to him, not Moscow, and therefore the old PSPers had to be kept in a subordinate position. Such intrabureaucratic purges are not uncommon in Stalinist regimes: witness Tito's 1948 purge of the "Cominformists" at the time of his break with the Kremlin. And often they are accompanied by a lot of phony "democratic" and even "anti-bureaucratic" rhetoric, as in the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" in which Mao's clique eliminated the previously dominant party bureaucrats around "China's Khrushchev," Liu Shao-chi.

Further evidence that what was behind the "Escalante affairs" was a clash between the national loyalties of sections of the Cuban bureaucracy (Moscow or Havana) came with the replay of the whole business in 1968. After having been readmitted and placed in charge of a dairy farm, the former ORI general secretary was accused of organizing a "microfaction." This time he was jailed for 15 years, with 27 accomplices also receiving long sentences. Significantly, a second secretary of the Soviet embassy in Havana was expelled from the country for being involved in the affair.

They Never Learn Department: Stalinists are, of course, quite capable of demagogically attacking bureaucratism while themselves being the most notorious examples. Stalin used to do it all the time. In a vile speech against Trotskyism at the height of the Moscow Trials, he remarked cynically: "I have in view the question of the formal and heartless bureaucratic attitude of some of our Party comrades ... toward the question of expelling members from the party..." ("Mastering Bolshevism" [March 1937]). But whenever Castro plays this tune, the SWP suddenly discovers a heartening renewal of the Cuban Revolution.

When in 1970 Havana went through a major reappraisal of its policies following the abysmal failure of the "Ten Million Tons" sugar harvest, Castro uttered a few words about the need to substitute "democratic methods for administrative methods." This, rejoiced Ring, was "unambiguous language" about "creating a structured socialist democracy." He doesn't mention that the upshot of the 1970 reappraisal was the wholesale adoption of Russian-style economic management to replace the chaotic mess bequeathed by the primitive "planning" system set up by Guevara in the mid-'60's.

Bonapartism and Bureaucracy in Cuba

Today, after two decades of the Castro regime, Hansen avers that "It would be untrue to say that the battle against bureaucratism has been won in Cuba." He cites some examples: the introduction of ranks in the armed forces, the ban on organized dissent in the Communist Party, the jailing of the poet Padilla, the pillorying of homosexuals. "However," he concludes, "the headway made by bureaucratism has not reached such a degree that one must conclude that a hardened bureaucratic caste has been formed, exercises dictatorial power, and cannot be dislodged save through a political revolution. No qualitative point of change has yet been adduced to substantially change this hypothesis" (introduction to *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*).

In the first place, it is not merely a question of bureaucratic practices: there have obviously been plenty of them from the beginning of the Cuban Revolution, and Castro is adept at brushing off such accusations with windy "self-critical" speeches. As for the "hardened bureaucratic caste," with its current line the SWP wouldn't recognize one in Cuba until it was practically mummified! Naturally, Hansen calls up images of the labyrinthine Kremlin bureaucratic machine, the luxurious dachas and official limousines, the leaders rigorously shielded from the Soviet masses. Then he compares this with Cuba, where government affairs are resolved with apparent informality (that is, if you are at the very top), where top officials for years wore their olive drab combat uniforms, where "Fidel" is always plunging into crowds and talking with old peasants about their smallest needs. His conclusion: there is no "hardened bureaucratic caste."

Hansen deliberately confuses the origins of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, where it was the product of the degeneration of the workers democracy embodied in the soviets and the Bolshevik Party, and Cuba which had neither. Stalin rose to a commanding position by becoming the spokesman for this privileged layer and championing its drive to raise itself above the workers; he became, in Trotsky's words, a "Soviet bonaparte," seeking to balance as an arbiter above the cliques, factions and classes. In Cuba there were no soviets, no Leninist party. From the beginning of the revolution, political power was in the hands of a tiny circle around the *líder máximo*. Hansen could not find a qualitative point of degeneration because Cuba was a bureaucratically deformed workers state from the moment the bourgeoisie was expropriated.

If in the early years the weight of the Havana bureaucracy seemed far lighter than that of the Kremlin, it was because in Cuba the bonaparte gave rise to the bureaucracy rather than the other way around. During the period 1961-65 Castro was trying to fashion a transmission belt to pass down the directives and whims of the ruling clique. The conflicts which arose, such as the Escalante affair, were over who should command this apparatus in formation. No doubt the level of personal material privilege was less than in the USSR, but this could be said with equal validity for Vietnam and other impoverished deformed workers states where the population has been kept in a constant state of mobilization due to imperialist threat and invasion. Castro and Guevara at first sought to fashion the new ruling elite in the image of the military asceticism of the Rebel Army, just as Mao tried to remold China in the "Yenan spirit."

Napoleon used his army recruited in the provinces to put an end to the plebeian democracy which had reigned in Paris in the heyday of the revolution; Castro marched into Havana at the head of a peasant guerrilla band (which during most of the fighting never exceeded 300 men) to impose a revolution in which the urban workers, tightly controlled by Batista henchman Mujal and the Stalinist PSP, were merely spectators. He did not have to put down the workers, who had not risen up until after Batista fled; but he made it clear that real power would be in the hands of the victors who swept out of the Sierra Maestra. In his first speech to a monster rally in Havana, on 8 January 1959, Castro warned against the "proliferation of revolutionary groups" such as followed the overthrow of Machado; it was this, he said, that led to the success of Batista's coup in 1934. A day later he made the point even more emphatically on television: "I have always thought that the revolution should be made by one movement alone" (quoted in Samuel Farber, *Revolution and Reaction in Cuba, 1933-1960* [1976]).

The Castroite regime in Havana has *always* insisted on its political omnipotence. This has now been consecrated in the new Cuban constitution which decrees the Communist Party's role as "the highest leading force of the society and of the state" (*Granma*, 7 March 1976). Even when the first "elected" local governments were introduced in the province of Matanzas in 1974, the resolution on "people's power" setting them up stipulated that "The party will guide, activate and control the tasks of the state organs...." As to the "party," it did not hold its first congress until December 1975, a full ten years after its formation (see "Castro Holds First Ever CP Congress," *WV* No. 100, 12 March 1976).

A pervasive feature of Stalinist parties is the "cult of the personality" around the supreme leader, and this is doubly and triply true of Cuba. The gigantic, 100-foot-high murals of Castro which dominate the million-strong rallies in the Plaza de la Revolución are well-known to everyone. Yet, amazingly, Hansen denies that there is any leader cult around "Fidel." While he considers the concentration of power in Castro's hands dangerous, even today he excuses it: "According to the theory of the Trotskyist movement, a personal dicta-

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Victory to British Truckers Strike!

LONDON, January 16—With a suddenness which has caught James Callaghan's Labour Government napping, tens of thousands of British workers have walked out on strike during the past week in support of wage claims far above the government's 5 percent pay ceiling. The burgeoning strike wave—centering on lorry [truck] drivers and involving other sectors ranging from water workers to train drivers—is seriously threatening to bury Callaghan's Phase Four wage controls once and for all.

Predictably, the strikes have driven Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party and the national Tory press to near-frenzy. Images of children being sent home from school due to lack of oil supplies for heating, of panic-buying leaving supermarket shelves bare, of householders in the North East turning on their taps only to see a brown sludge drip out, of deserted and silent railway stations—all are daily evoked as the necessary backdrop to calls by Thatcher & Co. to the imposition of a State of Emergency and for the use of troops to break the strike. Indeed, the government has already called out the army once to deliver petrol in Northern Ireland when Texaco tanker drivers refused to end their strike last week. Callaghan is quite prepared to engage in similar strikebreaking again when he deems it necessary.

Though the emotive sketches of the Fleet Street press and hysterical rhetoric of Margaret Thatcher serve the purpose of a concerted anti-union crusade, they nevertheless point to the real success that the current strike wave is having in destroying Callaghan's much vaunted "industrial harmony." Last Wednesday oil tanker drivers won flat-rate increases of 13 to 15 percent after less than a week on strike. In their wake, came a strike of 40,000 private haulage lorry drivers who now look set to win increases of up to 25 percent. Train drivers have been staging one-day national strikes, water workers are threatening a full national walkout, and hundreds of thousands of other public sector workers are also on the brink of strike action in pursuit of claims far in excess of the 5 percent limit.

Recognizing that its pay policy is in tatters, the Labour government has been stepping up attempts to forge a new Social Contract with the trade-union bureaucrats in an attempt to keep the rank and file in check. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) chiefs are only too willing to find a new wage-cutting concensus with Callaghan—but the chances that they will be able to sell such a deal to the rest of the membership appear slim indeed.

After four years of steadily dropping living standards and lengthening dole queues [unemployment lines], Britain's workers are saying "enough." A sure index of the militant sentiment in the working class today is provided by the fact that the tanker drivers, lorry drivers and water workers strikes all began as spontaneous, unofficial walkouts. The union bureaucrats have only made the strikes official in an explicit attempt to control them. After the lorry drivers had tied up goods in ports throughout the country by dispatching flying picket squads to the docks, Transport & General Workers Union general secretary Moss Evans promised Callaghan that he would make their strike official in order to force the strikers to cut back their secondary picketing and allow "essential services" to continue.

As part of their offensive against "union power," the Tories and their press have been demanding legal measures to curb trade-union picketing rights. And already Callaghan has met them half-way, calling on his Secretary of State for Employment to draw up regulations to limit secondary picketing rights. But this is obviously a desperate rearguard measure on Callaghan's part, designed to show the capitalist class that even as Phase Four collapses, he is still trying to find a way to keep the unions in line.

The British working class is today showing once again that it lacks nothing in militancy and fighting spirit. To ensure the smashing of Callaghan's wage controls for good, every section of workers with pay claims in the pipelines should come out on strike now, in a united offensive alongside the lorry drivers. But this Moss Evans and the TUC will never stand for. The union misleaders who seek to bind the working class hand and foot to the Callaghan government must be ousted, along with the treacherous pro-capitalist leaders of the Labour Party—and a new revolutionary leadership of the labour movement must be put in their stead if the struggles of the British working class are to go forward. Victory to the lorry drivers strike! All out to smash Phase Four!

Cuba...

(continued from page 9)

torship is not excluded in extremely exceptional circumstances..." ("Two Interpretations of the Cuban Revolution"). "Extremely exceptional circumstances" that have already lasted *two decades*?!

One wonders why the SWP even bothers to ritually mention the need for a Leninist party in Cuba: in giant Russia seven years after the October Revolution the essential elements of Stalinism had triumphed under the pressures of isolation; but to believe Hansen, Castro on his tiny island 90 miles from the U.S. has managed to stave off the inroads of bureaucratism for more than twice as long! As to workers democracy, perhaps our "Trotskyist" theorist would agree with J.P. Morray (*The Second Revolution in Cuba* [1962]), a lyrically candid Stalinist, who wrote: "Through Castro, who is the Cuban Soviet, the workers discover their own interest and participate in the direction of society by ratifying his initiatives."

Laughable? Of course. But when Posadas characterized the mass rallies in which the Cuban workers are permitted to ratify Castro's measures as "plebiscites," Hansen accused him of "not seeing too clearly through the ultraleft smoke in his glasses" ("Trotskyism and the Cuban Revolution"). Yet to anyone who has read *The Revolution Betrayed*, the Cuban leaders' "democratic" procedures—from the monster meetings where the crowd roars its assent to the 1976 constitution approved by a 97.7 percent "yes" vote—cannot fail to recall Trotsky's vivid description of the plebiscitary methods of Stalin:

> "As history testifies, Bonapartism gets along admirably with a universal, and even a secret, ballot. The democratic ritual of Bonapartism is the *plebiscite*. From time to time, the question is presented to the citizens: *for* or *against* the leader? And the voter feels the barrel of a revolver between his shoulders. Since the time of Napoleon III, who now seems a provincial dilettante, this technique has received an extraordinary development. The new Soviet constitution which establishes *Bonapartism on a plebiscite basis* is the veritable crown of the system."

SWP Degenerates Into Pabloism

The significance of Hansen's denial of the *necessity* of a Trotskyist vanguard to lead the socialist revolution, of his apologies for the Castroite bureaucracy, of his failure to fight for workers democracy in Cuba extends far beyond the Western Hemisphere. For the Cuban Revolution was a decisive event in turning the SWP from the path of intransigent proletarian struggle against Stalinism.

In 1951-53, the SWP, after initial hesitations, had led the opposition to the liquidationist policies of Michel Pablo, then head of the International Secretariat (I.S.) of the FI.

In January 1951 Pablo wrote a document which pulled his confusions together into a program of conciliation to Stalinism. It was *objectivist* in its *methodology*, in effect denying that the crisis of revolutionary leadership was the decisive factor:

> "The objective process is in the final analysis the sole determining factor, overriding all obstacles of a subjective order."

And it was *liquidationist* in its *programmatic conclusions*, holding that the Stalinist parties could be revolutionized (thereby making independent Trotskyist parties unnecessary):

> "The Communist Parties retain the possibility in certain circumstances of roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation."

This was followed up by a practical proposal to carry out long-term entrism in the mass reformist workers parties, particularly the pro-Moscow CPs.

Once the gravity of the Pabloist threat had become clear to the SWP leadership, it reacted sharply. A "Letter to Trotskyists Throughout the World" (November 1953) declared, "The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and Orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally." However, as the impact of McCarthyism bore in on the party, which had lost most of its trade-union base in the 1953 split and was greatly reduced in number compared to the immediate post-war years, the SWP leaders also began to succumb to the pressures of isolation. By 1960 the one-time anti-revisionists also decided to "junk the old Trotskyism." Hansen wrote cavalierly:

> "What provisions are there in Marxism for a revolution, obviously socialist in tendency but powered by the peasantry and led by revolutionists who have never professed socialist aims; indeed, who seem to have been limited to the bourgeois-democratic horizon? It's not in the books!
> "If Marxism has no provisions for such phenomena, perhaps it is time provisions were made. It would seem a fair enough exchange for a revolution as good as this one."
> —"Theory of the Cuban Revolution"

Hansen & Co. were remarkably frank about their motivations in jumping on the "Fidel" bandwagon:

> "Our theoretical and political contributions ... drew the favorable attention of a whole new layer attracted by the Cuban Revolution, including such significant figures as C. Wright Mills. This work and the accompanying participation in demonstrations, etc., ... decisively advanced the SWP from its previous isolation to its present prominence in the American radical movement."
> —SWP Political Committee, "Problems of the Fourth International and the Next Steps," SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, July 1962

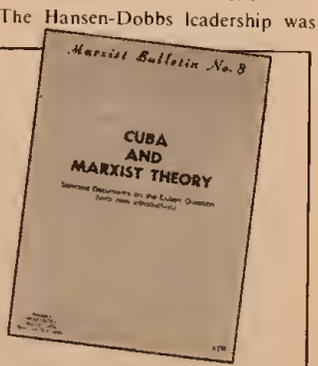
At the same time, the Hansen-Dobbs leadership noticed that their enthusiastic support for Castro closely paralleled the positions of the International Secretariat:

> "It noted especially that the IS had assessed the main stages of the Cuban revolution in the same way as the SWP, the Canadians and the Latin American Trotskyists.... Most important of all, the IS in its majority and the IC in its majority had passed the acid test of the Cuban revolution.... It was impossible to escape the conclusion that objectively the correct course was to press for reunification."
> —"Cuba—The Acid Test"

But the SWP tops' sharp turn to the right did not go unopposed. The Revolutionary Tendency presented a counterresolution to the majority's "Problems of the Fourth International...." The RT document stated:

> "...the Pabloites have proposed one substitute after another for the revolutionary role of the working class and its Marxist vanguard....
> "In 1949 it was a form of Stalinism that would prevail for centuries; in 1951 it was imminent war that would force the Stalinists to project a revolutionary orientation; today it is the colonial revolution that is unfolding automatically. *At no time has it been the working class organized under Marxist leadership that is central in the world revolutionary strategy of Pabloism.*"
> "...the entire national leadership of the party was swept up in the Cuban events and lost sight of the basic strategic approach that our movement must take towards such a revolution.... It was hoped that through its virtually uncritical support to this government, the leadership could be won over wholesale to Trotskyism....
> "The Trotskyists should urge the workers to consciously struggle for democratic control over the governing apparatus rather than expecting the government to hand over such control to them on its own."
> —"In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective" (June 1962), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 1

The Hansen-Dobbs leadership was



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now arguing for its policy of political support to "the Castro team" with the unmistakable objectivist methodology of Pabloism:

> "The Cuban experience demonstrates once again that the ultimate determinant in the outbreak, course and outcome of a revolutionary struggle is the relationship of class forces on a national and world scale, and not the subjective political factors alone....
> "The favorable course of the Cuban Revolution was determined by far more powerful and fundamental forces than the original character and aims of the Castro leadership....
> "This is not to detract in the least from the tremendous role played by Fidel Castro and his associates in carrying the revolution through to its logical conclusion....
> "Somewhat unexpectedly, the comrades who insist so strongly at this date on the vital necessity of correct leadership have here a most convincing example to illustrate their thesis."
> —"Problems of the Fourth International..."

Eureka! The crisis of proletarian leadership has been solved in Cuba... by Fidel Castro. Now it is petty-bourgeois nationalists who can in certain circumstances "roughly outline a revolutionary orientation." And the obvious conclusion: everyone should rush out and sign up as Fidelistas, which is precisely what Hansen & Co. did.

Just as Pablo's objectivism served to justify his liquidationist political program, the SWP leaders not only "forgot" but actively *denied* the need for an independent Trotskyist vanguard. Of course, they occasionally talked of a "revolutionary socialist party"...but note carefully what they mean by this. In criticizing the Chilean POR's characterization of Cuba as a deformed workers state, the SWP advocated the formation of a "mass revolutionary-socialist party in Cuba" which would include the old PSP and "The Castro leadership would naturally be elected to head the party. They have demonstrated their fitness and capacity to such a degree that we think every Cuban revolutionist would give them a vote of confidence." As for the Trotskyists, they should join the party as "completely loyal party builders" (*ISR*, Summer 1961).

This was not just liquidationism in the abstract. A year later the SWP majority wrote: "...we believe the Trotskyists of Cuba should seek to enter and take their place in the soon-to-be formed unified revolutionary party where they can work loyally, patiently and confidently..." ("Problems of the Fourth International..."). Recall that this is the same Stalinist party that was being set up by staffing its apparatus with ex-PSPers! This "modest proposal" certainly qualifies as "entrism *sui generis*" in the Pablo mold. And we have Hansen's own testimony to demonstrate the political bankruptcy of the SWP's Castroite perspective. A small Trotskyist group reportedly existed in Havana which supported Castro's movement even before the 1956 *Granma* landing, and which after the revolution was absorbed by the July 26th Movement:

> "Under the ban on factions and tendencies it was not easy for them to spread their views, and some became discouraged. It is difficult to ascertain the present status of these loyal defenders of the Cuban revolution."
> —Joseph Hansen, "Two Interpretations of the Cuban Revolution," SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, July 1977

Closely related to the SWP's liquidationism into the Castroite current and its whole position on Cuba is a narrow, almost genealogical conception of Stalinism. The source of Stalinism is the Kremlin bureaucracy, they argue, and only those who have been connected with that apparatus are Stalinists; this may be by extension, such as the Chinese and Vietnamese, but the fundamental explanation is hereditary. In contrast, the Spartacist tendency, following in the analysis of Trotsky, views Stalinism as the system of ideology and political domination corresponding to a parasitic bureaucracy sitting atop the property forms of a workers state

In Hansen's January 1961 "Report for the Political Committee" he remarks that the Cuban Revolution "immediately points to the discussions we had on Eastern Europe, on Yugoslavia, on China." The same parallel is drawn in others of his documents. But the SWP held that Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia and China were *deformed* workers states, whereas it refused to apply that label to Cuba. Answering this charge, Hansen remarks:

> "True. An accurate observation. But then we try not to make a fetish of labels.
> "Besides, Cuba has something new to offer.... Stalinists do not head the Cuban revolution. They were bypassed."
> —"What the Discussion on Cuba Is About" (May 1961)

It is, of course, true that Castro was not a Stalinist at the outset of the Cuban Revolution. He was a petty-bourgeois nationalist populist. For Hansen and the SWP, Castro remained non-Stalinist even after the ORI/PURS/PCC "party" was formed as a fusion with the former Kremlin-loyal Stalinist PSP. Castro, you see, had not inherited the disease of Stalinism from his political parents. So, therefore, as long as Castro dominates the PCC or its predecessor formations, it is non-Stalinist, dixit the SWP. And if there are no "forms" of workers democracy, while that is unfortunate, it does not mean that Stalinism is triumphant, because Castro the democrat is still dominant. This is replacing Marxist analysis with predestination.

Thus armed with an objectivist method, a liquidationist program and a scholastic analysis of Stalinism, Hansen and the SWP were ready to play ball with the Pabloists. While suspending the RT (subsequently expelled for "disloyalty") the reunification was carried out in mid-1963. Cuba played a prominent role in the documents for the new USec. The main political resolution stated:

> "The victory in Cuba marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the world revolution; for, aside from the Soviet Union, this is the first workers' state established outside the bounds of the Stalinist apparatus."
> —"Dynamics of World Revolution Today"

It also wrote the Pabloists' false "lessons" from the Cuban experience into the USec program. Interestingly, Hansen now seeks to directly falsify this fact. In his introduction to *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* he pretends that "the American Trotskyists" criticized Havana's call for guerrilla war on a continental scale and generalizes: "...more effective means than a guerrilla band is required to lead the struggle for socialism. What is needed is a working-class party of the Leninist type." But here is what Hansen supported at a time when guerrilla warfare (or talk of it) was popular:

> "Confronted with the powerful and well-experienced bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries, the working class can achieve victory only under a genuine revolutionary Marxist leadership....
> "The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened the possibility of coming to power even with a blunted instrument."
> —"Dynamics of World Revolution Today"

A second resolution, this one written by the SWP itself as the basis for the reunification with the I.S., was even more explicit on the question of guerrilla warfare. In a now-famous section it stated:

> "13. Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semiproletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semicolonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the second world war. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries."
> —"For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement" (March 1963)

What the founding documents of the USec were based on is the objectivist theory that the force of the colonial revolution was such that a proletarian vanguard was no longer necessary in order to lead the socialist revolution. This is the fundamental revisionist conclusion which Hansen & Co. drew from Cuba, as wide-ranging as Pablo's "new world reality" in the early 1950's and as destructive in its conclusions.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

several '69 men. Many of these younger candidates were genuinely striving to revitalize the union, but none of them ran on a program of breaking with the business unionism of the bureaucrats. During their campaign, Gow and Keylor characterized many of these men as "...show[ing] an honest concern with the state of the union...," but further warned them that "good intentions will fail without taking on the central question of how to break through the obstacle blocking union action: the contract provisions of arbitration, no job actions or strikes; the 'PGP Abuse' section; and the huge obstacle to action of the International Officers' open class collaboration" ("Longshore Militant," 11 December).

In the coming months, ILWU longshoremen must translate their distrust of the present Local and International bureaucracy into an organized opposition, looking to the program of the "Longshore Militant" as the key to unlocking the strategic strength of the Longshore Division, mobilizing support for West Coast ILWU and Teamster warehousemen in their contract struggle this spring, and opening the way for the demand to junk the Longshore contract and strike for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay to provide for jobs. ■

Thornett...

(continued from page 2)

article from *WV*. To that he added the slander that the SL blamed the 1958 Notting Hill riot in London on West Indian immigration and blamed unemployment in the U.S. Southwest on Mexican immigration! When he ended with a challenge to the SL to answer his accusations, the audience was fuming at the deliberate falsifications.

The SL supporters were prepared to meet this challenge, including to set right the distorted quote from *WV*. But Chairman Steve Bryant wouldn't have it, and called on five speakers before he was finally forced to recognize the SL spokesman who asked to answer Thornett. Infuriated by the outrageously discriminatory chairing of the meeting, a typical Bryant performance, the speaker pointed straight at the chairman and said angrily, "You just couldn't resist, could you, you little cockroach?"

At this, the SL-DC and Thornett went berserk, rushing the speaker and screaming, "You're out!" But this frenzied attempt to compound their bureaucratic procedures with an exclusion was thwarted by about a dozen trade unionists who immediately went to the defense of the SL speaker. Stopped in their tracks, the Thornett clique retreated to the podium where they impotently howled and cried for the exclusion of the SL speaker. (The WSL had pulled a similar stunt—trying to escape political debate through labeling a harsh political characterization a "personal attack"—at a forum in Oxford last year.)

But this didn't work either. While the chairman and featured speaker were disrupting their own forum, the SL spokesman called to Thornett above the din, "If you'll shut up comrade, I'll explain why he is a cockroach." And after the badly outnumbered would-be goons of the SL-DC decided they had no choice but to give the speaker his time, he explained, identifying Bryant's political specics and moral genus: a disgusting, dishonest political coward who attempts the most brazen censorship of anyone supporting the SL viewpoint.

The Spartacist spokesman noted the vicious red-baiting of militant trade unionists in the SL-DC's newspaper. He pointed out that Bryant gets his full time, and often more, to reply at SL forums. And he noted that in spite of the SL-DC's pitiful attempts to imitate the labor bureaucracy in suppressing workers democracy, on at least one occasion the SL defended Bryant's minuscule sect from Stalinist gangsterism of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party.

When the speaker turned to read the quotations from *WV* on immigration which Thornett had shamelessly distorted, Bryant again interrupted to try and shut him up. But the audience demanded that the speaker had the right to set the record straight. After forcing and handily winning a vote, the speaker was finally able to finish without further interruptions, pointing out that the Spartacist League supports the right of self-determination for all nations and opposes all capitalist immigration laws. Thornett's baits were revealed as unmitigated slander.

All in all, it seemed a pretty good and instructive event for the "first international Trotskyist videotape network." It showed how slander and bureaucratic suppression grow out of political opportunism. And it shows that under the proper circumstances workers democracy can be victorious. But we don't think the WSL or the SL-DC are very likely to play the tapes. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Stalinist Nationalism Wracks Indochina

The End of Pol Pot's Cambodia

In the first ten days of 1979 the world watched in fascination as the Vietnamese army surged across Cambodia in a lightning-swift assault, occupied the capital and toppled the government of "Democratic Kampuchea" headed by the shadowy Pol Pot. Certainly no one was more surprised at the speed of the Vietnamese advance than Pol Pot himself, who is now reportedly roaming about somewhere in the hills southwest of Phnom Penh. In his place was installed the "Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation" (FUNSK), which immediately hoisted its new rebel flag (five towers of Angkor Wat instead of three). And with the technical expertise of the accomplished Vietnamese public relations apparatus, the FUNSK soon began sending out wire photos of happy peasants and radiant militia-women rejoicing over the "liberation" of Cambodia.

Hanoi instantly recognized its creation, quickly followed by Laos, Afghanistan and the USSR. Within hours of the FUNSK/Vietnamese entrance upon the deserted streets of Phnom Penh, *Pravda* had ascertained that "an outburst of popular wrath swept away the self-styled rulers." The U.S., venting its spleen over the fact that its hundreds of thousands of troops had been bogged down in Vietnam for years without being able to advance from one village to the next, self-righteously demanded the Vietnamese troops be withdrawn at once. And as several hundred Chinese advisers staggered across the Thai border Peking launched a full scale (verbal) assault against the "greater and lesser hegemonism" of Russia and Vietnam.

With the Vietnamese army now in control of Cambodia's towns, roads, and seaport, the scene shifted to the United Nations in New York where the big guns of the Russian and Chinese delegations squared off at each other. Meanwhile the Cuban representative fenced with the Cambodian representative, none other than the indestructible *Samdech* (Comrade) Prince Norodom Sihanouk. And while the various representatives of the deformed workers states were at each other's throats, the black front man of U.S. imperialism, Andy Young, chortled, "this is as interesting a session of the Council as we've had in some time" (*New York Times*, 13 January).

UPI

Prince Sihanouk at the U.N.

But for all the comic opera froth at the UN, the situation in Indochina today is of serious concern to revolutionaries throughout the world. Almost immediately following the historic victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodian masses over imperialism in 1975, a festering, dirty border war broke out between the feuding Stalinist cliques of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea.

The hostilities derived partly from the centuries-old ethnic hatreds between the Khmer and Vietnamese peoples, partly from the nationalism bred by all Stalinist regimes. Much of the Khmer Rouge (Cambodian Communists) leadership harbored deep resentments against Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh for selling them out at the 1954 Geneva negotiations. Hanoi, in turn, was bitter over a reported massacre by Pol Pot of those Cambodian forces allied with Hanoi in the early 1970's.

Pol Pot's xenophobic, primitivist militarization and enforced peasantization of Cambodian society represented a truly grotesque caricature of Stalinist rule. Not only did the rulers of "Democratic" Kampuchea brutally and senselessly depopulate the cities, but they even cleared out the villages, forcing large numbers into mobile work brigades. Thus, the most notable immediate result of the Vietnamese invasion has been a reported massive return of the population to its native villages.

In the immediate future the new government installed in Phnom Penh promises to be more humane and rational than the Pol Pot regime—indeed, it would be practically impossible for it not to be. Thus a January 8 UPI dispatch broadcast from Bangkok reported of the FUNSK program that:

> "The group promised Sunday to repopulate the cities, restore freedom of religion and reopen the schools. It also vowed to reunite families and send captured leading Khmer Rouge officials to 're-education' camps for long periods."

In addition, the FUNSK announced "voluntary marriage" would be reestablished (!) as well as a currency system, which Cambodia has been without since the Khmer Rouge took power. It should not be hard to come through on such elementary promises. For the FUNSK to "win the hearts and minds" of the Cambodian population it would likely be enough just to promise to stop dragging the sick out of the hospitals and sending them on forced marches!

Significantly, observers on the Thai border report that so far there has been no mass exodus of civilians from Cambodia. Despite ethnic animosities the population may well prefer life under the Vietnamese-sponsored FUNSK to the harsh life imposed by their former rulers. Indeed, a Thai colonel, Thanet Thapanani, stationed along Cambodia's northern border told a *New York Times* interviewer January 16 that many Cambodians view the FUNSK as liberators from the Pol Pot regime. "I think they feel free," he said. But, although the new regime set up by Hanoi is in a good position to win popular support, Cambodia is now effectively occupied by the Vietnamese army. Even if the new government is able to function effectively and the army tries to avoid atrocities, this situation is necessarily counterposed to the right of self-determination of the Khmer people. While in the short run the quality of life may improve, Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia will increase the poison of national chauvinism among both peoples and necessarily puts the national question back on the agenda in Indochina.

UPI

FUNSK soldiers capture Royal Palace in Phnom Penh.

Despite the weird irrationality of Stalinist rule in Cambodia, the Spartacist League has insisted ever since the bloody Vietnam-Cambodia skirmishes came to public attention that the working people had no interest in supporting either bureaucracy and had to take a revolutionary defeatist position in the border war waged by the qualitatively equivalent Hanoi and Phnom Penh regimes. However, as the war objectives shifted we warned in our last issue ("Stalinists' Squalid War in Indochina," *WV* No. 222, 5 January) that "what began as a squalid border war could develop into a struggle for the independent national existence of the Khmer people." Though the chances that the defeated Pol Pot regime could rally a popular and effective guerrilla counterforce against the felt sense of liberation appear slim indeed, that potential is exacerbated by the presence of the Vietnamese army.

Return of Sihanouk

Following the fall of Phnom Penh, Sihanouk resurfaced in Peking January 8, announcing at a six-hour press conference in the Great Hall of the Peoples that he had been dispatched by the crumbling Pol Pot "government" to

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 224

2 February 1979

Down With the Shah's Generals!

Down With the Mullahs!

Not Holy War But Class War!

Workers Must Rule Iran!

Iran Showdown

AP

JANUARY 29—Bloody massacres continued on the streets of Teheran and other cities of Iran as the ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, exiled leader of the Islamic movement, and Shahpur Bakhtiar, stand-in for the shah, jockeyed for position in a long-distance showdown for state power. Today, Teheran was ablaze as the followers of Khomeini—enraged over yesterday's butchery by the army and frustrated by the on-again, off-again vacillations of their leader—picked up the torch and went after breweries, liquor stores and other symbols of "Western decadence." They marched through the square of the Sunday massacre chanting, "Praise Khomeini, we have come to die for you." And to the chant "Death to the Shah," they have added, "Death to Shahpur." Angry crowds spotted a general. They surrounded his car, set it on fire, pulled the general out, and according to CBS News, slit his throat.

In the last weeks, as the cheers have died down over the departure of the hated torture-chic shah, and after a brief flurry of attacks on members of his secret police, the SAVAK, it has become brutally clear that the monarch's murderous rule has not yet come to an end. Even though the shah himself is "on vacation," yesterday in the Iranian capital the Pahlavis' U.S.-equipped troops stationed themselves on rooftops and rained death down on the squares and avenues below, indiscriminately spraying the unarmed crowds for *five hours* with machine guns.

When it was all over the demonstrators began to count their dead and wounded. The *Washington Post* was correct to say that the estimate of 35 dead and hundreds wounded was "conservative." Most of those taken to Pahlavi Hospital will die from their injuries. The counting of the dead will go on for some time. As one mourning protestor said, remembering the jubilant fraternization with the troops that took place when the shah was driven out: "We gave them flowers and they gave us back bullets. Now we are going to give them bullets" (*Washington Post*, 29 January). But the demonstrators are unarmed, waiting—waiting for the arrival of the ayatollah.

The Mountain and Muhammad

When the shah left it seemed at first that the ancient fundamentalist whose portrait dominated every demonstration would ride into power on the crest of a wave of mass hatred for the autocrat. Millions were prepared to welcome Khomeini from his 14-year exile so that he and he alone could "direct the Islamic Republic." That, after all, is the stated goal of the opposition movement. On the same day the Iranian people were to replace one kind of king with another, or so it was foretold. But the shah got out and the revered ayatollah did not come in. Instead he remained in a suburb of Paris where he made oracular statements to the press about a *jihad*.

Iran has been brought to a standstill by religious-led mass protests as well as by economic strikes. Daily life is now organized by the priest caste of 180,000 mullahs who direct everything from the collection of garbage to the assembly of mass demonstrations. The only instruments they do not control are the army, the SAVAK and the trade unions. And the army too was fragmenting as the shah fled. Some sections of the army responded with desperate, brutal attacks on the demonstrators while others fraternized with the opposition; some soldiers deserted to make common cause with the followers of Khomeini.

Bakhtiar, said *Newsweek*, was "standing on a banana peel." Nonetheless he moved to close the Teheran airport. Questions were immediately posed: would Khomeini have his followers storm the airport, split the army, take over from the pitifully weak and isolated Bakhtiar? No. Khomeini postponed his planned triumphal pilgrimage to state power, and then postponed again. News of a possible deal between Bakhtiar and Khomeini was reported in the international press as the mullahs protested the closing of the airport.

Khomeini said he had a "revolutionary council" all planned, but refused to say who was on it. But his apparent choice for prime minister seemed to indicate a desire to satisfy his more secular supporters. Mehdi Bazargan had credibility with bourgeois liberals of the National Front because he served as part of the bourgeois-nationalist government of Muhammad Mossadeq in the early 1950's. And his religious piety is beyond reproach: a recent *New York Times* (23 January) article explained

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For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba! /6

SWP's Joseph Hansen Dies

Joseph Hansen, in recent years the main international spokesman and polemicist for the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), died in New York on January 18.

Hansen was born in 1910 in a small Mormon Utah town. He attended college in Salt Lake City, where in 1934 he was recruited to Trotskyism, the SWP and the Abern clique by Earle Birney, a Burnhamite and later a well-known Canadian poet. Hansen's sojourn among the Abernites later became the subject of his finest polemic, when in March 1940 he disposed once and for all of the claim that there was no "Abern clique" by the simple expedient of publishing excerpts from some 40 confidential Abernite letters written to him in 1936-37. (This document was republished as part of an SWP *Education for Socialists* pamphlet in September 1972.)

Despite his adherence to Marxism, Hansen exhibited traces of the puritanical social values of the Mormon milieu. In 1954 he precipitated a heated and silly internal debate (see SWP *Internal Bulletin* No. A-23, October 1954) over the "cosmetics controversy" by authoring, under the pseudonym Jack Bustelo, a *Militant* article which came out against the use of cosmetics in favor of "moral beauty" and the well-scrubbed pioneer-woman look. His pamphlet entitled "Too Many Babies?" (undated [1960?]) defended fertility against "population explosion" theorists with a smugness which must make the present-day SWP, oh-so-sensitive to questions of ecology, squirm:

> "What can be done to stop babies from making any further inroads on mankind? Some of the best minds in the capitalist world are working around the clock on this fateful problem...."

But the nadir of Hansen's journalism was doubtless his sob-sister account—which drew a barrage of literary criticism not only from the Shachtmanites but also from SWP then-sympathizer James T. Farrell—of the trip to jail by the "Minneapolis 18":

> "The sun fell on his [Cannon's] hair as the train leaned around a curve and the iron gray waves lighted up luminously. Jim's lips moved, 'The Palisades are beautiful.'..."
>
> "Behind him strode Farrell Dobbs, outstanding union organizer who rose out of the great 1943 Minneapolis strikes like a flame seeking its way toward the final destruction of this whole dying archaic capitalist system of hunger, misery and bloodshed. Next Felix Morrow, editor of *Fourth International*, whose writings burn the bourgeoisie like a lash...."
>
> —"How the Trotskyists Went to Jail," by Joseph Hansen, in *Why We Are in Prison*, March 1944

Stanton/Pathfinder Press

Joseph Hansen

The obituary by George Novack (*Intercontinental Press*, 29 January) particularly salutes Hansen for being "among the first" in the SWP to recognize that the Red Army had overturned capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe following World War II. This is true. And it was no abstract "theoretical" question. When the American Trotskyists were made to confront the issue of post-war Stalinism, they began to get a division (later to become the Cochran-Clarke split, which solidarized with Michel Pablo in Europe) in the top leadership. On the one side were the native revisionists—Clarke, Bartell, Novack, Breitman, Hansen—intrigued by the idea that workers states could be created without a proletarian Trotskyist party. On the other side were Cannon and John G. Wright, who had no counter-theory except stand-pat, sterile "orthodoxy." Farrell Dobbs, chief party administrator, took an above-the-battle, apolitical posture.

After the Third World Congress (where some solid links to Pablo were established) in 1951, the American revisionist current underwent internal division. Cannon effected a bloc on organizational grounds with the Dobbs forces and managed to hold the line. Later, at the May 1953 SWP Plenum, Cannon noted:

> "During the course of the past year, I had serious doubts of the ability of the SWP to survive. At one time—I will frankly admit to you here for the first time—I thought that our twenty-five-year effort, compounded on all the previous experience and work of ourselves and others, had ended in catastrophic failure; and that, once again, a small handful would have to pick up the pieces, and start all over again to build the new cadre of another party on the old foundations."
>
> —*Speeches to the Party*

Joseph Hansen was one of those who caused Cannon to wonder if it was all over.

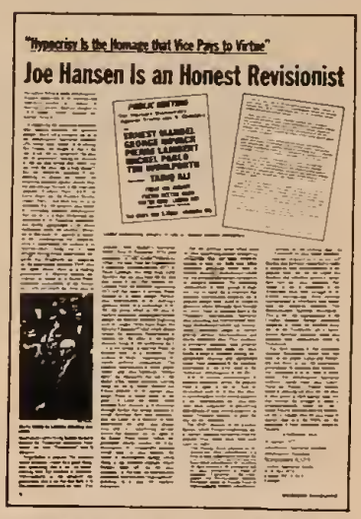
It was not over quite yet. The SWP clung to orthodoxy. It was not until the period 1961-63—when the same question of seeking substitutes for the proletarian vanguard was posed over Cuba—that it became clear that a "small handful" (the Spartacist tendency) would have to build "another party on the old foundations." By patching together an SWP majority and retreating from the international fight, Cannon opened the road to the SWP's decisive capitulation to Pabloism over Cuba.

Here again, Hansen the literary technician took the lead. His real talent—manifestly useful for a party of mounting revisionism—was the ability to propound a new line in fragments strewn through many paragraphs, punctuated with saving clauses and orthodox disclaimers. And Hansen knew just where to find justifications for the SWP's infatuation with the Castro regime: he went straight to the Communist International's 4th Congress (1922) discussion on the "workers and farmers government" slogan. The confused formulations and speculations there about a "workers and farmers government" not being equivalent to the dictatorship of the proletariat have been seized upon by numerous latter-day opportunists (Hal Draper, among others). Add to this Trotsky's famous phrase about the petty-bourgeois parties possibly going "further than they themselves wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie" and you have Hansen's July 1960 document, "The Character of the New Cuban Government."

Through most of the 1960's, Hansen was an enthusiastic bystander applauding and theorizing for guerrillaism—a tactic which, divorced from a situation of civil war, is an anti-proletarian strategy appropriate to the petty bourgeoisie and to the remote, fully rural peasantry. Only when empiricism—to which Hansen was wedded—showed guerrillaism to be disastrous did Hansen move into his most important role, as principal theoretician for the increasingly legalistic SWP and its international cothinkers in the right wing of the United Secretariat (USec).

The USec was formed by the 1963 reunification of the SWP with the European Pabloists. By smashing opposition to the merger in Latin America, Western Europe and Asia and finally by building a USec section in England itself, Hansen earned the undying (and ultimately psychotic) enmity of Gerry Healy, spokesman for the ostensibly anti-Pabloist International Committee. Hence the full flowering of Healyite paranoia locked onto Hansen as the main target of a campaign to smear SWP leaders as tools of the Stalinist and capitalist secret police.

In 1937 Hansen had gone to Mexico to serve as Trotsky's leading secretary.



Spartacist tendency defended Hansen against slanderous Healy charges of "accomplice of GPU."

His highly confidential work in this period, and his role as a main contact with the bourgeois authorities in the investigation of Trotsky's assassination by a Stalinist agent in 1940—testimony to the position of trust Hansen had won in the Trotskyist movement—became the excuse for a loathsome Healyite campaign to slander Hansen as an "accomplice" to the assassination and an agent of the Stalinist GPU, FBI, etc.

The Spartacist tendency actively

continued on page 10

RCP Berserkers Attack Chinese Embassy

As Washington nervously awaited the arrival of China's deputy premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, around noon on January 23 five men drove up to the Chinese liaison office in Washington, D.C. As the staff looked on, four men, one wildly waving a gun, leapt from the car, threw fishing weights at the windows, splashed white paint on the walls, scattered some leaflets, dumped an effigy of Teng in front of the door and drove off—only to be arrested a few minutes later.

Who would pull such a silly adventurist stunt? Agents of the Kuomintang, fanatical Goldwaterites, the right-wing Young Americans for Freedom? No. The spokesman for the group turned out to be none other than Bob Avakian, and this "gang of five" who charged the Chinese offices were members of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

Ever since the RCP lost the China "franchise" to their arch-rivals in Mike Klonsky's Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the Avakianites have been stewing in their own juices. They took a year before finally deciding to back the "gang of four" in the intrabureaucratic clique struggle that shook China after Mao's death. That caused a split which took out a third of the RCP membership. The Avakianites have tried one gimmick after another to keep their membership busy and intact. But the "Mao Memorials" and the "Mao Enrollment" flopped. Now these Stalinists without a country are hell-bent on giving a "fitting welcome" to their former comrade-in-arms.

The RCP's verbiage is as bizarre as its activities. In RCP leaflets Teng Hsiao-p'ing is variously described as a "half-pint pimp" and a "sawed-off revisionist," or, alternatively, as a "half-pint Napoleon" and a "sawed-off pimp."

AP

Bob Avakian off the deep end.

Perhaps the RCP still smarts from the insults hurled at their megalomaniacal leader by their former members in an "Open Letter to Pipsqueak Avakian," which was subtitled, "This short person's got no right to live."

It should be no surprise that what's left of the RCP should be plunging off into a world of their own. After all, not everyone can turn black into white overnight and still maintain their sanity. The December issue of the RCP's paper, *Revolution*, for example, blithely notes that "we obviously have to repudiate the position we took on Chou En-lai in 1976. Instead of being 'a communist all his life' Chou was in fact a bourgeois democrat all his life...." All with the stroke of a pen!

Just after the RCP split *Workers Vanguard* wrote:

> "An unstable, New Left, demagogic tendency, the Avakian faction is capable of both extreme adventurism and slavish capitulation to the worst backwardness of the working class. The post-split RCP will likely be simply a personality cult, crassly opportunist, violently sectarian and programmatically extremely unstable. It could go anywhere—from trying to seize Solidarity House [headquarters of the UAW] to blocking with the Ku Klux Klan."
>
> *WV* No. 190, 27 January 1978

The RCP, once the largest of the U.S. Maoist groups, is rapidly heading down the road to crazed sectdom. ■

Dirty Tricks and Sour Grapes

ILWU Militants Answer Stalinist Redbait

As we reported in WV *No. 221, 15 December 1978, the attempt to overturn the re-election of Militant Caucus leader Bob Mandel to the ILWU Local 6 executive board was overwhelmingly turned back by an outraged membership. Obviously driven to a frenzy by the failure of this attempted political purge, both the Communist Party (CP) West Coast weekly,* People's World, *and its supporters in the ILWU responded with a torrent of abuse directed at the Militant Caucus.*

In the past, the CP has sought to minimize its public references to this class-struggle group. Why then the sudden interest displayed in the Militant Caucus? The recent elections in the ILWU have only underscored to the CP gang the serious threat to it posed by these militant fighters. The slanders contained in a December 30 "Open Letter" from the CP are among the time-honored methods of "political struggle" employed by Stalinism throughout the world.

We reprint below excerpts from a leaflet of the Militant Caucus responding to the Stalinist lies and exposing the subservience to the bourgeoisie and trade-union bureaucracy that lies behind them.

The outcome of the General Executive Board (GEB) recount on December 7 which confirmed that Militant Caucus spokesman Bob Mandel was re-elected to a third term was a big victory for the union membership. What turned the tide was the decisive action of hundreds of aroused union members and stewards who recognized that the recount was a political purge attempt aimed at stifling any opposition to the leadership's pro-company policies. We want to thank all these members for their support and urge them to attend Stewards' Councils and union meetings to strengthen the union to meet the employer attacks we know are coming....

Members from more than 20 houses protested to the leadership once they heard of the recount plans. Many workers at MJB, who some time ago removed Louise Dalton as Chief Steward for failing to defend union standards, told her she should withdraw. On the day of the recount, [Sec.-Tres.] King complained to Mandel: "My phone didn't stop ringing all Wednesday afternoon." Waving a sheaf of anti-recount petitions in the air, he said: "This petition crap has to stop. This union doesn't run on petitions. It runs on what the officers say and the GEB votes." Apparently Brother King forgets that he's paid to carry out membership policy—not to dictate it.

Membership Support For Caucus Policies

The center of support came from houses where the Caucus has played a significant role in helping the membership make gains. Fourteen members from KNC including the Chief Steward led off the fight with a telegram to the officers flatly rejecting the recount. Right behind them came a petition of support from roughly 30 members at Owens, circulated by Chief Steward Pereda and committee member R. Garcia, who were the top two vote getters in the GEB election in the East Bay. Owens was the site of the critical fight in October 1977 where the membership in collaboration with the Militant Caucus successfully defended Local 6's historic tradition of never crossing another union's picket lines—despite the leadership's order to scab.

Support also came from the Chief Stewards at Safeway Preserves and at Rathjen (also newly elected to the GEB), who had worked with the Caucus to reverse ILWU policy allowing shipments of struck cargo during the recent grocery strike. This impressive show of support represented more than anger at the leadership's dirty tricks. Many of those who responded are members who have seen that the Caucus' class-struggle program can defend the union and win victories and demanded that these policies be represented on the GEB during the critical contract fight.

Who's Who In The "Open Letter"

The officers and their supporters—furious at having failed to keep Mandel off the GEB and worried about their ability to control the membership and the new GEB—have resorted to yet another "dirty trick." They have begun to quietly circulate a vicious "Open Letter to the East Bay Membership" signed by Joe Lindsay, Joe Blasquez, Mary Alice Benjamin, Joe Reeves, Tony Wilkinson and Terry Greene. It is a crude attempt to isolate Mandel and the Militant Caucus and to warn off those who would dare to support the Caucus. It includes statements that: "Mandel's gang believes in free speech—but only for themselves..." and "If slander doesn't work, Mandel threatens violence." It even goes so far as to imply that Mandel "condone[s] murder"!

The authors try to pawn themselves off as just plain "rank and file members of the GEB." Who are they trying to kid? They are some of the very same people who engineered and administered the '76 Master Contract disaster—and who have been appointed to run the strike apparatus again this year!

Mary Alice Benjamin is a supporter of the ILWU International, particularly Curtis McClain. Joe Blasquez is the former long-time Business Agent who the membership finally dumped in disgust in '76. Lindsay, Wilkinson and Greene are part of the Figuereido/Ramos/Alexander group which kept a stranglehold on the strike apparatus last time to prevent any outbursts of militancy.

Lindsay and his friends advertise themselves in the pages of the reformist *People's World* (*PW*) newspaper as supporters of its policies. The *PW*'s December 30 story on the recount was a vicious sex-and-race-baiting attack on the Caucus which accused us of being company agents. Of course the "Open Letter" didn't dare raise these slanders in the union since by their logic the hundreds of union members of every color, nationality and sex who protested the recount are company agents too!

"People's World": Reformism and Class Collaboration

The *PW* supporters have practiced class collaboration with the companies and their government for over 40 years. Their union policy is to construct what they call "left-center" coalitions with "progressive" union bureaucrats like McClain. This means that they provide the "leftist" double-talk to cover for McClain & Co. who are tied lock, stock and barrel to the Democratic Party and through it to the corporations which own it.

Thus, they have helped McClain engineer defeat after defeat:

1. On the eve of the '76 Master Contract strike, Ramos ordered Thrifty workers to handle Nestlé goods which were being struck by Local 6 in Salinas—an action later repudiated by the GEB on Mandel's motion.

2. After a sharp battle with the police at Golden Grain during the first days of the strike in which four union members were busted trying to keep out scabbing supervisors, office workers and hired scabs, Lindsay and Ramos negotiated an agreement to allow virtually all these people to cross our lines.

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He Died with His Boots Off

Nelson Rockefeller died late last Friday night of a sudden heart attack. According to the *New York Times* "the members of the paramedic team ...found Mr. Rockefeller lying on the floor, clad in dark trousers and socks but no shoes." By the time the police arrived they say they found Rockefeller dressed in suit and striped tie. The family press secretary, Hugh Morrow, who announced the death changed the story of the circumstances and time of death several times, attributing a discrepancy of one hour to a mistaken report from Rockefeller's 25-year-old staff assistant—who arrived at the private brownstone, he added, "wearing a long black evening gown." The official version will be that he was working on a book on his vast art collection.

The next day the newspapers were full of stories praising the butcher of Attica as a socially enlightened capitalist New Dealer and philanthropist, a man of high aesthetic sensibilities. Unlike the Stalinists with their "military/industrial complex" and the new leftists who saw everything that happened in the world as part of a plot by Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, we do not view capitalism as simply the conspiracy of a few evil men. But the Rockefellers are not just America's No. 1 plutocrats—from generation to generation they have been unusually dedicated to personally ordering bloody massacres of workers and the poor.

In 1971, Nelson Rockefeller, then New York governor, led the bloodiest police assault in modern U.S. history, ordering his state troopers to open fire on prisoners at New York's Attica prison. When it was over he justified the slaughter with the remark that, "There was more at stake even than saving lives. There was the whole rule of law.... The whole fabric of society, in fact." So, to preserve the rule of law he personally ordered the murder in cold blood of 43 prison inmates and hostages.

But then he was only following the family tradition. In 1914 when the Wobblics struck his grandfather's mine, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in Ludlow, militiamen surrounded the miners' encampment, rained bullets upon them for days from machine guns, poured oil on their families' tents and set them ablaze.

When John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was subsequently called before a Congressional investigation into the Ludlow Massacre and asked if he could not stop the killings, he replied: "... our interest in the laboring man... is so deep, so profound that we stand ready to lose every cent.... It was upon a similar principle that the War of Revolution was carried on." Twenty-one men, women and children died on that day, 20 April 1914, and 30 more in the following weeks before the strike was finally broken.

UPI

Bantam

The bourgeoisie will miss the butcher of Attica.

And then the Rockefellers were also responsible for unleashing one of the bloodiest conflicts in South American history, the "Chaco War" which pitted Rockefeller's Standard Oil on one side, and Royal Dutch Shell on the other. This war over oil concessions saw the populations of Bolivia and Paraguay respectively mobilized to fight for control of the desert border region. By the time it was over in 1939 the economies of both countries had been decimated. The death rate was so high in Paraguay that the government was forced to begin a concerted drive to repopulate the country with immigrants.

But at least the Rockefellers can't be accused of discriminating in their war on the oppressed, mowing down blacks, whites, Slavs, Mexicans, men, women and children indiscriminately to maintain their privileges and power. When the catalogue of Nelson's global art hoard is inevitably published, socialists will not forget that every painting was paid for with the blood of the oppressed the world over. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

that "his devotion to his religion is evident in a hump on his forehead from the numberless times he has touched his prayer stone."

Bazargan was most anxious for Khomeini to stay out of Iran as he was trying to cook up a deal with the army. But the deal fell through. Bakhtiar, who was supposed to go to the ayatollah to "resign" and be reappointed to a "legal," i.e., Khomeini-approved provisional government, was told he had to resign *before* the sage of Pontchartrain would see him. So now Bakhtiar says Khomeini can come to Teheran "any time" he thinks it's safe, and the ayatollah prophesizes that he will appear in Iran any day now.

Behind this elaborate game of "the mountain and Mohammad" are some important facts of political life. Both reactionary forces squaring off for state power need the army to rule. And neither wants a prolonged civil war which could allow openings for the left to gain mass influence, particularly with a powerful proletariat in the wings. Khomeini's intended Islamic "Republic" rests not on mass support but on the sword of the military, just as every other Islamic "republic" has in the past and present. In turn, the generals who run Bakhtiar are loyal to the shah who watches over it all from his Moroccan exile/vacation.

The open and decisive question for both these reactionaries is: What will the army do? Will it harden up around the generals, the shah and Shahpur? Or will it crumble in the face of mounting mass protests, a decisive section going over to the mullahs to be the repressive sword of an Islamic "republic?"

Holy War Is No Place For Leftists

The exit of the shah, the brittleness and isolation of Bakhtiar, the indiscipline in the army and the failure of Khomeini to immediately establish his Islamic "republic" has created an unstable interregnum. The mullahs have the allegiance of the masses, but do not have state power. Bakhtiar and the generals have state power but are too despised and weak to control the country. But instead of fighting to present an independent political force directed against both reactionary camps, the fake lefts support Khomeini and the mullahs because they are popular.

In the last two weeks these opportunists have been given a foretaste of the mullahs' idea of how an Islamic "republic" would handle leftists. During the huge march on January 19, *Newsweek* (29 January) reported that when five "Communist groups" tried to join the march they were stopped by pro-Khomeini marshalls with yellow armbands. They were forced to "roll up their banners and carry pictures of the religious leader. All along the route, Khomeini partisans ripped Communist posters from the walls."

On January 21, the *Washington Post* reports, a group of 5,000 "ranging from socialists to Marxists to a small group of orthodox Communist Party members" marched in Teheran shouting, "Honor to Khomeini" and "Unity." But the Khomeini followers were not impressed with their loyalty: "You are leftists. You are traitors. You are trying to sabotage the revolution."

At Teheran University some left-wing students who had been preaching the gospel that Khomeini would usher in the "democratic stage" of the two-stage revolution, got more than words when they made some criticisms of the Islamic "republic." Religious gangs doing a pretty good imitation of clerical fascists dispensed rough Koranic justice on the students who stupidly said that Iranians might expect democracy from these apostles of medieval fundamentalism. (See accompanying translated excerpts from *Le Monde* on the Islamic "shock brigades.")

The left has responded to these perfectly consistent attacks by the fundamentalists by calling upon the ayatollah himself to control them. They call upon the number one zealot, the "reflection of allah," to reflect the interests of their own illusions.

What's in a Slogan?

The fissure in the opposition caused by the attacks on the left, the wearing away of army discipline and the increasing militancy of the striking workers, particularly the oil workers, combines to create a situation of enormous opportunity and desperate need for a revolutionary party. The absolute requirement of such a party is a program of proletarian independence. And that means independence from the mullahs, for the *ulema* (Muslim clergy) are organizing to take over state power and set up a theocracy no less reactionary than the shah's monarchy.

The mullahs understand that they are in a struggle for power. The shah and the generals understand it. And so has the international Spartacist tendency which has raised as a condensed expression of proletarian independence in a struggle for power the slogan, "Down with the Shah—Down with the Mullahs!" We say "Workers Must Rule," not Islamic fundamentalists or jet-setting monarchs. It is an obvious slogan. So obvious that Khomeini's aide thinks it is, or ought to be, the slogan of the communists (see accompanying BBC interview). It is the slogan that he worries about, because he does not want the proletariat in the running for state power.

It is excruciating that none of the leftist groups in Iran are presenting this fundamental truth and absolutely vital program to the students, the oil workers and others who have been caught up in the religious-led opposition in the hope of escaping from the unrelieved terror of the shah's rule. Not since Portugal has there been a more agonizing example of the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

The extent of the capitulation of the left to Khomeini can be measured by one small and startling fact: At Teheran University women are starting to return to the veil (*chador*), the age-old mark of women's oppression which is being reimposed as part of the religious opposition's drive for an "Islamic republic."

In this vacuum of revolutionary leadership, even a small propaganda group might gain influence and grow rapidly if it could stand up to the pressure of the popular religious movement. But it would take some of the stuff of the 1914 Bolsheviks who were stoned by the Vyborg workers for their anti-war agitation. Three years later they had transformed this district into a revolutionary bastion because of their courage. It is downright criminal that none of the leftist groups will tell their own members or supporters the truth that is looming up ominously in front of their noses, namely that this movement is reactionary and a threat to anyone labeled a leftist or a communist. It is a question of life or death. We have been driving this message home for months—and now the Iranian masses are getting their first bitter taste of what life under the mullahs is going to be like.

Islamic Mass Movement

The fake lefts refuse to see the mullah-led movement as a bid for governmental power. Instead they see only the "mass movement" and label it as necessarily good. The more obvious it becomes that the Islamic "republic" of the ayatollahs is just as oppressive as the shah's monarchy, the more the fake-lefts try to paint the seventh-century obscurantism in "democratic colors," or become its "critical" supporters.

The demagogically contradictory statements of Khomeini make particularly good material for this enterprise. Hasn't he said he is for a constituent assembly? Forget that he has also said that he alone will name the "revolutionary council" and the *ulema* will maintain veto power over parliamentary decisions. Isn't he for the constitution? Of course—the constitution of 1906 which does not even allow women the right to vote. But he says everyone can vote, doesn't he? Sure, and he also says there is only one party—the party of allah.

A recent sermon serves as a good example of how this ascetic handles the democratic aspirations of the Iranians within the cryptic style of Islamic fundamentalism. Addressing more than 1,500 followers last week, Khomeini promised that the Islamic "republic" would provide "an honest system of justice." But he went on to note that "the Ali had set up such a fair system in the seventh century that 'even a Jew when he brought suit against the highest official in the land could make his case and win'" (*Time*, 5 February). Why does anyone take comfort from such statements?

The mullah supporters on the left like to pretend that the movement is really open-ended, that it can be pressured as it is into becoming democratic. This idea of giving the mass movement a democratic content is a particular favorite among self-proclaimed Trotskyists of all sorts. The problem is that the nature of the movement is quite clear. Khomeini speaks in oracular riddles but has always been straightforward about what he has been aiming for: an Islamic "republic."

Recently the United Secretariat's Tariq Ali took on the task of making the obscurantist mullah movement even more obscure in purpose. Only because Ali argues that the "Islamic republic" has no program of its own, can he give the Khomeini-led movement a democratic content. In a letter to "Supporters of Islamic Revolution" (*Intercontinental Press*, 29 January), he explains that "the ayatollahs do not represent a coherent political alternative," and that "...no consistent political or theoretical positions...can be derived from Islam." He poses what he hopes will be taken as rhetorical questions: "What is an Islamic state? What would be its class character? Who would own the means of production and especially the oil wells?" Does Ali really believe these are unanswerable questions?

What is meant by an "Islamic state"? Ali might go to Saudi Arabia or Libya to find out. A woman who finds his questions unanswerable might try walking about in the sacred city of Qom without a veil. For an Iranian woman who is thought to have "dishonored" the male members of her family, the character of the Islamic state is painfully clear. It is a cruel irony for the "consistent feminists" of the USec to call on the Islamic "republic" of the mullahs to institute their democratic program of day care centers and legal abortions, when the veil and woman-beating is the order of the day.

For Permanent Revolution in Iran

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is transparent in its support for Khomeini and the mullahs. And its denunciation of those "sectarians" who "identify the movement with the leadership" is to be expected. But a similar argument is made by a centrist, state-capitalist group in Britain, the Workers Power Group (WPG) although in a slicker and more direct form. The current issue of its newspaper has a long polemic against our slogan "Down with the Shah—Down with the Mullahs!" They say "the Spartacists throw together in a hopeless jumble every aspect of the mass movement and label it reactionary" ("Rights and Wrongs of the Spartacists," *Workers Power*, January 1979). What we do is *characterize the movement politically* based on an all-sided judgment of who

Interview with Khomeini Aide

The following is an excerpt from an interview with Ibrahim Yazdi, a secretary to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, broadcast on the program "One Man, One Voice" by BBC Radio 4 (London) on January 7:

• • • • •

BBC: "How do you see your relationship with the Communists? They have been in the past formidably strong, and they have spoken out about the desirability of forming an alliance with you. What is the relationship you foresee between you, ultimately?"

Yazdi: "Number one, as the ayatollah has said, even for the overthrow of the shah we will not cooperate with the Communists. We don't need that. The majority of our people are Muslims and this Islamic movement is very strong. We don't need to go to a lawyer for them or to any but Muslims to overthrow the shah."

BBC: "But do you welcome the support of the Communists?"

Yazdi: "We don't need that...."

BBC: "But they give you their support—orally, in their newspapers they call for a united front..."

Yazdi: "Well, they call for it, but they never did anything. They call, 'Down with the mullahs, down with the shah.' That's not supporting the Islamic movement."

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Spartacist Iran Forum

Down with the Shah!
Down with the mullahs!
For workers revolution in Iran!

WBAI-FM 99.5
Tuesday, February 6
8:30 p.m.

New York City

calls the shots and where the movement is heading.

How about that movement in Italy in 1922? Didn't it appeal to oppressed and exploited workers with real grievances? Don't communists want to win these workers to its side? But we must say the truth—that the fascist movement is reactionary. The Workers Power Group wants to give critical support to the mullahs by pretending they are not fighting for state power. Thus WPG writes, "Whilst the proletariat can and should fight alongside the mullah-led forces it will be fatal for it to support a Khomeini-style government." But that is just the point. It is not possible to fight "alongside" the mullahs and not be fighting for a Khomeini-style government.

Like the SWP, Workers Power offers a program to give democratic content to the mass movement for an "Islamic republic." But the group demonstrates its utter confusion when it calls upon this movement to institute the "separation of Mosque and state." The driving force of that movement is to bring the state to the mosque. Revolutionaries do not march alongside this movement for theocracy, but show workers that *their* path derives from their independent struggle for power.

Each time WPG reaches for a political generalization it comes up with a red herring. Thus WPG writes, "The Spartacists' position would in practice rule out an anti-imperialist united front against the Shah in Iran." First of all, where is this struggle against imperialism in Iran? The implication is that Khomeini is some kind of bourgeois nationalist fighting against imperialist domination, a sort of Chiang Kai-shek in turban, or even Mossadeq. But all this talk from Khomeini about fighting U.S. imperialism is so much hot air. Iran is a sub-imperialist power in its own area as the guerrilla rebels of Dhofar know at the cost of their lives. To paint up Khomeini as the prophet of the "democratic stage" is a crime against the masses of Iranians who genuinely desire democratic rights.

But even if Khomeini were a bourgeois nationalist rather than a clerical obscurantist with a social program for an Islamic theocracy, the "anti-imperialist united front" of Workers Power is a strategy for defeat. Would the vanguard of the proletariat make a temporary bloc with Chiang Kai-shek when he engaged in battles against the imperialists or feudalist war lords? Yes!

Der Spiegel

UPI

Left, anti-shah protesters topple statue of founder of Pahlavi dynasty. Now protesters face showdown with shah's military.

Would we make an "anti-imperialist united front" political bloc like the one Workers Power wants? No! This is the application of the Stalinist "two-stage revolution" for backward countries: first the bourgeois-democratic state, later socialist revolution. Against this formula for betrayal we champion the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution.

It should be obvious that the democratic tasks will not be solved in Iran either under the shah's "white revolution"—which can only be white terror—or the mullahs' Islamic "republic." This is the dividing line between Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and various propositions for a "democratic state" under the mullahs and the army. Struggle for a constituent assembly? Yes, but fight for one that is not a creature of a theocratic state. And that means a fight against the mullahs, a struggle for proletarian power! Fight for land reform? Yes, but not to redress the cosmetic reforms hated by the mullahs. We call for land to the tiller in the context of a struggle against the shah and against the Islamic clergy, who are among the largest holders of land in Iran!

People's justice for the SAVAK! Teheran has many lampposts and even more victims of SAVAK torture. When the mullahs, in an effort to save the secret police for their own use, say that the tribunals of people's justice must give way to the Islamic court, we say not an Islamic republic but workers' rule!

Most important of all, the workers in their factory committees must break from the leadership of the religious opposition. Unlike the bazaar merchants, the workers have a social organization that provides a ready basis to take up the struggle independently. When Bazargan went to the oil workers in the name of Khomeini and allah to ask them to ease up on their strike, he said that he found the workers were "not so religious." Here the ayatollahs and the generals find useful the Stalinist Tudeh Party, whose leader said recently that the "oil workers follow only Tudeh Party directives" (*Newsweek*, 29 January). And what are those directives? The Tudeh Party leader finds "no conflict between Communism and Khomeini's vision of an Islamic republic."

The Iranian revolution will begin when a Bazargan, or a Shahpur or some ayatollah is met by the oil workers with chants, not of "God is Great," but "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs, Workers Must Rule."■

What the Militant Doesn't Tell You About Iran

WASHINGTON POST
18 JANUARY 1979

"At Teheran University, leftist and religious demonstrators fought for two hours and witnesses reported a number of broken limbs and bloodied heads. Street demonstrations in the capital caused massive traffic jams. Police looked the other way and troops did not intervene."

LE MONDE
19 JANUARY 1979

"Teheran University remains one of the 'hot points' of agitation against the regime. Open to the public for the last five days, it has become a sort of open forum, in the style of the Sorbonne in 1968, where all opposition groupings are admitted. While marches and processions wind through the campus and nearby streets without let-up, small groups talk about the 'revolution' all day long. Less conspicuously, Marxist and Muslim students sell their 'white literature,' so-called because of the color of the book covers.

"On the other hand, the political and religious discussions which have been going on incessantly since the opening of the university have created an unhealthy climate of tension inside the campus. The debate at first concerned the topic of the Islamic republic and the role and action of Khomeini. Now it is simply about whether or not such discussions can take place at all. The religious groups maintain, in effect, that as long as the Islamic republic has not been installed, such discussions are useless and dangerous, because they fragment the opposition which should be united under the banner of Khomeini. The lay forces, representing a whole gamut of leftist and Marxist groups, object that by then [i.e., after the Islamic republic is installed] it will perhaps be too late to discuss, and that in any case it is impossible to prevent the clash of contradictory ideas in a society that has been muzzled for so long and suddenly plunged into an era of freedom.

"The discussions would probably have taken place peacefully if it were not for the action of religious groups from outside the university who, organized in small shock brigades, attempt to prevent them from taking place. On Wednesday we saw one of these groups race through, disrupting everything to cries of '*la hizb, illa hizb allah*!' ('No parties but the party of allah!')

"The discussion groups got back together immediately after they [the Muslim shock brigades] had brutally passed through. One student who protested too energetically against these rather undemocratic procedures was beaten right under our eyes with fist blows and kicks and then tossed off the campus....

"Certain leftist students are less optimistic [than the professors] and denounce the intransigence of the religious groups, whose views, they claim, are not shared by the higher-ups, that is by the ayatollahs Taleghani and Khomeini. At present the sale of leftist literature has not been disturbed. However, we were told of several cases in which religious militants ripped up leaflets distributed by the Marxist groups and tore down their wall newspapers.

"The religious groups, on their part, say they are upset about the reservations expressed by their non-religious allies on the subject of the 'Islamic republic.' A recent open letter by the leftist writer Zahimi to Khomeini, which appeared in *Avandegan* under the title 'Why I Am Against the Islamic Republic,' has made a lot of waves even though it was written in very respectful terms. Although it has been accepted by the immense majority of the population, the 'Islamic republic' is not unanimously approved in intellectual circles, even though they are close to Khomeini.

"Thus some complained about the fact that in his appeal to the Iranian people calling on them to participate on Friday in the great march celebrating the '40th day of mourning' of the death of Imam Hussein [eighth-century progenitor of the Shi'ite branch of Islam], Ayatollah Khomeini called on them to prove once again 'their support for an Islamic republic.' Previously the objective of the march had been to protest against the Pahlavi tyranny."

LE MONDE
23 JANUARY 1979

"On Saturday several thousand left-wing demonstrators were brutally attacked and dispersed on Pahlavi Avenue by religious militants to the now-habitual cries of, 'The only party is the party of Allah' and 'Ruhollah [Khomeini] is our leader.' On Sunday almost 2,000 student and working-class youth marched from Ghazvine Square to the Technical University of Aryamer, repeatedly chanting 'Workers, peasants, intellectuals unite in the struggle against the shah and imperialism! Long live Khomeini!'

"The march, organized by Marxist-Leninist students close to the Fedayin, was called to protest 'the intolerance of certain religious leaders.' It was constantly harassed by groups of Muslim activists who ran ahead of the procession inciting the population with cries of 'Watch out, the communists are coming,' 'This march has not been authorized by the religious leaders,' and 'They do not have the right to shout the name of Khomeini.'

"Left-wing professors and students, for their part, hold that the principle of freedom of expression, for which the Iranian people have sacrificed so many martyrs, must not be compromised. Some of them are counting on the upcoming arrival of Khomeini, hoping that this will help put a stop to the action of 'religious elements who have run amok,' in the belief that the latter do not necessarily reflect the views of the ayatollah. On Sunday left-wing demonstrators carried signs bearing one of the statements of the Shi'ite religious leader: 'Marxists have the right to express their opinions!'"■

Spartacist Spectre Haunts USec Debate on Castroism

FOR WORKERS POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CUBA!

Kremlin receives their man from Havana in Moscow. Specchio

PART TWO OF TWO

Part one of this article appeared in WV No. 223 19 January 1979

In celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution recently Socialist Workers Party leaders reminisced about the early 1960's, painting a rosy picture of a mutual admiration society between "Fidel" and the SWP. Castro had mentioned Farrell Dobbs' presidential candidacy at a giant rally in Havana, albeit only indirectly, while the SWP "printed more speeches by Castro and Che Guevara than any other English-language publication" (*Militant*, 22 December 1978). Actually, the relationship was rather more one-sided than this would suggest. And in recent years, as the luster of July 26th wore off, one of the SWP's main jobs as the unrequited (and unwanted) "best defender" of Castro has been to attack left critics of the Havana regime. And whether acknowledged or not, number one on their enemies list has always been the Spartacist League.

Like all apologists for bureaucratic anti-working-class regimes, the SWP finds distortion and downright lies more convenient than honest debate. Thus in a recent speech on "Cuba: Twenty Years of Revolution," SWP national secretary Jack Barnes disingenuously equates the SL with right-wing social democrats.

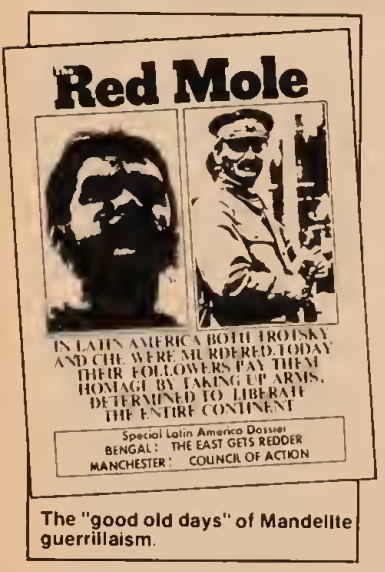
> "There were quite a few people who considered themselves socialists but didn't recognize the Cuban revolution as a socialist revolution . . . They were known as the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL). They have modern day clones like the Spartacist League. . . ."
>
> —*International Socialist Review*, February 1979

Of course, Barnes is well aware that "State Department socialists" of the YPSL stripe supported the Bay of Pigs invasion and were hypocritically "neutral" during the October 1962 missile crisis, whereas the SL and its predecessor, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP, never hesitated in defending the Cuban Revolution against imperialism.

In another instance an editorial introduction to a collection of writings by Joseph Hansen, *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, pretends that the RT characterized Castro's Cuba as capitalist:

> "A tendency in the IC [International Committee] led by Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League in Britain insisted that the lack of a mass Trotskyist party in Cuba meant that the state was capitalist. A minority of the SWP led by Shane Mage, Tim Wohlforth, and James Robertson held a similar view, as did the French section of the IC."

Again, it is no secret to the editors of Pathfinder Press that the Revolutionary Tendency *rejected* Healy's position and held that the 1960 nationalizations marked the overthrow of Cuban capitalism.



The "good old days" of Mandelite guerrillaism.

Why does the SWP resort to such slander and falsification? This is not hard to fathom. It is a simple matter to demonstrate that the bourgeoisie no longer rules in Havana; it is far more difficult to reply to Spartacist arguments that the Castro regime is characterized by the Stalinist traits of bonapartist-bureaucratic rule at home and a nationalist foreign policy. Curiously, nowhere in Hansen's book does he even mention the definitive position of the RT (upheld ever since by the international Spartacist tendency), namely that Cuba had become a *deformed workers state*.

As early as December 1961, in a resolution submitted to the convention of the SWP youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the Revolutionary Tendency wrote:

> "Taken as a whole, the process going on today in Cuba is that of the formation of a deformed workers state—that is, the creation of a society like that which exists in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China."
>
> —Shane Mage, "The Cuban Revolution," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8 (Cuba and Marxist Theory)

A year and a half later, at the July 1963 SWP convention, the differences on Cuba were succinctly stated in counterposed international resolutions by the Dobbs-Hansen leadership and the RT. The majority wrote:

> "9. The appearance of a workers state in Cuba—the exact form of which is yet to be settled—is of special interest since the revolution there was carried out under a leadership completely independent from the school of Stalinism. In its evolution toward revolutionary Marxism, the July 26 Movement set a pattern that now stands as an example for a number of other countries."
>
> —"For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," reprinted in SWP Education for Socialists bulletin *Marxism vs. Ultraleftism*

While the SWP tops were enthusiastically whooping it up for Castro, always keeping one eye cocked toward their recruitment rate, the minority analyzing the Cuban Revolution from the standpoint of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, arrived at a very different conclusion:

> "13. The Cuban Revolution has exposed the vast inroads of revisionism upon our movement. On the pretext of defense of the Cuban Revolution, in itself an obligation for our movement, full unconditional and uncritical support has been given to the Castro government and leadership, despite its petit-bourgeois nature and bureaucratic behavior. Yet the record of the regime's opposition to the democratic rights of the Cuban workers and peasants is clear: bureaucratic ouster of the democratically-elected leaders of the labor movement and their replacement by Stalinist hacks; suppression of the Trotskyist press, proclamation of the single-party system, and much else. This record stands side by side with enormous initial social and economic accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution. Thus Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and of the deformed workers' state which has issued therefrom. But Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers' democracy, even if our tactical approach is not as toward a hardened bureaucratic caste."
>
> —"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9 (Basic Documents of the Spartacist League)

This still stands today, a decade and a half later, as a fundamental characterization of the Castro regime and the attitude of Trotskyists toward it.

The Cuban question, moreover, was no secondary issue for the SWP leadership or the Revolutionary Tendency. According to *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, "A common position on the Cuban revolution was part of the growing area of political agreement that led to the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963, after a split lasting ten years." But while Dobbs and Hansen joined Ernest Mandel to found the United Secretariat (USec) on the basis of applauding Castroism, the RT was expelled from the SWP on frame-up charges of "disloyalty." Thus it was over the issue of Cuba that the SWP's break with Trotskyism took place, and the Spartacist tendency represents the continuity of those who fought against this betrayal from a Marxist perspective.

For years the SL was locked in national isolation in the U.S. while it was taboo in the USec to refer to Cuba as a deformed workers state. In 1973 a small Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency in the U.S. (with supporters in Australia and Canada) did so, and it too was summarily expelled (see *Spartacist* No. 23, Spring 1977). Nevertheless history marched on, and as Castro abandoned all support to guerrilla adventures abroad, clearly subordinating his foreign policy to the détente aims of the Kremlin while continuing bureaucratic repression domestically, many would-be Trotskyists found themselves pushed willy-nilly toward the conclusion that Stalinism held sway in Havana. This has led recently to a notable upsurge of interest in Spartacist literature on Cuba. And as the USec's 11th World Congress approaches, with the Cuban question actively under discussion, it will be impossible for intellectually honest militants to avoid confronting the uniquely consistent revolutionary program of the SL.

The Formation of the Cuban Deformed Workers State

For a fuller exposition of this analysis we refer our readers to the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8 on "Cuba and Marxist Theory." Here we will only sketch some of the key elements, expose the SWP's cowardly slanders and point out the general methodological significance of the Spartacist position on Cuba for the broader programmatic question of the deformed workers states that arose following World War II (Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam, etc.).

The most comprehensive exposition produced by the RT, "Cuba and the Deformed Workers States" by Tim Wohlforth, stressed the *qualitative* difference between workers states of the soviet or commune type and the deformed/degenerated workers states. In the former case the proletariat rules through its own democratic representative institutions (workers councils—soviets—or their equivalent) and revolutionary party. In the latter case, even though it requires the collectivist property relations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a bonapartist regime controls the state apparatus, excluding the working class from exercising power.

In the USSR it took a thermidorian political counterrevolution for the bureaucracy to achieve its domination, while in the deformed workers states this usurpation of power existed from birth, due to the absence of the working class as an active force in those revolutions. This absence was the result not of chance but of bloody repression: in China the proletariat was atomized by Chiang Kai-shek's police, in Cuba it was terrorized by Batista's torturers and disciplined by the gangster union leader Mujal. The RT stressed that a petty-bourgeois leadership based on a peasant guerrilla force could not have played such an independent role if the workers had been mobilized. Instead there would have been a clash, as in Vietnam where in 1945 the Stalinist-led guerrillas joined the imperialists in massacring the Trotskyist leadership of the Saigon workers uprising.

In contrast, for Hansen and the USec workers democracy is merely *normative*, an ideal which is approximated in differing quantitative degrees by all existing workers states: Lenin's Russia was very good, Stalin's Russia was very bad, Castro's Cuba is pretty good, Ho's Vietnam is not so good, etc. So in the first place if there are no "institutions of proletarian democracy" in Cuba, don't worry, Castro has popular support and perhaps soviets will turn up later. And if the Trotskyists of the POR are arrested and their newspaper suppressed, do not overrate its significance; after all, it could be worse (e.g., Stalin's Gulag), and with a little pressure and advice, perhaps Castro himself could be won over. The SWP ignores the decisive question of *power*, pretending that if there are no organs of proletarian democracy there is a vacuum; but if the workers don't rule directly, then someone else must. In Cuba that someone is Castro and his bonapartist clique.

One of the specific characteristics of the Cuban Revolution was the initial lack of a clearly defined bureaucratic caste. On the rare occasions when SWP spokesmen have polemicized against a deformed workers state characterization of the Castro regime, this is one of their main pieces of "evidence" as to its supposed "democratic tendency." Such arguments carry no weight, however, for rather than being embodied in a Stalinist "party," state power was clearly in the hands of Castro and those sections of the governmental apparatus headed by his closest associates (the agrarian reform agency INRA, directly administered by Fidel in the early years; the reorganized Revolutionary Armed Forces commanded by Raúl; Guevara's Ministry of Industry). Nevertheless, the fact that a ruling bureaucracy was only in the process of formation made Cuba far more open to the intervention of Trotskyists than any other deformed workers state.

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This fact was clearly recognized by the RT. The Wohlforth document called for "a considerably different strategy and tactics than that which we would apply in a more stable (relatively) deformed workers state such as China." And the document "Notes on the Cuban Discussion Within the Revolutionary Tendency" (April 1963) by James Robertson argues that:

> "... the program of political revolution for Cuba ought to be given a transitional formulation (e.g., 'Make the Government Ministers Responsible to and Removable by Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Organizations')... While this advantage for proletarian intervention is, or more likely was, transient, it should not just be written off but tested out in practical agitation as the Cuban Bl A'ist Trotskyists [the supporters of J. Posadas' Latin American Bureau] were doing in their press up to the time it was closed down."
>
> —*Marxist Bulletin* No. 8

Particularly from late 1959 through mid-1962, there were important opportunities for such intervention. K.S. Karol notes the appearance of a number of mass organizations during the early period of the Cuban Revolution:

> "There was the Militia, the symbol of a whole nation under arms; the various Committees for the Defense of the Revolution [CDR]; the ANAP (National Association of Small Farmers), the revolutionary trade unions; and many others."
>
> —*Guerrillas in Power: The Course of the Cuban Revolution* (1970)

The CDRs were set up in September 1959 to provide a system of collective vigilance against counterrevolution. The militia was a volunteer army of 150,000 workers organized after the October 1959 crisis in the Rebel Army provoked by the attempted uprising by Hubert Matos. In the unions, the *mujalista* top leadership had been purged and replaced by July 26 Movement supporters.

For a short time it would have been possible to call for a government responsible to these mass organizations while struggling for full workers democracy within them (right to tendency, democratic elections, delegates recallable at any time). However, by spring 1960 the old-line PSP Stalinists had already put a hammerlock on the labor federation, the CDRs were soon subordinated to the G.2 (army intelligence) and the militia was turned into a civil defense organization (with the rifles locked up) after some popular disturbances in the summer of 1962.

Who Defended the Cuban Revolution?

Of course, the SWP leadership did not argue that the minority was passing up opportunities to mobilize the masses in struggle for workers democracy and an internationalist policy in Cuba. On the contrary, their "arguments" amounted to the charge of "slamming all doors" on Castro and the vile slander that the Trotskyist opponents of Castroism "didn't defend the Cuban Revolution."

So just how did the RT supposedly fail to defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism? First, it seems that it was guilty of the crime of calling on the SWP's *Militant* to "*campaign* for proletarian democracy in Cuba" during

Guardian

Revolutionary militia in Cuba during early 1960's. 150,000 workers joined volunteer armed forces set up to replace Rebel Army after Hubert Matos mutiny. Two years later militia was dissolved following popular disturbances, guns locked up.

early 1961, at a time when the Bay of Pigs invasion was being prepared and launched. Here is Hansen's indictment:

> "Had the Militant opened a 'campaign' for proletarian democracy at that precise time it would not only have made it difficult to differentiate our position from that of the counterrevolution, it would have facilitated the slanderous charge that we were acting as a 'left cover' for the counterrevolution; and, as a matter of fact, in view of the need for centralism in facing the attack, the Cuban workers would have had good cause to consider such a campaign at that precise time as a 'criminal act of sabotage against this revolution.'"
>
> —"What the Discussion on Cuba is About" (May 1961), reprinted in *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*

Is that so? In other words, since the POR *was* campaigning for proletarian democracy in Cuba in the spring of 1961 it was *correct* to shut down their paper?! We recall that Stalin made the same charges against the Trotskyists at the time of the Moscow Purge Trials. Would the SWP care to argue that the Fourth International committed a "criminal act of sabotage against the Russian Revolution" because it continued to call for a political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy even at the time of Hitler's attack?

That brings us to the second item in the SWP's slanderous charge that the revolutionary minority in the party did not defend Cuba against imperialist attack: the missile crisis of October 1962. In "Cuba—The Acid Test" (November 1962) Hansen mocks the insistence by the International Committee (IC—led by Healy's Socialist Labour League [SLL] after the departure of the SWP) that rockets were not the way to defend the revolution. But although his article is sprinkled with quotes from the SLL's *Newsletter*, Hansen does not even *mention* the IC statement on the crisis, "Defend the Cuban Revolution." That declaration clearly stated:

> "The working class of the world must act to prevent the Cuban Revolution from being crushed. Such action must be independent of the policies of Khrushchev and the Soviet bureaucracy. Their line of peaceful co-existence designed only to preserve their own privileged rule by diplomatic deals, is opposed to the spread of the Cuban Revolution and to independent workers' action, which are the only guarantees of Cuba's defence. Installation of Soviet missile bases in Cuba is not for the defence of the Cuban Revolution, but part of the diplomatic game of Khrushchev."
>
> —*Newsletter*, 3 November 1962

Furthermore, the Revolutionary Tendency, which was in general political solidarity with Healy although disagreeing with the SLL position that Cuba was still a capitalist state, sent its own declaration on the October crisis to the SWP leadership. In addition to requesting that the *Militant* publish the 3 November IC communiqué, and that the Political Committee adopt its political line as a "starting point of a campaign for international working-class solidarity with the Cuban revolution based on the establishment of workers' democracy in Cuba," the RT declaration stated:

> "The Cuban revolution is now at its hour of greatest peril. The result of the round trip of the Soviet missiles has been to make a deal between Khrushchev and Kennedy at the expense of the Cuban people no longer merely a perspective but an immediate threat ...
> "In this situation the duty of the Trotskyists toward the Cuban revolution only *begins* with demonstrations of sympathy and support for Cuba....
> "The decisive point in the political line in defense of the Cuban revolution

continued on page 8

Keystone

Castro and Ben Bella in Cuba. Hansen labeled both regimes "workers and peasants government." But three years later Algerian leader was ousted in army coup. Too bad, says Hansen, "Ben Bella was no Castro."

Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

> against *all* its enemies is explicit denunciation of the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy *in the concrete instance of Cuba*. The Cuban revolution cannot be defended by arms *under the control of Kremlin bureaucrats whose only interest is to turn the revolution to the service of Russian foreign policy, including selling it out entirely if the price is right*.... The false policy of the Castro leadership, its political bloc with the Stalinists, has gravely undermined this defense."
>
> —"Declaration on the Cuban Crisis" (30 November 1962), in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3, Part I (The Split in the Revolutionary Tendency)

And the SWP leadership—how did they defend the Cuban Revolution? In the *Militant* coverage at the time of the October crisis they criticize neither Castro (of course) *nor Khrushchev* (except for keeping the presence of the missiles secret!). Moreover, in a now-famous letter, from long-time SWP leader James P. Cannon to Farrell Dobbs, dated 31 October 1962, Cannon listed the conditions Khrushchev agreed to and then asked

> "What else could he have done under the given circumstances" ..
>
> "Those who judge otherwise should tell us what alternative course the Kremlin should have followed on the military and diplomatic fronts at that excruciating point of decision."
>
> —reprinted in SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 16, July 1977

But we thought that Trotskyists were supposed to put forward a revolutionary program, not advise the Stalinist bureaucracy on how to protect its interests!

The actual course of the SWP at this point was not toward becoming "left" advisers of the Stalinists, but rather in the direction of pacifist capitulation to the U.S. bourgeoisie. This is made quite clear in Cannon's letter, which talks repeatedly of "Washington's evident determination to go the limit." But the dramatic evidence of which way these ex-Trotskyists were heading came a year later when John F. Kennedy was shot down in Dallas. The accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, had been a member of the SWP-led Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and the hysterical bourgeois press was portraying him as a Castro agent. So what did the SWP do? The answer is well-known: it fired off a telegram of condolences to the widow of the No. 1 imperialist, the man responsible for the Bay of Pigs invasion and the threat of nuclear war unleashed during the October missile crisis. Some defense of the Cuban Revolution!

Spartacist Canada

NLB

USec theoreticians Ernest Mandel (above) and Livio Maitan. On the way back from the guerrilla road they bumped into Cuba.

IMT Guerrillaists Turn Against Castro

Interestingly, the current discussion on Cuba within the United Secretariat was raised not by the reformist SWP-led wing, the former Leninist Trotskyist Faction (LTF), but by the centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) led by Ernest Mandel, who not so long ago was a vociferous cheerleader for Guevarism. From 1969 through 1977 these two groupings in the USec were at each other's throats over a series of issues, beginning with a supposed "turn" toward guerrillaism by the Mandelites in the late 1960's. The majority had taken the OLAS Conference in Havana (July 1967) as the toesin for a new wave of Cuban-backed guerrilla struggles throughout Latin America. Instead, as one IMTer wrote ruefully a decade later, "OLAS was the requiem of the Castroite current" (Pablo Rojas, "El centrismo de 'tipo castrista' en América Latina," *Combate* [Sweden], February 1977).

Consequently, the IMT guerrillaists never received the hoped-for material aid from Cuba, and every one of their guerrilla ventures turned into a disaster. In Bolivia a joint effort with remnants of Guevara's ELN to establish a *foco* not far from the capital of La Paz was nipped in the bud by the army, leading to many deaths; the survivors abandoned the USec to throw in their lot with the ELN. In Argentina the official section of the United Secretariat, Roberto Santucho's PRT, became so enthusiastically committed to the "guerrilla road" that it, too, left the USec in favor of mainstream Castroism. (However, on the military plane, despite some spectacular actions in the early 1970's, the PRT was impotent in the face of Videla's 1976 coup; and politically Castro was more interested in good relations with the Peronist government than in supporting a Trotskyoid guerrilla outfit.)

So with nothing but unmitigated defeats on the balance sheet of its "armed struggle" line, and in the more sedate mid-1970's atmosphere of the popular front (as contrasted to the heady Guevarist ambiance following May '68), in late 1977 the IMT wrote a "self-criticism" arguing that the USec had missed the boat by taking up guerrillaism too late. But having been burned badly, they went on to question their own previous line on Cuba as well:

> "The first source of these errors lies in the fact that at the time (and this is still partially true today) we lacked a *complete* and *correct* view of the *real* lessons of the Cuban revolution....
>
> "...*we did not clearly oppose the incorrect lessons* drawn from the Cuban revolution by the great majority of the Latin American vanguard....
>
> "Che's departure from Cuba in 1966 reflected a qualitative change in this relationship of forces within the Cuban leadership. We did not understand this. *That was the second source of our errors of analysis during the Ninth World Congress.*"
>
> —"Self-Criticism on Latin America," in [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 13, No. 8, December 1976

And in an off-hand, by-the-bye remark, the IMT document casually refers to "the role of the bureaucratized workers states (especially China and Cuba at the beginning)"—thereby pointing to a major revision in the program of the USec ever since 1963. Moreover, in a recently issued draft resolution on Latin America for the upcoming 11th World Congress of the USec, the new "majority" of the United Secretariat—obviously under pressure from the ex-IMT—refuses to take a position on Cuba.

In arguing that the Cuban Revolution has degenerated, the Mandelites' biggest problem has been to fix the turning point. They are constrained both to find a major event and to explain why they missed its significance at the time. So their solution has been to come up instead with a whole series of "bending points" (*points d'inflexion*)!

According to a "dossier" on "Cuba 20 Years Later" published by the French LCR, the first of these "bending points" was the "big turn of the 'economic debate'" of 1963-65. It will be recalled that Ernest Mandel participated in that debate supporting "Che" Guevara's utopian Stalinist economic model based on "moral incentives" against the pro-Moscow Stalinists' insistence on material incentives (see "'Radical Egalitarian' Stalinism: A Post Mortem," *Spartacist* No. 25, Summer 1978). It seems, according to the Mandelites, that there was also a second debate, "limited to small circles of the leadership," concerning socialist democracy and "'internal' deepening of the revolutionary process" (*Rouge*, 29 December 1978-1 January 1979). Of course, the author concedes that the importance of this turn was hidden by certain factors, such as the fact that Castro implemented Guevara's program up until the disastrous 1970 sugar harvest.

The LCR places a second "bending point" in 1968, in the foreign policy of the Castro regime. Until that "right turn," the Mandelites see the Cubans as pursuing a revolutionary internationalist policy in Latin America; however, following the defeat of Guevara's adventure in Bolivia, Castro increasingly follows the straight Moscow line. The first evidence is, of course, his support for the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, later followed by political endorsement of the "anti-imperialist" generals in Peru, of Torrijos in Panama, of Allende's "peaceful road" to bloody counterrevolution in Chile, of Mengistu's "red terror" against Guevarists in Ethiopia.

The Mandelites leave unmentioned the support of both Castro and Guevara to the populist regime of João Goulart in Brazil prior to the 1974 coup and their *discouragement* of guerrilla struggle by peasants in the explosive Northeast during the Goulart period. The LCR "dossier" makes much of the 1975 meeting of Latin American Communist Parties, which did not mention any of Castro's erstwhile guerrillaist followers and endorsed Soviet-line détente. But they don't mention that the Cuban government all along sought an alliance with the pro-Moscow CPs, with disastrous results in the case of Che's Bolivian fiasco. The third "bending point" is the reappraisal of economic management following the failed Ten Million Ton sugar harvest. Suffice it to say that for the SWP's Harry Ring, this "turn" marked a new struggle against bureaucratism (see Part I of this article)!

One thing should be noted about the former International Majority Tendency's talk of a "bureaucratized" workers state in Cuba. This is part of a new trend on Mandel's part to try to replace standard Trotskyist categories with precise meaning by vaguer concepts having no necessary programmatic consequences. Thus after much haggling between IMT and LTF over electoral policy toward recent popular fronts in Europe, in which the Mandelites at first denied that the French Union of the Left was indeed a popular front (as they did with the Allende UP in Chile), now they talk vaguely of "class-collaborationist coalitions." Similarly with the "bureaucratized" workers states: this term does *not* imply, in current Pabloist usage, a call for political revolution. This subterfuge was first used by the IMT for China at the USec's Tenth World Congress.

The SWP, however, has resisted the attempt to revise the line on Cuba set down in the founding documents of the United Secretariat. They know, first of all, that this could shake the whole delicate house of cards by putting the foundation into question. Commenting on the IMT's "self-criticism," the SWP's Barnes reacted sharply on only one point.

"To my knowledge, at the time of the

Camera Press

Che Guevara: hunted down and assassinated by the CIA in Bolivia.

1963 reunification of the Fourth International, there was total agreement on this analysis of Cuba... So to revise our analysis of that sequence... is to revise a common position, codified in the reunification documents and never challenged in written form inside the international
"... what I consider to be one of the biggest errors contained in the IMT Self-Criticism document that is, recasting the history of the Cuban revolution."
—"The Meaning of the IMT Steering Committee's Self-Criticism on Latin America," *IIDB* Vol. 14, No. 5, May 1977

The other reason is that Barnes correctly senses the Spartacist spectre haunting any reopening of the Cuban question.

Anti-Keil

Recently, fake Trotskyists have attempted to come up with "new" explanations for the development of a deformed workers state in the "pearl of the Antilles." These "theories," however, are no gems and are motivated primarily by a horror of the consequences of recognizing the validity of the amply confirmed Spartacist analysis of Castroism.

The most bizarre of these treatises is an attempt by the ex-Healyite Workers Socialist League (WSL) to extend Tim Wohlforth's one-time theory of structural assimilation to Cuba. After authoring the most comprehensive exposition of the deformed workers state position in the Revolutionary Tendency, Wohlforth became a water-boy for Healy, split the RT, set up the RT leaders to get them expelled on phony "loyalty" charges—and discovered that Cuba was still capitalist. In the mid-1960's he penned a pompous essay, "The Theory of Structural Assimilation," trying to extend the Fourth International's explanation of how the East European satellite countries became deformed workers states to the very different cases of Yugoslavia and China. Apparently Healy was not too interested, for the pamphlet soon went out of print, and Wohlforth has not revived it after rejoining the SWP as a scribe for hire for Jack Barnes.

But the WSL has. Only they have added their own original contribution by Adam Westoby (*"Communists" Against Revolution* [1978]), who treads where even Wohlforth knew it was better to keep silent (he promised a separate document on Cuba which never materialized). Westoby agrees that Cuba is today a deformed workers state, but he sees it arising not through anything so crude as a revolution but rather by an infusion of Moscow's geostrategic might. Ignoring such mundane matters as the late 1960 nationalizations (they are not even mentioned), he places the transition point at November 1962:

"In the Cuban missile crisis, for example, matters were settled (including the class nature of the state in Cuba) direct on the telephone between Washington and Moscow with scarcely a reference back to Havana on Khrushchev's part."
—*Op. Cit.*

Cuba, it seems, was "structurally assimilated" by sending (*and taking back!*) two dozen rockets. Westoby does recognize certain problems posed by geographical distance but dismisses their importance in the Sputnik age:

"...Cuba is not adjacent to the Soviet Union. The post-war development of both nuclear fusion (hydrogen) bombs and long-range missiles made this, however, less and less of a crucial factor. Like the forces of production themselves the nature of state (and military) power, has taken on not just international, but world-wide contours."
—*Ibid.*

Just worldwide? Aren't you being too limited in your vision, comrade Westoby? What about the space age? We would like to know, for instance, if the USSR has also structurally assimilated part of the moon with their landings. And could the same go for the capitalist U.S.? For a fuller treatment of this transcendental essay, see "The Real Lessons of Cuba," *Spartacist/Britain*, Nos. 3 and 4, July-August and September 1978).

But the most diligent of the new Cuba theorists is one David Keil, whose several contributions on the subject are to be found tucked away in SWP internal bulletins. Comrade Keil's particular angle is that he eclectically takes over bits and pieces of the RT/Spartacist analysis while simultaneously trying to conciliate the SWP leaders, particularly Hansen, and heap slander and abuse on the iSt. What is most striking about his appeal for a change in the USec position on Cuba, however, is that it attacks the SWP *from the right*, arguing in effect for a consistently *social-democratic* position of opposing all Stalinist regimes. Yet playing the same game as the old SWP-led "Leninist Trotskyist Faction," Keil has appealed to some leftist elements who may take his seemingly orthodox phraseology at face value.

Prensa Latina

Exporting class betrayal: Castro with Panama's General Torrijos.

First, it would be instructive to let Keil himself go on at some length spewing out his venom against the Spartacist League. In his initial statement calling for a characterization of Cuba as a bureaucratized workers state, he writes:

"In December, 1973, a discussion article by Comrade Upendranath Roy of India appeared... arguing that Castroism is Stalinism and that Cuba is a deformed workers state. This was a good development as a beginning of a discussion.
"Unfortunately, Comrade Roy praised a grouping which existed for a short time in the Socialist Workers Party, the Revolutionary Tendency. The RT later split and part of it became the Spartacist League, a sectarian group. The Spartacist League calls for a political revolution in Cuba based on its false theory that a workers state not under the leadership of a revolutionary party is automatically deformed, and not on Marxist theory or on the facts. Its formally correct position on the nature of the Cuban workers state is therefore based on unscientific theories which lead it to this position by accident.
"The RT, moreover, was an unprincipled bloc, factionally tied to the Healy leadership of the Socialist Labour League of England during the discussion of the Cuban Revolution in the early 1960s. James Robertson, the leader of the wing of the RT which was later to become the Spartacist League, believed that Cuba was a workers state—deformed—but supported the Healyite faction which said that Cuba was still capitalist. He and his associates thus emulated the unprincipled cliquist Abern of the 1939-40 SWP discussion ...by making a factional bloc with those who wished to revise the Marxist theory of the state in practice by calling a workers state 'capitalist' simply because of its deformations (Wohlforth and Healy did this on Cuba, Burnham and Shachtman on the Soviet Union)....
"Robertson and his group have never been concerned with defending in a Marxist way their formally correct position that Cuba is a deformed workers state. Nor could such a thing be expected of a group like the Spartacists.
"Moreover, contrary to the SWP, which unflinchingly stood up to the pressure of imperialism, the Robertsonites and Wohlforthites capitulated, advocating that the party go on a major public 'campaign' in the U.S. against the leadership in Cuba just as the revolution was under furious imperialist military attack. Such action at that time would have been a stab in the back of the Cuban Revolution.
"The Spartacists are still proud of their past unprincipled behavior, however, and have even made a Spanish translation of their miserable documents."
—"For a Change in Our Position on Cuba," in *IIDB* Vol. 12, No. 5, October 1975

So there we have Keil's "critique" of the only group which for a decade and a half has held the position he considers "formally correct." Nothing but a string of slanders, distortions, non-sequiturs and empty phrases. Hardly a serious job.

Starting from the top of the list, we have already taken apart Hansen's disgusting charge, borrowed by Keil, that a campaign for workers democracy in Cuba would have been "a stab in the back of the Cuban Revolution." No one holding this position would have been in the Trotskyist movement in the 1930's; rather they would have been with the Stalinists and capitulators, attacking the Fourth International as "agents of imperialism" and a "Nazi fifth column" for its refusal to lower its banners of proletarian democracy. It is easy to see how they would confuse such counterposed conceptions as proletarian and bourgeois democracy, however, since with the SWP's latter-day Kautskyite theories of socialism equaling "consistent democracy" they find no qualitative difference. As for the "unflinching" SWP, it would be more accurate to say it was cringing with its tail between its legs during the anti-Cuban red scare over the Kennedy assassination.

And what about that "rotten bloc" with Healy? To begin with, unlike the Abern-Burnham lash-up, there was agreement on concrete tasks regarding Cuba, as the SLL defended the Castro regime against imperialist attack, defended the nationalized property forms and called for the formation of soviets to replace the Bonapartist rule of Castro & Co. Burnham, on the other hand, was for a defeatist position in the event of an attack on the USSR by the imperialist "democracies." Second, the only real basis for the Abern-Burnham bloc was opposition to the "Cannon regime." In the case of the Revolutionary Tendency's solidarity with the SLL, it was based on common opposition to Hansen and Dobbs' capitulation to Pabloism, notably the opportunist reunification then under way with Mandel's I.S. But Keil is hardly in a position to complain: by his criteria he is in a rather more "rotten bloc" with Hansen, not only by membership in the SWP but also in the LTF, with which he disagreed not only over the character of the Cuban state, but also over the attitude toward its leadership. (He calls for political revolution, they call for hurrahs.)

The SL claims that Cuba is a deformed workers state because of the absence of a Trotskyist leadership? Not so—our criteria are the absence of proletarian democracy and Castro's bonapartist rule, but it *became* a deformed workers state because of the absence of a proletarian vanguard, as Keil would find out if he read any of the RT and Spartacist documents. Our position is based not on Marxist theory, but accident? Well, that is his opinion, although we did dn alright with our "unscientific" program for a good many years before Keil with his undivulged "Marxist" method discovered Cuba was "bureaucratized."

As to the supposed "split" of the RT from the SWP, this was not only an open expulsion, but a *political* one, not for any breach of discipline but because the Dobbs-Hansen leadership held that the characterization of the SWP as "centrist" proved "disloyalty." But that is just what Keil means by his bureaucratic euphemism, as we shall see.

So much for his dirty work against the SL. As to his "theory," it is made up of unacknowledged borrowings from RT and Spartacist documents, plus smatterings from Hansen to smooth out the hard, angular positions. Thus he believes Cuba became a deformed workers state with the nationalizations in late 1960, but that Castro did not turn Stalinist until fusing the July 26 Movement with the PSP in mid-1961; prior to that point he wants to play around with "Fidel," and even after that he wants to give him "critical support" on occasion. But there is one vital difference: the RT pointed out that the SWP position on Cuba represented a betrayal of the party's Trotskyist heritage, and that the formation of the USec was carried out on the basis of Pabloist liquidationism, principally over Cuba. Keil, however, sees it just as a "bad position" which should be rectified:

"The reunification of these forces in 1963 took place on the basis of a political program which was generally correct and of a Trotskyist character, but the documents of this Reunification Congress are incorrect on the question of Stalinism."
—"For a Change in Our Position on Cuba"

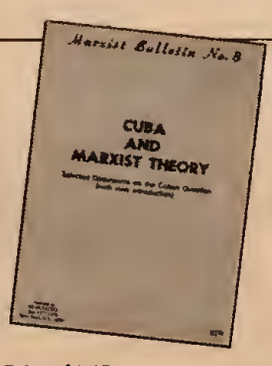
So what is Keil up to? It should be quite apparent that there is something amiss here, for although Keil claims to stand on a program that is "formally" akin to that of the Spartacist League on the subject dearest to his heart, he has nothing but invective for the SL, and does not approach our positions on any other issue. The answer is he represents the far right wing of the old LTF, those who were most eager to split with the Mandelite IMT in order to be rid of the "ultra-left danger." Not surprisingly his views closely parallel those of the French OCI (except on the Cuba issue, where the Lambertistes still believe that the Castro regime is a workers and peasants government 20 years later!).

Thus Keil emphasizes the need to change the SWP position on Cuba in order to more fully distance itself from the Mandelites' "ultra-leftism"... and to do it in a hurry, before the IMT "wrecks" the USec:

"The Socialist Workers Party must also change its position on Cuba. Our position has been the same as that of the IMT and the organizations under its political influence.
"Contrary to the IMT, however, the SWP has taken a correct stand on other questions of world importance, such as China, Vietnam, Portugal and Angola. In each of these cases, the IMT leaders have tailed behind petty-bourgeois leaderships.
"In my opinion, the IMT will wreck the Fourth International if its line is not rejected as a whole and in each of its centrist parts—including the Cuban part."
—"Cuba: Trotsky's Method Versus Mailan's Liquidationism"

Add up the SWP/LTF positions on

continued on page 10



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Cuba...

(continued from page 9)

China, Vietnam, *Portugal* and *Angola* and throw in a deformed workers state position on Cuba and what do you get? A fleshed-out program of Stalinophobia. While the iSt stands on the intransigent revolutionary program of Trotskyism, and thus our opposition to Stalinist rule in Cuba is from the left, for the *reformist* SWP its present pro-Castro policies are a hangover from an earlier *centrist* period. For Jack Barnes et al. to declare Cuba a deformed workers state would be a major step toward mainstream social democracy.

Furthermore, Keil's press for "reunification" with the OCI became particularly insistent right in the summer of 1975, over the issue of Portugal. In a document written at that time he repeatedly and provocatively calls for a split from the IMT, and for ITF unity with the OCI:

> "Does democratic centralism prevent Leninist-Trotskyists from having a discussion with the OCI regardless of the IMT's objections?
>
> "When the program of the majority is centrist, as is the program imposed on the Fourth International by the IMT, then there is not even the basis for democratic centralism....
>
> "What in the world does 'unity,' what there is left of it, mean in this context? Nothing.
>
> "The situation has gone on too long already, in my opinion. 'Unity' on this basis can only lead to an unprincipled split.... If the IMT makes a total split in the Fourth International over the question of whether members and supporters have the right to discuss Portugal with the OCI on a principled basis, then the IMT will thereby prove once and for all that it is ... a grouping outside the bounds of Trotskyism.
>
> "The IMT position on Portugal ... is diametrically opposed to the Trotskyist position. It is a centrist position which objectively aids the Stalinists....
>
> "The OCI position ... is in my opinion generally correct, not just on one or two points but in its overall thrust, and certainly within the bounds of Trotskyism."
>
> "For a Fraternal Discussion with the French OCI," SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 15, August 1975

Thus, and not Cuba, is where the heart of Keil's politics are to be found. Portugal in the summer of 1975 was in the throes of a boiling pre-revolutionary situation. At the time the Socialist Party of Mário Soares, *bankrolled to the tune of millions of dollars per month by the CIA*, was heading up an anti-Communist offensive that extended all the way to fascist-led burnings of leftist offices. In this situation the OCI policy was for a *Soares government*, while the SWP had a slightly less blatant policy of tailing after Portuguese social democracy (see "SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution in Portugal," *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975). *Thus Keil's urgent call for a split with the IMT at this moment represented a rabid thirst to enroll in the ranks of CIA social democracy!*

Fidelistas in Grey Flannel Suits

The SWP does not presently feel under pressure to abandon its Cuban left cover, either from the American bourgeoisie or for its factional maneuverings in and around the United Secretariat. While Carter is still holding off on diplomatic recognition, the Cubans have long since abandoned any support to struggles against dictatorships in Latin America, and a wing of American liberals (Vance, Andy Young, the National Council of Churches) even consider Castro as a "stabilizing" factor in Africa. In the USec a "live and let live" truce has been arranged in which all controversial topics are simply avoided in their documents and each wing is soft on the Stalinists of its former colonial possession (the SWP on Cuba, the French LCR on Vietnam), as a reflection of a certain level of sympathy for them in liberal or moderate left circles respectively.

So the SWP will occasionally get carried away in its paeans to the tamed heroes of yesteryear, occasionally reaching grotesque proportions which openly deny their by-now purely verbal Trotskyist heritage. Thus in his speech on the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, Jack Barnes proclaimed:

> "At the 1961 convention of the SWP, Morris Stein, one of the experienced veteran leaders of the party, explained to a minority grouping inside the SWP that was opposed to recognizing the realities of Cuba that the Castro leadership was superior to the Bolshevik leadership, once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that."
>
> *ISR*, February 1979

One wonders why, if this is so, Trotsky even bothered to build the Third International, not to mention the Fourth which began on a far narrower base of recognized and tested leaders. For that matter, why does the SWP call itself Trotskyist any more if the Castroites are so superior?! Or there is the absurd counterpoint, such as another remark in the same speech:

> "The Castro leadership began their struggle not by taking up arms, but by doing something we emulated twenty years later—they filed a suit against the government. When Batista made his coup in 1952, Fidel went to court."

So with that kind of "pick up the constitution" rhetoric we catch a revealing flashback to the SWP in the mid-1960's, *fidelistas* in grey flannel suits!

The critics of Castroism within the USec ranks do not have much to recommend them: former armchair guerrillas who tired of the "struggle" (the would-be Régis Debrays who never made it out of Paris) or the academic house critics of the SWP, kept in reserve for a future social-democratic realignment with the OCI. In contrast the international Spartacist tendency has one simple but very powerful weapon: an authentically Trotskyist program which has proved itself with the test of time. The iSt alone continues to stand on the lessons it drew from the Cuban Revolution more than a dozen years ago:

> "Movements of this sort [peasant-based guerrilla warfare] can under certain conditions, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in the colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for social power, smash capitalist property relations; however, they cannot bring the working class to *political* power. Rather, they create bureaucratic anti-working class regimes which suppress any further development of these revolutions toward socialism. Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry."
>
> "Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League" (1966), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

Thus the Spartacist analysis of Cuba overcomes the central problem that has confronted Trotskyism with the rise of the deformed workers states since World War II. Recognizing that under highly exceptional circumstances petty-bourgeois forces—even those not originating in Stalinism—can be *forced* to overthrow capitalism, nevertheless we point out that the bonapartist regimes they throw up remain roadblocks to extending and deepening the revolution. Only through workers political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, can this roadblock be removed. ■

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Hansen...

(continued from page 2)

defended Hansen against the slander campaign, which mimicked the discredited Stalinist chorus that Trotsky had been murdered by one of his own people. In addition to signing the statements prepared by the SWP, we picketed Healyite "public" meetings, demanding, "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?" (see "Joe Hansen Is an Honest Revisionist," *WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977).

Hansen had no trouble defending himself against Healy's ludicrous charges. In the process, he showed why he had a reputation as a painstaking man. Years ago, Spartacist spokesman James Robertson told Healy that in the Shachtmanite organization (of which Robertson was once a member) there was a standard jibe about Hansen: any member of the SWP Political Committee can do a hatchet job on an opponent, but when a particularly dirty job is required, all eyes turn as one to Joe Hansen. It was not until Hansen published his reply to Healy's slander campaign (see SWP *Education for Socialists* pamphlet, "Healy's Big Lie," December 1976) that we learned of a written version of the jibe: Hansen found it in an article which appeared in the Shachtmanite press in 1953.

Hansen was an able polemicist against the SWP's international competitors, both within and outside the USec. A particular specialty of his was seeking to defuse the Spartacist tendency's political attacks while carefully choosing as foils the Healyites, whose sectarianism, organizational atrocities and laughable theoretical bankruptcy made them the SWP's spokesman of choice for ostensible anti-Pabloism. Hansen's recent book, *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* (1978) is a sterling example of a polemic directed covertly against the Spartacist tendency. Yet he also knew how to acknowledge the existence of the Spartacist League when it suited him, as in the introduction to the SWP's 1966 pamphlet, "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International."

Considering his wretched political line and the general sliminess of Jack Barnes' SWP, Hansen was a half-decent opponent. Because we had never known him to falsify a quotation, we assumed he probably was not responsible when *Intercontinental Press* (13 January 1975) falsified the translation of a key phrase in a statement by the SWP's Argentine cothinkers which had come under attack by the USec majority.

And Hansen was smart. He accepted the press of the Spartacist League as an unimpeachable source of accurate information about the "sectarian" far left. It was probably no accident that when Tim Wohlforth told the inside story of his dominion over and purge from the American Healyite organization, Hansen waited for us to authenticate the document (see "Wohlforth Terminated," *WV* No. 61, 31 January 1975) before serializing it in *Intercontinental Press*.

Even before our tendency was in programmatic opposition in the SWP, the cadres who were to become the founders of the Spartacist League found themselves counterposed to Hansen over their formation of an independent youth organization. But Comrade Robertson remembers Hansen as "personally a good guy to work with"—fair, reasonable, not a confrontationist, always willing to try and coopt you.

Joseph Hansen was a philistine, a hard-working political guy and an authentic revisionist. ■

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ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

3. Greene ran the East Bay strike committee—which didn't answer the phones half the time and never once supplied the mass reinforcements requested by dozens of houses to keep scabs out; strike bulletins were published in English only, leaving the third of our membership which is Spanish-speaking in the dark.

4. After the Handyman murder, Figuereido ordered workers at Nusbaum-Levy and Crown Zellerbach to continue to ship Handyman goods despite the so-called "boycott."

5. In the case of the convicted scabherder Villegas, Lindsay and friends played both sides. They supported the charges and recall only when it became useful to deflect membership criticism from the other East Bay Business Agents, all of whom—including Ramos—had formal charges filed by members pending against them.

6. Last summer Figuereido helped break a wildcat at Best Foods, enabling the company to uphold its firing of the Chief Steward and shortly thereafter impose a speed-up program.

Yes—We Hate The Democrats!

The "Open Letter" is an attempt to defend the same rotten strategy which led to the '76 defeat, i.e. that labor has "friends" in the government, in order to justify the leadership's refusal to mobilize the membership. The central political "charge" in the letter against Mandel is that he and the Caucus oppose the Democrats. TRUE!! The Democrats and Republicans are *bosses'* parties.

- At the Chile Conference we *did* object to Rep. Ryan speaking because his Democratic Congress had voted the funds for the CIA/Chilean capitalists' military coup which murdered 25,000 workers. We called for labor strikes to win freedom for labor-left prisoners of the junta. When Mandel demanded a vote on whether the class-enemy Ryan should speak, the Figuereido crowd, led by Communist Party spokesman Archie Brown, jumped him. They were forced to back off when many of the roughly 100 trade unionists present rushed to his defense—at which point Ryan scurried out the door!
- During the miners' strike, GEB member Mandel *did* speak to the press in an effort to publicize the ILWU International Executive Board's motion for a 24-hour solidarity strike against Carter's Taft-Hartley. This infuriated Herman/McClain & Co. because they never had any intention of carrying it out. Figuereido/Alexander proved their loyalty by abstaining on a motion to support the solidarity strike call at a Miners Solidarity Coalition meeting attended by over 200 unionists from dozens of San Francisco unions. If the solidarity strike had been implemented, it would have dealt a body blow to the strikebreaking Carter administration which the ILWU and AFL-CIO bureaucrats helped put in office.
- At the November 29 GEB, Mandel *did* object to a "moment of silence" for Moscone, stating: "We don't shed a tear for a strikebreaker and scabberder!" While McClain and Eickman remember Moscone as the patron who appointed them to prestigious city commissions, we remember that Moscone broke the city workers' strike in 1976, jailed its leaders, and had his cops escort pickets through our lines the same year.... ■

British Strikes...

(continued from page 12)

piled into Central Hall, Westminster, where their union leaders, including David Basnett of the General Municipal Workers and left-talking Alan Fisher of the National Union of Public Employees tried to address them.

Every single bureaucrat's speech was drowned out by catcalls and chants of "All out to strike!" In the end the bureaucrats abandoned the platform, taking the microphone with them. Following the march, many of the more militant sectors, especially the ambulance drivers and other health workers, stayed off work for another few days and sporadic stoppages are continuing in several areas of the country. Yet still Fisher, Basnett and their fellows are playing for time, refusing to call an all-out strike in the hopes that the militancy will burn itself out.

Bureaucrats Try to Dam the Flood

The lorry drivers and local government workers are by no means the only workers currently posing a head-on challenge to the Labour government. The number of unions demanding more than the 5 percent ceiling is impressive: one and a quarter million building workers, 200,000 postal employees, half a million teachers, 600,000 white collar civil servants and 280,000 railwaymen, and then there are the miners—230,000 of them—demanding 40 percent in the face of a 3.5 percent offer from the Coal Board. But the bureaucrats are keeping them at work while the cabinet and the TUC try desperately to isolate and dissipate the combativity of the sectors already out. Miners' leader Joe Gormley cites as his excuse for inaction the government's 12-month rule, saying that his union is legally prevented from striking until March. His "militant" on the executive, Communist Party supporter Arthur Scargill, put up a token bit of opposition to this, only to predictably fall into line. On January 25 Scargill told the press that he hopes that there will not be a strike and did not see the necessity for one.

The trade-union leaders are trying to stagger the pay struggles of each section of workers, happy to see one group after another face the government and bourgeois public opinion in isolation. Hence the limited protest tactics: the ASLEF [train engineers] one-day strikes and the public employees day of action on January 22. These are diversionary and ultimately futile gestures, which if they continue can only whittle away at the combativity of the workers involved and allow the bureaucrats to dodge the general strike action necessary to bury Phase Four once and for all.

The Left and the Crisis

Paralleling the division between trade-union economism and social-democratic parliamentarism, the British left's general response to the current crisis was either an apolitical, business-as-usual syndicalism or a wretched parliamentary cretinism—and in some cases a blend of both. Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is the prime example of the former. Typically, *Socialist Worker* (27 January) says that the way forward is by organizing flying pickets and rank-and-file strike committees—i.e., bypassing the bureaucratic leadership of the unions through simply being better organizers of each struggle. Even by calling for "all out now"—instead of a general strike—they take the heat off the TUC tops and Callaghan. It's not hard to find the reason why: the Cliffites are worried that the Tories would win a new election, and their only *political* demand is to vote Labour once again.

In the face of the Labour government's vicious wage-slashing attacks on the working class, the Spartacist League has insisted that calling for a vote to Labour is just asking to get kicked in the teeth again. Our policy of conditional non-support has separated us sharply from all the fake-lefts. If the cretinist Militant Group of Ted Grant still insists that the workers must exert "enormous pressure to compel the government to change its course in the direction of socialist policies," this might be attributed to the doggish loyalty of a thoroughly organic part of the Labour Party. But one would think that a centrist or two might have woken up to the role of the Callaghan government in the present crisis.

Not so. Incredibly, the main worry of the International Marxist Group (IMG) if the massive strike wave continues is...preparing for "the coming general election." "Don't be caught napping,"

Der Spiegel

Railway workers join lorry drivers, government employees and miners to shut Britain down. While union bureaucrats scramble to defuse workers' combativity with staggered one-day strikes, militants must demand a general strike now to bury Callaghan's Phase Four.

they exhort. "Make sure your area is represented," urges the 25 January *Socialist Challenge*, referring to the Socialist Unity Conference planned for February 3. And where the IMG goes, there also goes the International Communist League (I-CL) and its pet, the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory. After a short winter hibernation to recover from its disappointment at Callaghan's refusal to call an election late last year, the SCLV is now "ready to spring into action." And, as always, Alan Thornett's Workers Socialist League (WSL) is ready with its call to vote Labour "unconditionally" and "make the Labour lefts fight."

But even more dramatically the present strike wave has revealed Thornett as a cowardly, conservative trade-union bureaucrat. Under the slogan of "workers control," the WSL is ballyhooing the major *weakness* of the lorry drivers' strike—allowing so-called essential goods to go through the lines:

> "The emergence of local strike committees which should control the passage of only selected supplies through the picket lines points the way forward for other sections of workers in struggle."
>
> —*Socialist Press*, 24 January

So according to Thornett, scabbing on one's own strike "points the way forward." The WSL even had the gall to condemn the London-area convenors of the government workers as "ultraleft" for not providing emergency service on January 22. Callaghan also looked askance at the ambulance drivers for going all-out, and called in the army to correct these "ultra-leftists."

Revolutionaries seek to split the mass base of the Labour Party from the reformist misleaders, both the Callaghans and the "lefts" such as Tony Benn and the Tribunites. To be worrying about how to keep Labour in power in the next elections at a time when there is a mass strike wave against a wage-slashing Labour government is not merely stupid but positively obscene. What is needed now is not a general election but a general strike.

Unlike the SWP, IMG, WSL, et al., the Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) is calling for a general strike, but principally to bring down the Labour government and force new elections. Aside from the fact that they raise the general strike slogan at all times, thus completely undercutting its effect, in the present context the Healyite slogan is a call for channeling the industrial upsurge into electoralism. Moreover, the WRP is all set to vote Labour in the next elections anyway.

For a General Strike!

For years every strike which has threatened government pay policy has been met with a barrage of warnings about the dire consequences of bringing the government down and the dangers of a Tory election victory. Thatcher and her band of dinosaurs are certainly a reactionary lot. But the working class has no interest in saving a Labour government which seeks to prove to the capitalists that it can carry out a wage-slashing strikebreaking policy better than the Conservatives. If the Callaghan cabinet should fall as a result of workers surging forward, that would be far better than a triumphant Tory offensive riding to victory over the backs of a demoralized, defeated working class.

Historically the Labour bureaucracy bamboozles the workers through a hard cop/soft cop division of labour. The Parliamentary Labour Party, claiming to represent "the nation" as a whole, adopts right-wing policies which the majority of workers clearly are against. The union tops sometimes voice opposition to these unpopular measures but support the parliamentarians nonetheless, especially when Labour is in office. Thus TUC conferences have *twice* voted against the wage limit, and last autumn the Labour Party annual conference also rejected the 5 percent ceiling. Yet every Labour MP, including all the so-called lefts, lined up behind Callaghan to vote for it. The discipline of the Parliamentary Labour Party is now a united front *against* the working class. The trade unions should not support any Labour MP unless he defies the party whip to vote against Callaghan's austerity measures.

At the time of Heath's attacks on the miners' strike in early 1974, we called for a general strike which "would have the *limited, defensive* aim of reversing the policies of the Tory government and bringing it down" (*WV* No. 38, 15 February 1974). But a general strike in today's conditions—Phase Four already in tatters and deep disillusion among the workers with Callaghan and his gang of parliamentary social democrats—could not be limited to rolling back an assault on the workers. It is necessary to put forward a program of *transitional demands* striking at the heart of the bourgeois offensive.

The strike must demand a huge wage claim to recoup the effects of four years of wage control and to raise the abysmal living standards of British workers, presently among the lowest in industrialised Europe. It must also protect them against future ravages of inflation by a sliding scale of wages (100 percent indexation) to compensate for every percentage-point fall in real wages caused by rising prices. Fight the mass unemployment policies of Callaghan/Healey/Benn by winning work-sharing at full pay—for an immediate 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. In case of mass layoffs or lockouts, seize the plants!

The TUC is the only body authoritative enough to launch a general strike today, but the Murrays and Evanses have absolutely no intention of doing so. Every union must immediately hold new elections for TUC delegates committed to a general strike; they should demand an immediate, specially convened TUC congress to launch the strike and elect a delegated national strike committee to run it. At the local level councils of action are necessary, growing out of the stewards councils and responsible to/recallable by frequent meetings of the striking workers. With the unions facing down the Labour cabinet in Westminister, the question of the government is directly posed. The only one which could fully meet the strikers' needs is a workers government based on such councils (soviets) as are thrown up by the general strike.

There are presently some 11 million union members in Britain. The TUC must call them all out in a general strike to win all the claims, crush the government's austerity policies and thwart the union-bashing attempts of the bosses! Give the government a state of emergency—on the workers' terms! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Pickets Shut It Down—Wage Freeze Blown to Hell

For a British General Strike!

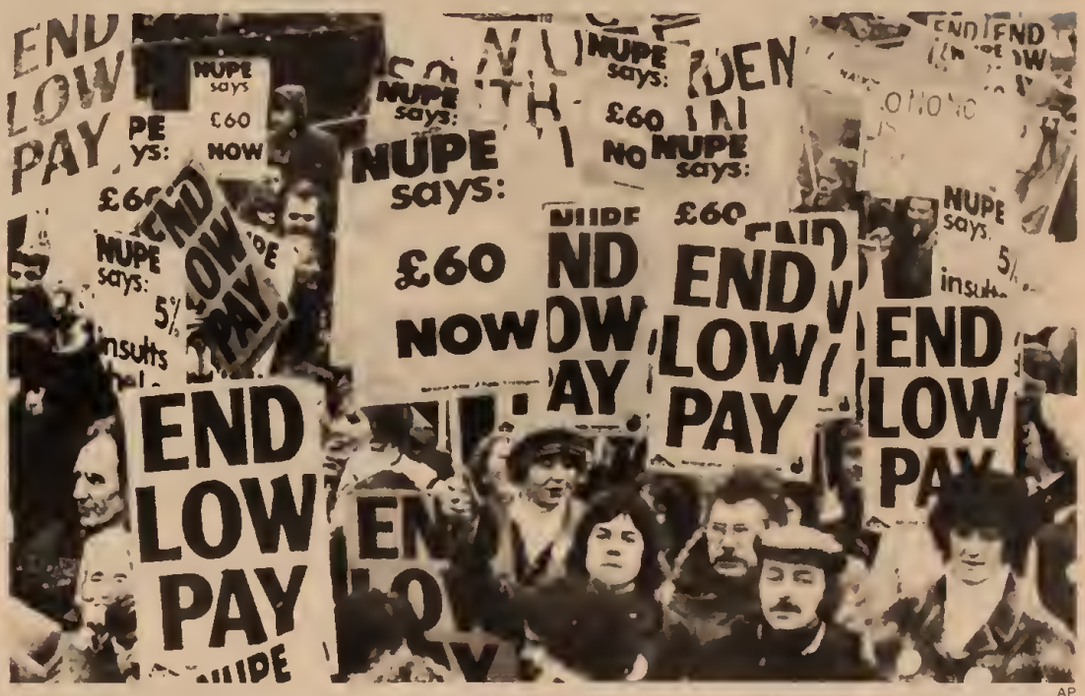
LONDON—After three years of vicious wage control the Labour government's Phase Four looks like it's getting the death it deserves—burial by landslide. Sector after sector of the trade-union movement has slapped down wage claims that dwarf the paltry 5 percent limit which the government has tried to stuff down the workers' throats. During the past few weeks hundreds of thousands of workers have demonstrated their willingness to back up their claims with a powerful mass strike wave which has plunged Britain into a major crisis.

First Ford workers broke the 5 percent limit last November. Then came British Oxygen employees and in early January tanker drivers won a 15 percent pay claim after only a week on strike. Since then all hell has broken loose. Forty thousand private haulage lorry [truck] drivers have made the biggest impact, tying up road transport throughout the country and cutting off supplies to hundreds of industries through militant picketing. Train drivers have been shutting down British Rail twice a week in support of their demand for negotiations over a productivity bonus. Waterworks strikes have affected supplies in the northwest, and the one-day strike of one and a half million low-paid local government manual workers on January 22 threatened to spill over into an all-out national strike for a £60 weekly wage.

Meanwhile, Margaret Thatcher's union-bashing Tories and the Fleet Street papers have been screaming blue murder. They have demanded that Callaghan declare a state of emergency and call out the army to maintain "essential services." And while the cabinet has as yet declined to impose full-scale army strikebreaking, troops have been called out on two occasions: once against the tanker drivers in Northern Ireland, and again against ambulance drivers in London and Cardiff who refused to provide emergency cover during the January 22 one-day strike.

People are naturally comparing the present situation to the 1974 "winter crisis" when the coal miners struck against the Tories' wage control and Heath struck back with a nationwide lockout in the form of a three-day workweek. He then called a "Who Rules Britain?" election, which Labour won. But in one significant respect the present situation marks a higher level of class struggle than in 1974.

At that time direct industrial action was limited to the coal miners, traditionally one of the most militant sections of the British working class. The combativity of the rest of the working class was effectively channeled into electoral support to Labour. The present strike wave is in effect directed against the Labour government which came to power in 1974 and has up to now carried out a far more successful wage-slashing policy than did Heath's Conservatives in the early 1970's. Important in maintaining the "Social Contract" has been the argument that strike action against it would bring Margaret Thatcher's Tories to power. Now the British working class is answering back: We won't starve for a Labour government!



AP

Public service workers rally in London's Hyde Park, January 22. A million and a half trade unionists marched that day, as massive British strike wave buries Labour's "social contract."

Overall the Labour cabinet has been taken by surprise and is undecided about how to act. Callaghan has been trying to ride out the surge of industrial militancy with a mixture of tough talk and vague promises while looking desperately to his allies in the trade-union bureaucracy for help in defusing the situation. Both the cabinet and the Trades Union Congress want a new "concordat," a new Social Contract sellout. However, the union leaders are running as scared as the government, knowing that they may not be able to deliver anything at all.

With the working class in a highly combative mood the possibility exists of not just laying to rest the 5 percent limit but of decisively preventing the reimposition of wage controls and ensuring henceforth that wages keep pace with inflation through a sliding scale of wages. What is needed to turn this into reality is a working-class leadership ready to fight for these and related demands by all means necessary: generalising and centralising the existing strike wave and bringing the entire union movement out on a general strike to break the shackles of wage controls for good.

Lorry Drivers Show the Way

Terrified at the sudden explosion beneath them, the union bureaucrats have been trying desperately to bring things under control. Although every major strike from the Ford workers to the tanker and lorry drivers began as a massive unofficial walkout, the bureaucrats have rapidly made the strikes official in an explicit attempt to dampen militancy. In the lorry drivers' strike in particular they have been hard at work in an attempt to take control out of the hands of mushrooming strike committees and hand it over to "responsible" regional and national officials.

What has particularly got under the bureaucrats' collar in the current lorry strike is the extent and militancy of the drivers' picketing. Using flying pickets and secondary picketing to powerful effect, the drivers have managed to tie up goods and supplies throughout the country with the result that many key industries have been counting the days until they are obliged to lay off their workforces. And although secondary picketing is allowed under the Trade Union Labour Relations Act (1974), Moss Evans, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU) issued a special "code of picketing" openly aimed at cutting back on secondary picketing.

This open blackleg [scabbing] charter, written at the expressed wish of the Confederation of British Industry and the Callaghan government, instructs drivers to allow so-called essential services through picket lines. Needless to say, these goods are essential only for the breaking of the strike. The response of all workers to this open encouragement of scabbing must be to say: *nothing* is moved until the claim is met in full. If even hospital patients die because of the lack of foodstuffs or drug supplies, the responsibility lies squarely with the bosses who can end the strike within minutes simply by coughing up the £60 [roughly $120] a week being demanded as the standard weekly wage.

Not to be outdone in calls for strikebreaking, Labour Party chief James Callaghan has come out and said openly: "I would not hesitate myself to cross a picket line if I believed it right to do so.... I assert very clearly that everyone has the right to work and that everyone has the right to cross a picket line." And, of course, everywhere that Callaghan goes the lamb Len Murray is sure to go as well. He concurred with Callaghan that "there is an equal right of others to do these things [cross picket lines] but they are not convinced." However, Alex Kitson, the leading T&GWU official responsible for coordinating the strike, has had to admit that the scabbing code has met with only limited success, and in certain areas the picketing has intensified. After years of seeing their leaders sell them out the rank and file are now out to win and are deeply distrustful of the bureaucrats' manoeuvres. "This is our strike, not Moss Evans'," said one striker, adding that "if we don't do what we have to do, we will be here for months."

Local Government Workers Demand "All Out!"

The bureaucrats in the local government unions have tried to fob their memberships off with ineffective work-to-rules [slowdowns], rotating strikes and the token one-day national work stoppage. The anger of these low-paid workers—hospital workers, ambulance drivers, dustmen, cleaners and many more, a large number of whom earn less than £40 [$80] a week, exploded at the January 22 march and rally in London. A million and a half men and women went out in the biggest single work stoppage since the 1926 general strike, as 80,000 of them marched in freezing cold weather through the streets of central London. At the end of the march, thousands of angry workers

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 225 — 16 February 1979

Down with Khomeini! For Workers Revolution!

Mullahs Win

FEBRUARY 12—Khomeini and the mullahs are victorious in Iran. The political revolution though unconsolidated has won. Thousands of armed civilians are riding through the streets of Teheran in open trucks, shoulder to shoulder with newly converted soldiers shooting bullets into the air to glorify the "Islamic republic." The world media echoes the chants of these people it calls the ayatollah's "revolutionaries" with cautious expectation. (We read of the "Revolutionary Provisional Government" and "Council of the Islamic Revolution," and Radio Iran has become "Voice of the Revolution.") The *New York Times* went so far as to call the shah's short-lived stand-in Bakhtiar "the Kerensky of his country."

After two days of flaming barricades and pitched battles on the streets, after the military defeat of the shah's loyal goose-stepping "Immortals" and the dramatic declaration by the armed forces chief that the army would remain "neutral" and respect "the will of the people," after the sacking of Bakhtiar's palace and offices and the arrest of the shah-loyal military and SAVAK officers after it was all over, the *Washington Post* proclaimed "Today, Iran belonged to the revolution." This is the revolution that the reformist left in and out of Iran have been organizing for. Now they have it.

The working masses of Iran who took to the streets against the hated shah must not be fooled. This is not a victory for the working masses. Today, Iran belongs to middle-class Islamic reaction in a bloody alliance with a section of the same officer corps which has dealt out decades of death and oppression on behalf of the Pahlavis. They are prepared to do the same now.

Khomeini pulled the masses of Iran behind his drive for power, but his victory was assured by the capitulation of elements of the higher levels of the military. It is this army and police that the "revolutionary Islamic republic" will unleash against the workers, peasants and minorities whose demands for democratic rights, land reform and national equality will not be met by the cabal of clerical reactionaries and bonapartist generals now in power.

While the reformist left in and outside Iran touted Khomeini as the "intransigent" opponent of the shah and his uniformed butchers, *WV* maintained that Khomeini and the mullahs would seek to incorporate a section of the old military. While the ayatollah was still in Parisian exile we wrote:

> "Both reactionary forces squaring off for state power need the army to rule. And neither wants a prolonged civil war which could allow openings for the left to gain mass influence, particularly with a powerful proletariat in the wings. Khomeini's intended Islamic 'republic' rests not on mass support but on the sword of the military."
>
> —"Iran Showdown," *WV* No. 224, 2 February

Holy War, Civil War and Class War

Khomeini's surprisingly easy victory was accomplished because the overwhelming majority of the shah's personally selected generals did not think they could rely on their army in a full-scale civil war against the bulk of the population. In a speech to his commanders given before he fled the country, the shah had ordered them to do just that. Most voice identification experts confirmed as authentic the tape recording of the shah calling on the officers "to create a prolonged civil war" to restore him to power, to "clean the army of dissatisfied elements" and to give the troops "complete freedom to shoot and kill the people" (*New York Times*, 1 February).

The Imperial Guard was ready and willing to carry out His Majesty's kill-crazy orders. Had such a confrontation erupted into civil war, Marxists would have militarily supported the popular forces rallied by the mullahs against an intact officer caste, even as our intransigent *political* opposition to the reactionary-led movement sought to polarize the masses along class lines and rally the workers and lower strata of the petty-bourgeois masses around the proletarian pole.

Victory came easily to the mullahs largely because their political revolution did not challenge the class basis of Iranian society. The isolated shah spoke for no significant section of the ruling class. And he had no point of support other than a military apparatus hung in mid-air and his family (which numbers in the thousands). Thus it was only the "Immortals" that would go down fighting. And when they did, the officer corps cracked.

The loyalty of many armed forces commanders was not to the shah personally but to the military machine built for the shah by the U.S. government. And armed forces chief Garahaghi and his fellow generals were not prepared to risk disintegration of the military by ordering conscript troops sympathetic to Khomeini to crush the Islamic uprising. In the key battle this was precisely the choice posed to the generals.

The shooting began at midnight on February 9 when the Imperial Guardsmen marched on the Doshan Tapeh air base in East Teheran to suppress a pro-Khomeini demonstration staged by rebellious air force technicians and cadets. The outgunned air force men defended themselves ably and were quickly reinforced by thousands of civilians armed with hoarded rifles, molotov cocktails and weapons distrib-

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Reboot/Newsweek

On the way to power: the ayatollah Khomeini arrives in Teheran, February 1.

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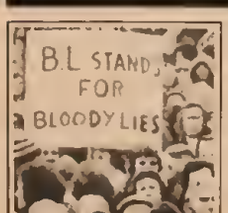

Mass Strikes Sweep Britain

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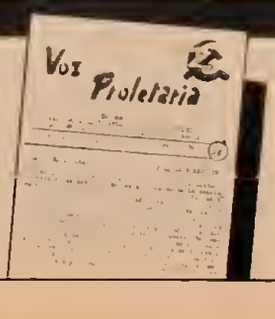

In Defense of the Cuban Trotskyists

PAGE 6

Leftists Break From Social Democracy

CIA Connection Uncovered in Trial

Jail All the Murderers of Orlando Letelier!

The trial currently under way in Washington, D.C., of three Cuban exile terrorists charged in connection with the 1976 bombing assassination of Orlando Letelier and his American aide, Ronni Moffitt, is no ordinary courtroom joust. The Letelier murder is, or should be, a major political scandal capable of bringing down governments. As everyone knows, the trail of evidence leads directly from the three small-time gusano gangsters now in the dock to the highest reaches of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. But the main concern of the "prosecution" is to continue the cover-up of U.S. complicity in this murderous crime. And the government's star "witness" is a professional political assassin, plying his trade on three continents, who will be back on the streets again by November 1981!

The dramatic events behind the trial were glimpsed January 17 when Mrs. Isabel Letelier took the stand. She vividly described the Antarctic conditions in Chile's Dawson Island concentration camp where her husband was imprisoned following the bloody 1973 military coup which overthrew the Unidad Popular (UP) government of Salvador Allende. "What happened to my husband is what happened to thousands of Chileans," she said (*Washington Star*, 18 January). But Letelier's "bearded, baby-faced killer," Michael Townley, responded coldly that he had "no regrets." He was just doing his job for one of the most hated military dictatorships in the Western Hemisphere.

The first bombshell in the proceedings came when a CIA affidavit submitted to the trial contained the statement that "an arm of the agency once sought to use Townley in an operational capacity" (*Washington Post*, 19 January). Delivered in response to a request by U.S. District Court Judge Barrington D. Parker, the statement alleged the CIA could find no further records proving whether Townley ever actually did jobs for the agency or not. No doubt the records have been shredded as part of "routine housekeeping," just like various other explosive CIA/FBI documents in the past. But the fact that Townley has in the past worked for the CIA has been extensively documented.

The prosecution has sought to demonstrate why the Chilean government was interested in bumping off Letelier in particular detailing how he had been instrumental in stopping a Dutch industrial group from making a major $62.5 million investment in Chile. Calling Senator George McGovern to testify, they also showed how Allende's former ambassador to Washington used his influential connections on Capitol Hill to get legislation passed prohibiting all U.S. military sales to Chile.

Michael Townley — Der Spiegel

But even though these facts were known from the very beginning, even though the finger of guilt immediately pointed to Pinochet and his notorious secret police (DINA), the U.S. Department of Justice took nearly two years before finally submitting a 15-page indictment charging leading DINA officials in connection with the crime. Those accused included the DINA's chief, General Juan Manuel Contreras, its operations chief Lt. Colonel Pedro Espinoza Bravo, Captain Armando Fernandez Larios and the American citizen Michael V. Townley, who had been working as an agent of Pinochet's torture and murder agency. In addition, five Cuban Bay of Pigs veterans, members of a CIA-trained terror squad called the Cuban National Movement, were charged in the crime.

To is only the Cubans who are presently on trial. Meanwhile the U.S. is playing an elaborate extradition game with the Pinochet government, and Townley, although an admitted murderer and the key operative in the crime, is handed the role of state's evidence. Thanks to the government's deliberate 15-month delay in following up the case, at least one of the Cubans got away. The "button man," Jose Dionisio Suarez, said to have triggered the remote-controled bomb.

So far in the trial Townley has admitted obtaining the aid of the Cuban bombers, organizing the details of the plot, preparing the explosives and even personally attaching the "artifact" to the underside of Letelier's car. This "star witness" has also admitted lying freely about various aspects of the case in earlier interrogations. By his own admission he has already committed acts which would put someone away for life on charges of murder, conspiracy, assassination of foreign officials, perjury, firearms and explosives violations, etc. But instead, under the terms of a deal with the U.S. government, he will be tried on a single count of murder with the promise of parole after three years and four months!

The son of a U.S. business executive, Townley spent his adolescence in Chile. He told the court how he had picked up his electronics skills while working as an auto mechanic in Miami's Little Havana and how he met with the CIA before returning to Chile following the 1970 election of Allende. Returning at a time when other right-wingers were leaving the country, Townley immediately hooked up with the CIA-financed fascist Patria y Libertad organization.

In 1972 he participated in a right-wing anti-government commando raid in which a night watchman was murdered. That same year, *Washington Post* investigators report, Townley operated a clandestine radio for the truck-owners "strike" which was a key part of the CIA's "destabilization" plan. Ironically, Allende had asked military intelligence to track down the broadcasting station and it was the same Lt. Colonel Pedro Espinoza who was sent on the job. Not surprisingly, he never found it. Townley was also reportedly running a secret communications network for the military out of a Santiago safehouse in the months immediately preceeding the Pinochet coup.

The second important new admission came after Townley testified that he received some $980 expense money for the Letelier murder. In addition to this implausibly low sum, Townley said he got another $25,000 for an unsuccessful 1975 assassination attempt on the lives of two other left-wing opponents of the junta, Socialist Party leader Carlos Altamirano and Communist Party senator Volodia Teitelboim. Altamirano and Teitelboim had luckily left Mexico City the day before Townley arrived.

Moreover, in late January, Swedish newspapers reported that Townley was given orders to assassinate Olof Palme, then prime minister, while he was attending a Social Democratic congress in Madrid in May of 1976 (*New York Times*, 1 February). The Swedish government had earned the particular animosity of Pinochet by its acceptance of thousands of Chilean refugees and its refusal to recognize the military government. However, the judge refused to allow further interrogation on Townley's other terrorist activities, in accordance with another clause in the deal to obtain Townley's testimony under which he would not be questioned about any other assassination attempts!

Junta seizes Letelier, 1973. "What happened to my husband is what happened to thousands of Chileans."—Isabel Letelier

And there were plenty of others. Not only was he the key operative in Letelier's murder, not only did he barely miss killing Altamirano and Teitelboim, but investigators have now definitely established that this fascist "electronics expert" participated in the 1974 Buenos Aires car bombing that killed the exiled Chilean general Carlos Prats and his wife. (Prats had been one of the very few members of Chile's "constitutionalist" officer corps who refused to go over to Pinochet.) Townley has also been traced to Rome in 1975 at the time that exiled Christian Democratic leader Bernardo Leighton and his wife were gunned down in a pistol attack. Leighton has since recovered from the wounds, but his wife remains partially paralyzed.

Furthermore, last summer a letter was revealed which foreshadowed the Chilean military government's worldwide murder conspiracy. In this letter, revealed by the Brazilian opposition paper *Movimiento*, the DINA's Contreras wrote to his counterpart in the Brazilian National Information Service (SNI), General João Baptista Figueiredo (now head of the ruling junta), thanking the SNI for its support and expressing concern about the activity of various Brazilian and Chilean oppositionists:

> "We also are aware of the reiterated support of the Democrats to [former Brazilian president Juscelino] Kubitschek and Letelier, which could in the future seriously influence the stability of the Southern cone of our Hemisphere."

The letter ends:

> "The plan proposed by you to coordinate our action against certain ecclesiastical authorities and well-known social-democratic and Christian Democratic politicians in Latin America and Europe has our wholehearted support."
>
> —quoted in *Triunfo*, [Madrid], 23 September 1978

The letter was dated 28 August 1975. Five weeks later Bernardo Leighton was shot in the head. And shortly after Letelier was assassinated, Kubitschek died in an "unexplained" auto accident. In each case we glimpse the sinister figure of Michael Townley. The DINA's multiple murderer with all of his CIA connections and gusano accomplices is a menace to the citizenry. Instead of releasing him so he can kill again, Townley ought to be locked up and the key thrown away!

The strategy of the defense in the trial is to accuse Townley of carrying out Letelier's murder at the request, not of the DINA, but the CIA. It is unlikely that the U.S. spy agency would have wanted to assassinate Letelier on the streets of the American capital, particularly in the aftermath of the revelations of CIA involvement in the Watergate affair. But as we have repeatedly stressed, the Letelier affair reveals that the tentacles of the U.S.' own Murder Inc.—the CIA, the FBI and assorted other intelligence agencies—spread a net so dense that it could not help stumbling across the plot before it came to its deadly conclusion. In earlier articles we documented how police

continued on page 10

Workers Must Go Beyond Militant Trade Unionism

Mass Strikes Sweep Britain

LONDON, February 11—Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan's Phase Four 5 percent wage limit is dead, killed by the most serious strike wave to sweep Britain at least since the miners' confrontation which brought down the Heath government in the winter of 1973-74. Callaghan himself admitted as much when he told a local Labour Party conference in Newcastle February 3-4 that he hoped the 1,500,000 local government manual workers now staging selected strikes would settle for less than 10 percent.

But even that seems like wishful thinking. Callaghan, who must face the Tories in a general election some time this year, is desperate to reestablish control over the hundreds of thousands of striking unionists, epitomized by the government workers who greeted him in Newcastle with taunts of "scab, scab!"

Hard on the heels of the tanker drivers who won a 15 percent wage increase at the start of January, striking lorry [truck] drivers came within a single pound of winning outright their demand for a £65 guaranteed wage (a 22 percent increase) late last month. And now water workers have been offered 16 percent—a figure the government is terrified will become the minimum standard for other public sector workers.

With the strategically important and traditionally militant coal miners, power workers, steel workers, building workers and railwaymen yet to settle, not to mention the teachers and civil servants, 19,000 car workers at the British Leyland factory at Longbridge, Birmingham last Tuesday launched indefinite strike action in support of a claim for productivity bonuses withheld by the company.

The industrial action of local government workers, notably hospital workers and dustmen [garbage collectors], has provoked particular frenzy in the bourgeois press, as the Tories and their Fleet Street mouthpieces wail about industrial chaos and "anarchy." When lorry drivers tied up industry throughout the country with militant secondary pickets, the press filled with tearful tales of pigs starving on West County farms. Now they have turned to denouncing "callous" ambulance drivers and evoking lurid images of festering rubbish with hordes of giant rats supposedly emerging from the London sewers to feast on the filth.

The irony is that the union's claim is for a mere £60 a week [about $120], only two-thirds of the national average for manual workers. If Britain today seems anarchic and ungovernable, if the cities seem headed toward becoming giant slums, the responsibility lies squarely with the capitalist class, whose social system is patently unable to provide the daily necessities of life for the working people, and the class-collaborationist Labour "leaders" who counsel patience and sacrifice in the name of a fictitious "national interest."

Phase Four to Concordat

With a mammoth industrial upsurge on their hands, the union bureaucrats are doing their best to dampen militancy in the interests of saving the governmental portfolios of their friends in the Labour cabinet. Local government workers' union leaders are half-heartedly pursuing the union's claim, calling only selected strikes. In every sector the bureaucrats are seeking to keep workers isolated along sectional, union and geographical lines. What is

UPI

Car workers at British Leyland's huge Longbridge plant: industrial workers throw their weight into British strike wave.

giving them the worst nightmares is the fear that the pent-up anger of the working class will escape their control and erupt in a concerted general strike.

Meanwhile the Trades Union Congress chiefs have closeted themselves with the cabinet to negotiate a new "social contract" the "Concordat." Hoping to bring wage rises down to 5 percent per year by 1982, the deal would give up the right to strike in certain sectors in return for assurances that wages will rise automatically by agreed amounts, and to adopt a code of picketing for future "good conduct" strikes.

The Concordat says nothing about the current strike wave. The bureaucrats know there is no way they can force a 5 percent limit on the ranks right now. The Concordat is a rearguard action aimed at somehow saving Labour's electoral skin.

A characteristic tactic of the trade-union/Labour Party bureaucracy is the carefully cultivated distinction between "economic" issues for the unions and "politics" for the party. This is a con. The union bureaucrats try to hold back economic struggles against the employer to keep Labour in power. Thus, during 1975-77 less than one fifth of the strikes received official union backing compared to more than 50 percent during the years of Heath's Tory government.

Crisis of Leadership

Formerly the greatest imperial power in the world, Britain today experiences the contradictions of decadent capitalism more severely than its major international competitors. The labor fakers' fond hopes for "social peace" cannot be implemented as the well-organized and traditionally militant proletariat groans under the yoke of an ailing economy which has driven the living standards of the working class to below those of Spain, while under four years of Labour rule unemployment has soared from 600,000 to over 1,500,000. But with its chronically low productivity and its low level of domestic capital investments, Britain's bourgeoisie must drive down living standards even further, make dole queues [unemployment lines] even longer and massively jack up the rate of exploitation. Otherwise, as the *Guardian* recently quipped, Britain may yet prove to be the first country to pass back into the "Third World."

From the 1966 seamen's strike through the miners' 1974 offensive, right up to the current pay explosion, the picture remains the same—a faltering capitalist class trying to curb a strong proletariat which has shown its unwillingness to tolerate the endless sacrifices asked of it but which lacks the leadership to bring it to decisive victory. The working class' own established leaders, from the union bureaucrats to the Wilson and Callaghan cabinets, have taken primary responsibility for policing the class. They are unconditionally committed to labour peace but they cannot deliver it.

In its wretched economic state, British capitalism cannot grant a large increase in real wages to most workers. Money wage gains won in this strike wave will in short order lead to sharp price hikes. And then Thatcher's Tories will come in and try to discipline the working class through even greater unemployment by tight credit and cutbacks in government spending. The working class must break out of the endless cycle of defensive economic struggles against the ravages of inflation, currency depreciation, stagnant industrial investment and deteriorating social services.

The typical shop steward believes in fighting the class struggle but not in finally winning it. This hoary trade-unionist attitude is increasingly dangerous. Fascistic organisations thrive in periods of economic decline when the labour movement disrupts the normal functioning of capitalist society but is unable to overthrow it. This is increasingly the situation in Britain, where the middle class sees in trade-union militancy the economic ruination of the country.

The growth of a fascist movement in Britain over the past decade is not just a racialist reaction to a few million coloured immigrants. It reflects the pauperisation of the petty bourgeoisie, the worsening unemployment and inflation, the frustration of extended periods of unresolved social chaos. Significantly, the National Front recently volunteered to act as strikebreakers against the lorry driver pickets. The Front appeals to the widespread sense that something very radical must be done to save Britain, that things cannot go on as they are.

And something very radical is needed to save Britain. What this country needs is a couple of ambitious socialist five-year plans to rebuild its industrial plant, sharply increase labour productivity and overcome the decades-long capitalist rot. A rational reordering of society through proletarian conquest of state power and the institution of a socialist planned economy is the only real alternative to deepening capitalist crisis and the threat of the installation of a fascist regime.

For a General Strike

British workers urgently need a new revolutionary leadership to show the way forward from endemic crisis and decay. Today the key task is to generalise and centralise the massive industrial upsurge through bringing out the entire union movement on a general strike. Minimal protest actions—a one-day strike here, a go-slow there—are the bureaucrats' strategy for whittling away the workers' combativeness and dissipating their energy. The TUC [Trades Union Congress] must be reconvened in an emergency national conference to launch a general strike and elect a national strike committee to run it. The demands must be national in scope, beginning with putting an end for good to Phase Four and all wage controls.

On a local level, councils of action based initially on stewards' combines and other such bodies, reponsible to and recallable by regular mass meetings, must control the running of the strike. If fascists or other strikebreaking thugs threaten to intervene, they must be met by workers defence squads.

We can already hear the bureaucrats and their left hangers-on worrying that a general strike could bring down Labour and let the Tories in. But the working class has no interest in sacrificing its living standards to save a wage-cutting Labour government whose only concern is proving it can check the unions better than the Tories. Far better that Labour loses office as the result of a successful working-class offensive than that Thatcher rides in on the backs of a defeated and demoralised working class. What is needed is not a government of Callaghan, or Tony Benn, in Westminster, but a workers government based on mass extraparliamentary organs of workers democracy.

Five years after the demise of Heath, the situation is again ripe for general strike action, this time directed at a traitorous Labour government. Bring out the miners, power workers and all the rest—For a general strike to bury wage controls! No to the new "social contract"—Oust the Labour and trade-union bureaucrats—Forge a new revolutionary leadership of the workers movement! Forward toward a workers government and a planned socialist economy! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 225 16 February 1979

SWP: Witness for the Prosecution

In Defense of the Cuban Trotskyists

[The following article should be read in conjunction with the two-part series, "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba!" published in WV *Nos. 223 and 224, 19 January and 2 February 1979.]*

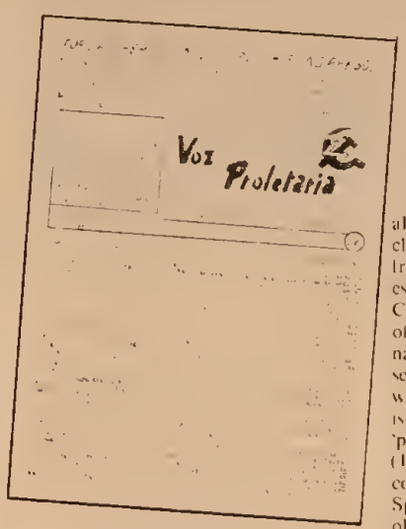
Recently, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Jack Barnes took the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the overthrow of Cuban dictator Batista to deliver paeans of praise to the Castro leadership, described as "superior to the Bolsheviks" except for a few individuals like Lenin and Trotsky. But for the Cuban *Trotskyists*, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), Barnes had nothing but condemnation:

> "Unfortunately, in Cuba Trotskyism was misrepresented by a group that followed a cult leader named Juan Posadas. Their specialty was passing out leaflets demanding a march on the Guantánamo naval base, while the Cubans were trying to consolidate the revolution. They denounced the leaders of the revolution for not being socialists...
>
> "...the Fourth International lost an opportunity to influence the Cuban leadership as much as it could have because of the character of the Cuban organization that called itself Trotskyist. This resulted, in part, from an unnecessarily long and brutal split in the Fourth International. This split ...blocked the international leadership from using its full strength to influence the Cuban Trotskyists."

In other words, too bad they couldn't shut up the POR! But Castro beat them to it, closing down the Trotskyist press and eventually jailing its leaders. Barnes said not a word about this Stalinist repression in his speech.

Even as the POR militants were being slandered, censored, harassed and imprisoned in the early 1960's, the SWP turned its back on them as a proof of its "sincerity" in abandoning Trotskyism to embrace the Castro regime. It was left to the Spartacist tendency, itself just expelled from the SWP after characterizing Cuba as a bureaucratically deformed workers state, to champion the defense of these courageous fighters against Stalinist domination of the Cuban Revolution (see "Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!" *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965).

Our vigorous publicity about the plight of the victimized Cuban Trotskyists caused the SWP no little embarrassment. SWP theoretician Joseph Hansen, "replying" to the anti-Trotskyist diatribes of veteran Cuban Stalinist Blas Roca, complained that "There were few campuses where the violation of the democratic rights of the Posadas group was not thrown at defenders of the Cuban Revolution" (*International Socialist Review*, Summer 1966). But Hansen was not the only one to take the Spartacist League to task for defending the POR. In a smear pamphlet entitled *What Is Spartacist?* (1971), Tim Wohlforth, then a hatchet man for Gerry Healy's "International Committee," accused the SL of making an unprincipled bloc with Posadas. The proof? In the above-mentioned *Spartacist* article the Cuban Posadistas were "referred to over and over again as 'Trotskyists'"; the article did not attack them politically; and in a subsequent issue we printed a letter from the British Posadas group "warmly" thanking us for our principled defense of their imprisoned Cuban comrades.



POR newspaper, 1964. "Liberty to the Trotskyist Prisoners."

So who were these much-maligned militants, whom Blas Roca labeled "agents of imperialism." Che Guevara denounced as "working against the revolution." Hansen called "ultraleftists" and Wohlforth/Healy termed "extreme revisionists"? We can begin with Barnes' charge that their "specialty" was calling for a march on the Guantánamo base. This accusation originates with Guevara, who in a September 1961 interview with U.S. academic Maurice Zeitlin claimed that the POR "agitated there for the Cuban people to march on the base—something that cannot be permitted." Interestingly, this slander was refuted by none other than Barnes' mentor, Joseph Hansen! While criticizing the POR as "overly critical" of Castro, he wrote:

> "We have not seen any material printed by the Cuban Trotskyists calling for a 'march' on Guantánamo. At a youth conference in Havana in the summer of 1960, where this charge was first made to my knowledge, a leaflet was cited. The leaflet in question, however, contained nothing on this point but a repetition of the demand that the U.S. should withdraw from Guantánamo."
>
> *Militant*, 9 April 1962

The POR, which was formed shortly after the fall of the Batista dictatorship, claims that "... we were the first ones, from 1959 on, to struggle for the establishment of the proletarian state in Cuba, nationalizing all the enterprises of foreign imperialism and of the national bourgeoisie and allying ourselves with the socialist camp, at a time when the Stalinist PSP [Partido Socialista Popular] was calling this proposal a 'provocation by imperialist agents'" (*Voz Proletaria*, August 1963). This was confirmed by Blas Roca, replying to a Spartacist supporter on a student tour of Cuba in the summer of 1964: "In 1959 they were calling for soviets in Cuba. This would have provided imperialism with the excuse to attack our revolution as 'Communist'." As we remarked in *Spartacist* No. 3, "Strange excuse from a presumably Communist state leader!"

In the Zeitlin interview, Guevara accused the POR of calling on the Cuban workers to "exert pressure on the government, and even to carry out another revolution in which the proletariat would come to power." While, in the articles of their newspaper available to us, the Cuban Trotskyists did not definitely label the Castro regime a deformed workers state, they did point to its bonapartist character and called for measures which amounted to a political revolution to establish soviet democracy. Moreover, they did so in a manner which sought to take into account the initial absence of a hardened bureaucratic caste, which was only then being formed. Thus following the late 1960 nationalizations which expropriated the Cuban bourgeoisie the POR proposed:

> "...we ought to fight day by day for immediate measures of revolutionary democracy, such as
>
> "Organization of administrative councils in the cooperatives, formed by the peasants themselves.
>
> "Formation and putting into action the Technical Advisory Councils in factories and industries, set up by the revolutionary government, as an immediate step toward administration by workers councils.
>
> "Restructuring the workers' militia through the unions and workplaces."

The POR also called for a national congress of democratically elected delegates of the central union federation, and freedom to organize for all tendencies defending the revolutionary conquests.

However, despite the assurances of Castro apologists like Hansen that the Cuban government "has guaranteed freedom of expression to all groupings that support the revolution" ("The Character of the New Cuban Government" [July 1960], reprinted in Hansen's *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*), tolerance of Trotskyist criticism did not last long. The government soon began to adopt the visceral anti-Trotskyism of the pro-Moscow PSP, whose services they sorely needed to consolidate the new state apparatus. As a result the POR press was closed down and publication of Trotsky's writings brutally halted by physically smashing the printing plates.

This did not silence these valiant militants, despite their tiny number and the threat of even more drastic repression. Thus a year later, they boldly intervened at the August 1962 congress of sugar cooperatives with a manifesto endorsing the government's plans to transform the cooperatives into state farms but also demanding:

> "...to assure the democratic, proletarian and revolutionary functioning of our workers state it is necessary to organize councils of workers and peasants, elected by the masses in their centers of work, to be directing bodies which name all of the functionaries of the workers state, and through which the masses make their voice heard, discuss, approve, reject and decide all the problems of the state."
>
> quoted in Robert Alexander, *Trotskyism in Latin America* (1973)

In response to such heresy, the government arrested two POR members for

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New York City
10 February 1979

Dear WV:

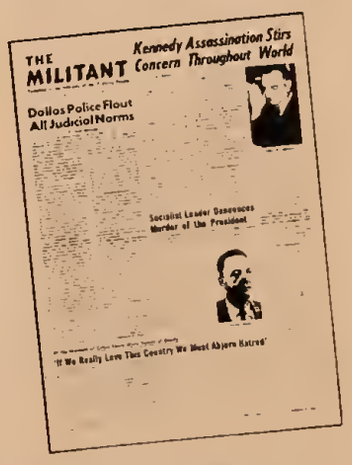
The recent in-depth analysis of the SWP's revisionism on the Cuban Revolution ("For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba!" *WV* Nos. 223 and 224, 19 January and 2 February 1979) exposes the SWP's fraudulent claim that it defended the Cuban Revolution while the Revolutionary Tendency (RT, forerunner of the Spartacist League) did not. I would like to comment further on this question.

You note that the SWP's support to Castroism represented not so much a softness toward Third World Stalinism à la the Mareyites as an adaptation to the American radical/liberal milieu. In considering the SWP's Cuba line in the early 1960's, it must be remembered that many idealistic young liberals were repelled by Washington's crude attempts to overthrow Castro in order to once again make Havana safe for ITT and the Mafia. Prominent rad-lib figures like the late C. Wright Mills, Norman Mailer and Susan Brownmiller publicly sympathized with Castro's Cuba and condemned the policy of the Kennedy administration. The political current to which the SWP oriented was represented in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, whose very name bespeaks its liberal ideological character.

Despite the SWP's rah-rah attitude toward Fidel and Che, in those instances when real imperialist pressure was brought to bear on Cuba, the SWP collapsed into a liberal-pacifist posture *to the right* of the Castro regime. One can say that the SWP defended the Cuban Revolution *except* when it needed defending. The SWP was the summer fellow-traveler of Castroism, ready to celebrate the 26th of July as long as it entailed no risk.

The CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 revealed the liberal-pacifist nature of the SWP's opposition to American imperialism. A front-page editorial in the *Militant* (24 April 1961) called on the U.S. to "End the aggression against Cuba at once!" but did *not* call for military support to the Cuban army fighting the counterrevolutionary invaders. This was the same line for which the SWP later became notorious in the Vietnam antiwar movement. As in the Vietnam War, the SWP motivated its opposition to the Bay of Pigs invasion *not* as support to the anti-capitalist social revolution occurring in Cuba, but in the name of the democratic right of national self-determination:

> "We firmly believe in the right of every people to choose whatever kind of government they want, free from any foreign interference. We believe the Cubans are entitled to exercise this basic democratic right."



2 December 1963 Militant quotes supreme court justice Earl Warren as "voice of sanity."

The reaction of the Revolutionary Tendency to the Bay of Pigs invasion

ILWU Militant Elected Delegate

FEBRUARY 11—In an important victory, Stan Gow, co-editor of the *Longshore Militant*, was elected Bay Area Local 10 delegate to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) international convention and longshore caucus, to be held this April in San Diego. Gow received 315 votes, just under 20 percent of the ballots cast in run-off elections concluded last Friday. Howard Keylor, who also ran on the Longshore Militant slate, came just one vote short of victory, winding up with 258 votes. Depending on constitutional technicalities he may still be designated a delegate.

Gow and Keylor's campaign focused on the need to win jobs for all longshoremen through a shorter workshift with no loss in pay (30 for 40), as well as a fight to unchain the full strength of the longshore division to defend other sections of the union facing key tests with the bosses this year. With important contract battles coming up in Canadian longshore, Hawaiian sugar, and Northern California warehouse, International president Jimmy Herman has already signaled his willingness to make further concessions to the employers.

The Canadian longshoremen, who are divided from their U.S. brothers by the bureaucracy's refusal to demand a common contract expiration date, have already rejected a proposed agreement that would strengthen provisions of the "regular workforce" system. While further undermining the union hiring hall, the proposed additions would establish an "apprenticeship" category for skills training, paying only 70-90 percent of full wages. Meanwhile, in warehouse Local 6, the ILWU chiefs and their local lackeys have in the past two months alone surrendered to the imposition of production quotas, harsh contractual penalties for absenteeism and the steering of jobs from longstanding Local 6 jurisdiction.

Recalling the key role of the longshore division in the dramatic successes of the ILWU in the late thirties, Gow and Keylor posed a militant alternative:

> "What this entire International union needs and what we will fight for at the Convention and Caucus is a strategy of using the coastwide longshore power as part of a successful offensive to defend all sections of the union and for a new "march inland" to organize warehouse and C.F.S. workers. Such an offensive could lay the basis for ripping up the present rotten longshore contract and increasing our bargaining power with a common ILWU/ILA contract expiration in 1980 for a joint fight for jobs."
>
> —*Longshore Militant*, 30 January

Gow and Keylor also supported the candidacy of Robert Golden, a leader of a grouping of predominantly younger longshoremen who successfully fought to be upgraded to full union status. Running for Grievance Committee, Golden called for the unrestricted right to strike, a new leadership in the union, a break with the Democrats and Republicans and a fight for a workers party and a workers government. In his first bid for office, he carried 141 votes.

The victory of Gow, combined with Keylor's strong showing and the emergence of younger militants like Golden, demonstrates the possibility of consolidating a substantial pole of opposition to the sellout policies of Herman and his flunkeys in the Local 10 leadership. What is necessary is to link such militants through a class-struggle caucus capable of winning the membership to the fight to oust the bureaucrats and take the offensive against the shipping bosses. ■

WV Photo

Stan Gow, second from left, and Howard Keylor, right, campaign outside Local 10 hiring hall.

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distributing the leaflet. Two days later a POR meeting in Guantánamo called to commemorate Trotsky's assassination was banned. Subsequently police raided POR headquarters and arrested the group's general secretary, Idalberto Ferrera, and another comrade, who were released several days later.

Still the Cuban Trotskyists stood their ground. When a delegation of North American students arrived in the summer of 1963, the POR walked up to the hotel where they were staying and distributed a leaflet saluting their "revolutionary initiative in traveling to socialist Cuba and defending our revolution against all the imperialist slanderers," while also calling upon the students to "...tell the whole truth about our situation: that socialist democracy must go forward, allowing all revolutionary tendencies, including the Trotskyists to function with full democratic rights..." (*Voz Proletaria* No. 32). When the student delegation met with Guevara, he justified suppression of the Trotskyists' freedom of expression: "They are more revolutionary than anyone, but they do nothing and criticize everything. We do not allow public criticism by those who are not connected to the Revolution..." (AFP dispatch, quoted in *Frente Obrero* [Montevideo], 23 August 1963).

In November 1963 the Castro regime finally moved in to crush the pesky POR. Five leading comrades were arrested, held incomunicado for months and then sentenced in secret trials to two-to-nine years imprisonment for the "crimes" of distributing an illegal paper, advocating the overthrow of the Cuban government, and being critical of Fidel Castro. Were they indeed "unconnected to the Revolution," as Guevara charged? The first to be arrested was Andrés Alfonso, a revolutionary unionist since before 1959 who fought in the underground against Batista, a member of the militia and the Committees to Defend the Revolution (CDR). Also arrested was his companion, Floridia Fraga, also a member of the militia and an activist in the Cuban Federation of Women, whose father died a revolutionary martyr in the anti-Batista struggle. When Ricardo Ferrera went to inquire about Floridia, he was himself arrested. Ricardo had fought with the Rebel Army since age 16 and was a militia officer, a CDR member and "Vanguard Worker." The revolutionary credentials of the Cuban Trotskyists speak for themselves.

In response to this vicious repression, the SWP maintained a criminal silence. Even the POR's international mentors advocated softening their revolutionary intransigence: Posadas wrote them that "you must intervene more flexibly and didactically in the internal and external problems of the Cuban socialist revolution" (from *Voz Obrera* [Mexico], January 1964). But in the face of intense pressure from all sides to capitulate, the Cuban comrades stood firm even in jail, conducting classes in Marxism for the other prisoners. Their resolute spirit can be seen in a letter by Andrés Alfonso:

> "The struggle against imperialism is completely clear and well-defined, but the struggle against the bureaucracy is harder and more arduous, because this bureaucracy is bathed in the garden of the revolution and covers itself with the protective mantle of Marxism-Leninism; it is the hidden enemy of the revolution with a near-Marxist phraseology, socialist in words and chauvinist in deeds, as Lenin always put it so well."
>
> —from *Voz Obrera* [Lima], August 1964

The campaign to free the jailed Cuban Trotskyists received support from a number of trade unions, including Bolivian miners and Argentine sugar workers, as well as various left and student groups. In the U.S. the Spartacist group took the lead, while the SWP, *during the entire time of their incarceration*, maintained absolute silence in their press. During a 1964 student tour of Cuba, a Spartacist supporter again challenged Guevara over the suppres-

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Letter

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was of a very different temper. On 18 April RT leader James Robertson wrote to the *Young Socialist* editorial board on how to cover the invasion:

> "So let's have a bold, bloody over-the-masthead headline about Yankee Imperialist Rape or Solidarity With Every Soviet-supplied Bullet Entering the Bodies of CIAists, or similar.... Exposure of Soviet diplomatic temporizing, calls for military aid, calls for Concentration Camps in Cuba under workers control, etc."
>
> —Appendix B to Tim Wohlforth, "What the Discussion on Cuba Is Really About," *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 22, No. 16, June 1961

Part II of the *WV* article treats the SWP's capitulation to the Kennedy-Khrushchev deal which ended the October 1962 Cuban missile crisis. The *Militant* refused to criticize either Castro or Khrushchev. But at this time even Castro himself was opposed to the deal, made without his knowledge. And he repudiated outright Khrushchev's pledge that foreign observers could inspect the dismantling of the missile bases! It was also widely reported that the Cuban masses were incensed over the Kremlin's decision to remove the missiles.

But the SWP's most repulsive collapse before imperialist public opinion took place over the Kennedy assassination in November 1963. The alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, was publicly identified as a pro-Castro radical, a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and (to the horror of the SWP leadership) a *Militant* subscriber. The assassination of the president of the United States, allegedly by a Castroite radical, momentarily threatened a widespread witchhunt against the American left and adventurist reprisals against Cuba.

The SWP leadership reacted by throwing itself on the mercy of the American ruling class. Farrell Dobbs sent a letter of condolence to the widow of *the mortal enemy* of the Cuban revolution:

> "The SWP condemns the brutal assassination of President Kennedy as an inhuman, anti-social and criminal act. We extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children in their personal grief."
>
> —*Militant*, 2 December 1963

The SWP leadership not only kissed the hem of Jacqueline Kennedy's mourning dress, but tried to hide under the black robes of Chief Justice Earl Warren. Under the kicker, "At the Moment of Crisis There Were Voices of Sanity," the *Militant* ran as a front-page headline Warren's hand-ringing statement: "If We Really Love This Country We Must Abjure Hatred."

Castro, directly under the U.S. guns, reacted to Kennedy's assassination with far greater courage and dignity than did the SWP leadership. He did *not* send condolences to the widow Kennedy, but rather reminded the world that the U.S. president had acted in "a spirit of aggression and hostility" to Cuba. He stated simply that Marxists rejected individual assassination and that the Cuban government had never even heard of Oswald. Castro's only concession to the worldwide sanctimonious mourning over Kennedy was a general expression of moral repugnance at murder: "This kind of act affects the sensibility of every man." (*New York Times*, 25 November 1963).

The SWP's spinelessness degraded the defense of the Cuban revolution. The SWP's great crime against Trotskyism in this period was not only its support to Stalinist rule in Cuba, but that its liberal-pacifist stance and cowardly legalism made Castroism and Maoism look good by comparison to a new generation of radical youth.

Comradely,
JS

Leftists Break from

Out of the Swamp—No to the SWP

How SP's Debs Caucus Was Won to Trotskyism

BY BRUCE RICHARD AND TOM SPIRO

WV is pleased to publish this article by two leaders of the former Debs Caucus of the Socialist Party, USA (SP). The Debs Caucus was a heterogeneous left-critical/activist bulge which coalesced in the midwestern region of the ossified anti-communist SP (from which it split three months ago).

The Caucus stirred considerable attention on the left when leading elements proclaimed themselves pro-Leninist, receiving in particular the attentions of the soft-Maoist Guardian *and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The latter, on the lookout for Stalinophobic aspiring reformists to "regroup," expected to easily win these disgruntled leftist social democrats. But the serious elements, examining the theories of Lenin and Trotsky as a guide to revolutionary action, quickly recognized that the SWP's politics were as alien to authentic revolutionary Marxism as was the social-democratic cesspool they had fought their way out of.*

Bruce Richard, the main author of this article, joined the SP in 1976 and was its Michigan state secretary. Tom Spiro joined the SP in 1976 and became National Secretary in 1977 when he responded to an ad in the SP's Socialist Tribune *(!) offering the position to anyone with a "basic understanding of democratic socialism, member of the Party in good standing for one year, touch typist, 30 wpm or better." He was purged from this post at the 1978 SP convention because of his leading role in the Debs Caucus.*

WV Photo

Bruce Richard, of former Debs Caucus, at Spartacist forum "From Social Democracy to Trotskyism."

The Socialist Party, USA (SP) is an unlikely place for the development of a communist opposition.

The SP is the direct descendant of the old Socialist Party of America (SPA), long the hard right wing of anti-communist "State Department socialism." It took its present organizational form after 1972, when the SPA majority "Realignment Caucus" changed the party name to "Social Democrats, USA" to facilitate work within the George Meany/Scoop Jackson wing of the Democratic Party (with the minority "Coalition Caucus" led by Michael Harrington splitting to form the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, oriented toward more liberal Democrats). The present SP was the third fragment, centered on the Milwaukee "sewer socialist" apparatus of former mayor Frank Zeidler.

The "reconstituted" SP was nearly as reactionary as its predecessor, using its rhetoric about a "non-sectarian multi-tendency party" to conceal its notorious anti-communism. The SP's decentralized structure resulted in locals (and even individual members) putting forward their particular political opinions in the name of the SP without reference to the "official" positions (circulated only, for financial reasons, to a "Key List" of about one-sixth of the membership). The SP press, *Socialist Tribune*, was published infrequently and irregularly and its political content was determined for the most part by a volunteer "collective."

The SP membership was characterized by almost total inactivity. Nearly half the nominal membership of 633 had not paid their $4-a-year dues by September 1978. Although a quarter of them had had some experience in trade unions, the SP had not a single union fraction.

Internal education was virtually non-existent. Attempts to provide some were viewed with suspicion. Thus when the Milwaukee local set up an internal education program which included the "Introduction to Socialism" by Stalinoid academics Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman [associated with *Monthly Review*], right-wingers on the National Action Committee attempted to get the book banned! Efforts to centralize the party's chaotic functioning were immediately denounced as "totalitarian Bolshevism."

Yet this unpromising relic of cold war "socialism" attracted a number of politically inexperienced youth ignorant of the historic debates which defined the tendencies of the workers movement. The SP's "non-sectarian" rhetoric appealed to New Leftists who thought a "broad" movement could bypass the divisions of the "old left."

The SP's inactivity and conservatism soon convinced a nucleus of these activist elements—recruited mostly from the decomposing New Left milieu of Milwaukee and Ann Arbor—that a concerted effort would have to be made if the SP were ever to show signs of life. The specific impetus for organizing a left opposition was the May 1978 Wisconsin SP convention, where a group of Milwaukee activists made an aggressive but unsuccessful challenge to some of the right wing's more extreme positions (such as pacifist support for gun control and opposition to gay rights and abortion) and were met with charges of being "terrorists" "in league with the Trotskyists" (i.e., the Socialist Workers Party [SWP]). Shortly before the September 1978 National Convention, this opposition coalesced as the Debs Caucus.

Kautskyism Rediscovered

The name "Debs Caucus" was not an accident. In addition to laying claim to a share of the SP's oppositional tradition (the anti-Vietnam War minority of the old SPA had also called itself the Debs Caucus), the name reflected a desire to hark back to the time of Eugene V. Debs, before World War I, when revolutionaries such as Big Bill Haywood, James P. Cannon and Debs himself coexisted with reformists such as Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit. The Debs Caucus looked toward the reconstruction of a party of all working-class tendencies such as existed in the pre-1914 Second International under the political leadership of such figures as Kautsky. Thus, the main Debs Caucus programmatic statement to the SP convention—a draft "General Principles"—stated that "we prefer to emphasize the commonality among socialists rather than the differences" (Phil Carroll, "General Principles of the Socialist Party, USA," SP internal discussion bulletin No. 19, Summer 1978).

The Debs Caucus thus had to be deliberately ambiguous about most questions facing the workers movement. (For example, the draft "Principles" took no position on the class nature of the Soviet Russian state, attempting to conciliate both "third campists" and defensists.) Given this programmatic vacuum, the Debs Caucus as a whole stood for little more than opposition to the SP right wing and for the extension of the SP's family-of-the-left approach to include "Leninists."

The Debs Caucus' "multi-tendency" concept of the party reflected its own political heterogeneity; the Caucus included self-proclaimed syndicalists, "non-Leninist Marxists," Maoists and "Trotskyists." Only the hostility of the

continued on page 8

SWP on the Soviet Union: Social or Po

Between December 1977 and April 1978 the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) sent the leadership of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) three formal letters, along with apparently all the internal bulletins of the SWP. We reprint here some excerpts from a January 1978 letter to the SLP by Syd Stapleton, a leading SWP spokesman.

As *WV* had previously reported (see "SWP Invites DeLeonists to Build Party of the Whole Swamp," *WV* No. 192, 10 February 1978), the efforts of the sectarian-reformist SLP to move away from its decades-long principle of irrelevance through a more "activist" posture stirred the interest of the reformist SWP, which is seeking to become the all-inclusive party of American social democracy. A major impediment to this perspective is the SWP's much abused but never explicitly abandoned formal adherence to Trotskyism. A party which seeks to influence sections of the American bourgeoisie cannot really afford a formally Trotskyist position on the nature of the Stalinist-ruled, deformed workers states (the "Russian question"). A party which wants to reach out to the anti-Communist social-democratic milieu must bury or distort the Trotskyist principle of unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism and counterrevolution. So the SWP has been busily sloughing off piecemeal elements of its formal line, coming out for instance against Soviet nuclear weapons and engaging in blanket apologetics for pro-imperialist Soviet "dissidents."

The SWP's de facto abandonment of Soviet defensism played a real role in its much vaunted fusion with the state-capitalist Revolutionary Marxist Committee a couple of years ago (see "RMC: State Department Socialists? An Exchange," *WV* No. 186, 23 December 1977). The correspondence to the SLP—which in thirty pages carefully never mentions the SWP's formal line of defense of the Soviet Union—shows the SWP again trying to play the anti-Soviet card. In this case, it met with rather less

Social Democracy

Weekly People Staff Writer Joins SL

Why I Rejected SLP, SWP

We reprint below the resignation of Steven Miles from the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) declaring his decision to join the Spartacist League/U.S. Prior to resigning, Miles had been a full-time paid staff writer for the SLP's newspaper, the Weekly People. *He also wrote some time ago a letter to* Workers Vanguard *polemicizing against Leninism on the subject of workers control ("Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Leninism vs. DeLeonism," WV No. 165, 8 July 1977). This exchange was reprinted in the SLP's internal newsletter as one of the few attempts at a critique of Trotskyism by the DeLeonists.*

As his own views evolved toward Trotskyism, Miles recognized various inaccuracies and misinterpretations in his earlier polemic. In a second contribution, entitled "In Defense of Trotskyism," he attacked the manner in which the SLP presents Stalinism as the culmination of Leninism rather than its antithesis.

> *"In this way Trotsky's struggle against Stalin is reduced to the level of bureaucratic infighting. However, the record is clear that Trotsky fought for policies directly counterposed to the needs of any bureaucracy: for the reinstitution of soviet democracy, for tendencies and factions inside the Communist Party, for international revolution and against the doctrine of socialism in one country. The party did not 'become' the bureaucracy; rather the bureaucracy developed in a life and death struggle against the best elements in the party, and in particular Trotsky's Left Opposition. The liquidation of the old Bolshevik cadre by Stalin is the clearest proof of this fact."*

After pointing to the electoralist, social-democratic origins of the SLP's hostility to Leninism, Miles rejects the Socialist Workers Party's opportunist maneuverings as anti-Trotskyist:

> *"Anyone who is familiar with the practice of the SWP knows what its concept of 'leadership' is—it consists in getting elected or appointed to an official post in some 'movement' organization. Politically, the SWP tails the existing level of consciousness, sometimes even seeking to limit it in order to build a bigger 'movement' and so acquire a bigger recruitment pool.*
>
> *"The SWP approach to the SLP was a graphic example of such opportunism. Rather than debating fundamental programmatic differences, the SWP glossed and confused such differences in order to declare, 'Our party is your party.' It was not the SWP but the Spartacist League, in the pages of* Workers Vanguard *and through interventions at SLP events around the country, which has engaged the SLP in a principled debate over programmatic fundamentals, and which criticized the SLP from a Trotskyist point of view."*

Despite the SLP's claim to oppose Bolshevism from the standpoint of workers democracy, and despite Miles' statement that he would continue to function as a disciplined party member, SLP leader Nathan Karp refused to publish this document in the organization's internal Newsletter.

January 12, 1979

Garrett Timmermans
Organizer, Section SF Bay Area

Dear Comrade Timmermans:

I herchy resign from the Socialist Labor Party.

Resigning from this organization is complicated hy its family complex. As anyone who has heen to an SLP function can verify, the SLP has much more the character of a family than a revolutionary party. The memhers of families share a commitment to each other hased solely on the fact that they find themselves in the same group. In the SLP politics is suhordinated to the need to maintain the organization, the SLP "family." The only political principle that really unites the SLP is anti-Leninism. Behind the ineffectual Sunday afternoon socialism lies a conscious pursuit of counterrevolutionary (anti-Leninist) policies.

Over the past few years, as part of its effort to regenerate itself after decades of sterile Petersenite irrelevance, the SLP has heen forced to give its anti-Leninism a more conscious and political character. The SLP has of late rediscovered an old right-wing social democratic objection to Leninism: the Leninists, says the SLP, substitute the party for the class. The SLP claims to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, hut denies the necessary leading role of the vanguard revolutionary party, without which the proletariat—which is composed of people with vast differences in experience and political training—could not exercise its dictatorship. The vanguard party leads the masses of workers, not by lining them up behind it by political maneuvers (another favorite anticommunist charge), but by honestly advancing a program which speaks to their felt needs and is at once hoth objectively possihle and necessary. Such a program naturally points to the need for a workers' government—it is transitional in nature due to the outmodedness of capitalism as a social system. The SLP's maximalist posturing serves simply to mask its reformist confusion and its increasingly swamp-like character. Every hare-hrained scheme (e.g., an Industrial Union conference with the Peace and Freedom Party) is countenanced in the SLP, not because the organization is so democratic hut because it has no coherent politics. The only thing that will not he tolerated in the SLP is Leninism, i.e., Trotskyism.

The SWP's approach to the SLP has forced the SLP to harden up its anti-Leninism in order to justify a separate organizational existence. The SWP leadership last year correctly observed a "growing programmatic convergence" between the two parties and proposed formal unification. This convergence is based on the fact that the SWP, which still adheres formally to Leninism, in fact liquidates the independent program and role of the communist vanguard and instead tails after various labor fakers (such as the reformist/economist Teamsters for a Democratic Union) and sectoralist "movement" politicians—exactly as the SLP does, with the exception that the SLP's maximalist heritage compels it to observe rather more frequently that, "ultimately," socialism will he necessary.

Of course, there are real differences between the SLP's socialist industrial unionism and genuine revolutionary Trotskyism, which is represented not by the SWP hut hy the Spartacist League. The SWP lied about and denied these differences precisely because it is not the continuator of Trotskyism. The SLP's "SIU [Socialist Industrial Union] program" is, at best, a syndicalist deviation from Marxism. There is a big difference between a labor union organized on the hasis of commitment to socialism (DeLeon's conception of the SIU), and a soviet, which aims to embrace all workers regardless of their political views. The SWP did not clarify this distinction because it is not interested in breaking potential revolutionaries from social democracy but instead wants to invite them into its own social democratic swamp.

Another disgusting aspect of the SWP's approach to the SLP was its conciliation to the SLP's national-centeredness, a trait which it in fact shares. Like the bourgeoisie, social democrats see things in essentially national terms. The SLP long maintained that the "SIU program" was uniquely applicable to the U.S. (though more recently this has extended to other "developed" countries), and still distributes literature which states that, thanks to Article V of the U.S. Constitution, the American socialist revolution can be achieved peacefully! It is no wonder the SLP supported Stalin during the 1930's, "socialism in one country" is the SLP's own program. As for the SWP, its conciliation to the American bourgeoisie is revealed by, among other things, its defense of a federated Fourth International, its grovelling before the Voorhis Act, and its refusal to call unequivocally for victory to the Vietnamese revolution in the anti-war movement.

Communists, on the other hand, understand that socialism can only he a world system, that no country has to "wait" for socialist revolution until it has developed a high level of productivity on a national hasis, and that consequently hoth the program and the party of communism must *begin* from *world* perspectives. It was on the hasis of such a perspective (i.e., socialist revolution in Germany) that Lenin led the Bolsheviks to power in Russia. The international Spartacist tendency has set itself the task of reforging a democratic-centralist Fourth International, and bases the work of each of its national sections on international perspectives.

With such a wretched record, how is it that the SLP is able to hold on to a few potentially valuable revolutionaries? It is possible only due to the anticommunism of the American milieu, an anticommunism which weighs down heavily even on those who claim to he revolutionaries. The SLP capitulates completely to this anticommunism. Its unabashed anti-Leninism is only the most vulgar expression of this capitulation. The Russian question is another crucial example. Genuine revolutionary Trotskyists are the most implacable opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracy. We call for political revolution to oust the hureaucrats and institute soviet democracy. But at the same time we recognize that capitalist restoration in any of the degenerated or deformed workers states would he a devastating setback for the world proletariat and so we unconditionally defend (and would *militarily* hloc with) these states against imperialism. The SLP would maintain a pious neutrality in a contest hetween the U.S. and the USSR on the grounds that to call the USSR a "workers state" is to "sully" a fine socialist "precept"!

The distance hetween social democracy and Leninism is great, hut

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Political Revolution - Who Cares?

success and the overtures were rebuffed.

* * * * *

Excerpts from 19 January 1978 letter from Syd Stapleton (SWP) to Nathan Karp (SLP), reprinted from the proceedings of SLP National Convention, 26-31 May 1978 (appendix):

"...We share some other important ideas on the nature of the party and the needs of our class. Unlike both the Stalinists and Social Democrats, we do not believe the interests of the working class should he suhordinated to the needs of any bureaucracy, whether in the AFL-CIO, the Soviet Union, or China ...

"We agree in large measure on another issue with implications for our view of the party—the tasks of revolutionaries in the Soviet Union and similar countries. We both advocate the revolutionary overthrow of the bureaucracies and the reorganization of the Stalinized countries under democratic organs of workers' power.

"We may disagree on whether the Soviet hureaucracy is a 'caste' or a 'class,' and thus on whether the revolution will he 'political' or 'social.' We may also disagree on the extent of hurcaucratization in Cuba. But these disagreements exist within our parties as well as between them. They do not, in our opinion, exclude the possibility of reaching agreement on the kind of party American workers need to establish socialism...

"Of course, there is the question of whether or not the actions of the Bolshevik party after 1917 laid the ground for Stalinism. We do not think so. But there is no SWP requirement that members agree with all the actions of the Bolsheviks hetween 1917 and 1923. Much debate on this question can he left to historians of the workers' movement.

"...divisions over the precise nature of the revolutionary party's role after the revolution seem, to us, a little premature. This seems especially true when we already hold in common an abiding abhorrence for the Stalinist caricature of workers' rule."

Debs Caucus...

(continued from page 7)

SP right wing lent the Caucus a measure of "unity." Ultimately, this left bloc was as unstable as its attempt to reconstitute a Kautskyian "party of the whole class" by turning its back on history was utopian. There can be no return to the inclusive "revolutionary social democracy" of pre-war days; in the crucial struggles front which the Third International emerged, social democracy defined itself as class-collaborationist, anti-internationalist and anti-communist.

Cold Warriors Go to War

If the Debs Caucus hoped to conciliate the SP right wing, it was soon to be disappointed. The key political fight at the September 1978 National Convention was a lengthy and heated debate on the "Russian question." Three lines were presented, a right-winger argued for the "bureaucratic collectivist" characterization of the USSR; Debs Caucus member Carroll presented his agnostic line; and Bruce Richard motivated his document, "Outline for a Party Program" (internal discussion bulletin No. 19), in favor of a democratic-centralist Leninist party and the Trotskyist analysis of the Russian question.

The right-wingers refused to respond to the Caucus' political challenge with anything but the crudest anti-communist slander (such as NC [National Committee] member Ed Lee's statement that "Lenin was a murderer"), relying on bureaucratic maneuvers to derail the opposition. Thus the right-wing majority at the National Convention simply canceled elections for NC since proportional representation would have guaranteed the presence of several Debs Caucus supporters. *Socialist Tribune* was moved from Milwaukee to Florida, where the right wing had tight control. Immediately following the Convention, the NC moved to fire National Secretary Tom Spiro for having "aligned himself with a militant group and ...[leading] this faction in Convention disputes." And at the November NC meeting at which the Debs Caucus split from the SP, the right-wing majority suspended or revoked the charters of left-wing-controlled locals in Milwaukee, Racine (Wisconsin), Michigan and New York City.

Under the impact of the right wing's bureaucratism and anti-communism, the Debs Caucus began to question its "family of the left" stance on the party question. Thus one Caucus member wrote after the September National Convention:

> "We must remember that real revolutionaries will have no friends anywhere except those they make through their leadership of working class struggles, and that not only bourgeois liberals but also Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders will hate us for exposing them ... We should have as our final goal not some kind of grand reconciliation of left tendencies in one big swamp but rather the winning away of workers from their objectively counter-revolutionary leadership. In doing so we cannot remain friends with the rest of the 'left'."
>
> —Bruce Richard, "Toward a Revolutionary Party: Strategic Perspectives for the Socialist Party (Debs Caucus)," October 1978

The Debs Caucus began to examine other left groups and to intensively study the basic writings of Lenin and Trotsky on the vanguard party. Rejecting out of hand the bureaucratic, class-collaborationist Stalinist and social-democratic organizations, the Caucus focused its attention on the two major ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in the U.S.—the SWP and the Spartacist League (SL).

Whatever Happened to the SWP?

In their study of the basic works of Trotskyism, such as *In Defense of Marxism* and *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, Debs Caucus members could not fail to be impressed by the revolutionary SWP of Trotsky and Cannon. But in their dealings with the SWP of today, they could only ask, "Whatever happened to the SWP?" Instead of seeking to lead the struggles of workers and the oppressed on a

Frank Zeidler — Mary Locke

communist program, the modern SWP uncritically tailed any "mass movement" while kowtowing to bourgeois liberal opinion. The SWP upholds the classic social-democratic attitude toward the capitalist state, seeing it as a "neutral" mediator between classes.

Thus, the SWP looks to the bourgeois state as a key force in the struggle for black liberation. Similarly, it supports attacks on the workers movement by the state in the name of "democratizing" the unions. Debs Caucus members contrasted the SWP's abandonment of Leninism with the principled politics of the Spartacist League, which looks to the strength of the organized working class to defend the workers and the specially oppressed. Where the SWP calls on the armed forces of the bourgeois state to defeat racist attacks (as over Boston busing in 1974), the SL calls for labor/black defense of busing. Where the SWP looks to government intervention in the labor movement to provide "affirmative action" for blacks at the expense of union-won seniority, the SL puts forward a class-struggle program to fight racial oppression: union-run minority recruitment and training, jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, etc. The SWP's legalistic appeals to the bourgeois state for token reforms are qualitatively no different from the politics of the SP, which also looks to the bourgeois state to do the work of the workers movement; the SL's program for black freedom is a class-struggle alternative to reformist defeat.

In every aspect of its work, the SWP revealed its social-democratic appetites. The campaign held up by the SWP to the Debs Caucus as the best example of their "leadership" was their antiwar work—organizing massive, passive peace crawls under the class-neutral slogan "Out Now" and refusing to call for military victory to the NLF.

In its dealings with the Debs Caucus, the SWP displayed a mixture of cynicism and political cowardice. Expecting the Debs Caucus to drop into their hands like ripe fruit, the SWP—in line with its orientation toward regrouping sections of the social democracy (such as its fusion with the state-capitalist Revolutionary Marxist Committee [RMC] and the more recent attention to the Socialist Labor Party [see accompanying article])—presented itself as a bigger and more dynamic version of what the heterogeneous Debs Caucus wanted the SP to be, a party of the whole swamp. In an article obviously directed at the Debs Caucus, the SWP praised the SP of Debs' time for being "able to play the role of a broad movement of social protest against the brutalities of expanding capitalism" (*Militant*, 3 November 1978), soft-pedaling Cannon's harsh criticism of Debs' centrist role in the SP. (The SL, in contrast, stressed this criticism of Debs for failing to lead the revolutionary wing of the old SP [see "Debs and Lenin," *WV* No. 216, 6 October 1978].) Stressing agnosticism on the Russian question, the SWP put forward as an example of "principled fusion" its merger with the Shachtmanite RMC.

While cynically downplaying the revolutionary Trotskyist heritage, the SWP also showed its political cowardice by consistently refusing to confront the SL politically before the Debs Caucus. The SWP not only refused a Debs Caucus request for an SWP-SL debate (a challenge the SL readily accepted) but even refused to allow Debs Caucus members to meet with SWP leader Fred Halstead except on condition that SLers were excluded from the meeting!

The best example of the SWP's craven refusal to confront the politics of the SL was provided at a forum on the Russian question given in Milwaukee on October 28 by SL spokesman Joseph Seymour. Virtually the entire Debs Caucus attended. In response to sharp blasts by Seymour and other SLers in the audience against the SWP's refusal in practice to defend the gains of the October Revolution (as exemplified by their tailism of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade and their support for the anti-nuclear weapons movement), an SWP member simply stated the SWPers were "not authorized" to speak at the forum!

A subsequent letter from this SWPer to a Debs Caucus member made even clearer the political cowardice underlying the SWP's refusal to take on the SL:

> "A debate was impossible at that time...[because] as I noted at the forum, members of the SWP at that event were not authorized to engage in a public debate with the SL. The SWP places groups like the SL and the Workers League [WL] in a separate category from other tendencies on the left. Groups such as the SL and WL have a publicly declared goal, which they regularly repeat in their press, of *destroying* the SWP ... We, of course, are not particularly keen on doing anything that might aid these groups in accomplishing their goal."
>
> —Bill Breihan to Bruce Richard, 6 November 1978

The implication is plain: clarifying political debate could lead to the political destruction of the SWP! The Debs Caucus drew the appropriate conclusions. (Moreover, the comparison of the SL with the sectarian gangsters of the Workers League did not sit well with Debs Caucus members, who had already seen too much slander inside the SP.)

"Bolshevism with a Human Face"?

On their way to revolutionary Trotskyism, the Debs Caucus comrades encountered some minor political obstacles to the building of a vanguard party. One of these was the so-called "Bolshevik Leninist Group" (BLG), a tiny clot based in Ann Arbor. The BLG is a semi-clandestine organization with no public spokesmen and no press. Its one attempt at intervention in the class struggle has been a drive to organize clerical workers on the University of Michigan campus into an "independent" craft union, which has already lost two certification elections. Though the BLG claims to be Trotskyist, it works through a number of liquidationist caucuses and committees which issue only the most low-level economist propaganda for better wages and working conditions and union democracy. The BLG's ultra-parochial orientation was revealed most clearly in a bitter 1977 strike by AFSCME University staff workers, when BLG supporters crossed picket lines daily for weeks, cynically claiming they had to keep their jobs so they could continue providing revolutionary leadership to the Ann Arbor working class.

That serious consideration could be given even briefly to this bankrupt clique, whose one major programmatic statement is a 60-page defense of the seabbing, shows the political naiveté of the Debs Caucus. The BLG appeared to embody a semblance of Bolshevik politics without the abrasive "style" which revolutionary Trotskyism presents to petty-bourgeois sensibilities. It soon became apparent that "style" was not the question. "Bolshevism with a human face" is simply liberal moralism in disguise. In breaking with the BLG, the Debs Caucus moved significantly closer to the authentic revolutionary Trotskyism of the SL.

The Split from the SP

Events in the SP rapidly drew to a climax after the September 1978 National Convention. Further Polarization in the already deeply divided SP followed the entry of the Communist Cadre-Marxist (CTCM) into the New York SP local in early September 1978. The CTCM was a tiny group which had its origins in a 1972 split from the Workers World Party of Sam Marcy. It held positions similar to its Marcyite parent, including support for the Stalinist suppression of the 1956 Hungarian workers uprising. The group's checkered past includes a previous rotten entry into the psycho-therapy cultist International Workers Party.

The New York SP local, under CTCM control, called for the expulsion of SP chairman Frank Zeidler for having a few months before crossed a picket line of his own local (Milwaukee) to speak on a platform with notorious anti-abortion congressman Henry Hyde. This move threw the already polarized SP into a frenzy as the right wing labeled the CTCM and later the Debs Caucus (which supported the demand for expulsion on the grounds that Zeidler had helped try to break the 1955 Kohler strike) as "infiltrators" and "agents." Amidst the total breakdown of rational discussion and threats to reorganize or expel left-wing branches, the Debs Caucus resigned from the SP at the November 11 NC meeting.

As the Debs Caucus struggled for clarity on the crucial questions facing the workers movement—particularly the party question—it had lost those members unable to make the political turn from social democracy to Trotskyism. These members, unwilling to wage a struggle for a different program, simply dropped out of the Caucus (and usually out of politics). Although about 40 people left the SP at the time of the split, less than half were willing to sign the Debs Caucus statement of resignation:

> "The struggle waged over the past six months has once again demonstrated that any attempt to raise revolutionary, class-struggle, Marxist-Leninist politics will provoke a fierce reaction from the overwhelming majority of the SP leadership.
>
> "Furthermore, the SP's politically bankrupt social-democratic program can be defended against political challenge only by the most bureaucratic organizational maneuvers ...
>
> "The comrades of the Socialist Party (Debs Caucus), as revolutionary communists, have been driven by the NC majority to the realization that to remain in an organization so fundamentally opposed to basic principles of revolutionary socialism any longer would be both politically unprincipled and organizationally futile. Accordingly, the Socialist Party (Debs Caucus) has no choice but to leave the SP."
>
> —Statement of Resignation of the SP (Debs Caucus), 11 November 1978

The signers of this statement consti-

continued on page 11

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

nited by the cadets themselves. In the hours that followed, thousands more of Khomeini's followers took to the streets in defiance of the curfew. Trenches were dug and barricades erected at key intersections.

The crack "Immortals" Brigade, fanatically devoted to the shah and armed with heavy Chieftain tanks and artillery, was fought to a standstill by cadets with rifles and teenagers often armed with nothing more than reckless courage and bottles of gasoline. Then on Sunday afternoon the Supreme Military Command under Garabaghi (subsequently removed by Khomeini) declared it had "unanimously decided to announce its neutrality in the current political dispute in order to prevent further turmoil and bloodshed and to order all military units to return to their barracks." "The Iranian army," said the generals, "has always supported the noble Iranian nation and supports with all its strength Iranian national demands." Fighting with the die-hard "Immortals" continued but political power had clearly been delivered to the Muslim mullahs.

Bakhtiar, whose house and office were ransacked and burned after army sentries were withdrawn, was taken into protective custody by Khomeini partisans, together with the former military governor of Teheran and the chief of the SAVAK secret police. Both houses of parliament, the state radio and TV stations, military bases and all major official buildings in Teheran were quickly captured or turned over to the insurgents without a fight. Eleven thousand prisoners, political and criminal, were released from the unguarded prison in what is being described as the largest jailbreak in history. Mehdi Bazargan, Khomeini's appointed prime minister, appeared on television to announce that he would assume office Monday and that General Garabaghi had pledged the military's full support to the new government.

The fall of the shah was conditioned by the belief of the U.S. government and CIA that the shah's loyalists could not win. The deluded shah may well believe he still retains some measure of popular support and no doubt feels betrayed by his imperialist sponsors. But what is of paramount strategic importance for Carter and Brzezinski is not the fate of the Pahlavi dynasty but the preservation of a powerful Iranian buffer against the Soviet Union based on the armed forces elite they trained.

Despite official support for Bakhtiar, the U.S. government had already moved to open a back door for collaboration with a Khomeini government. The *Wall Street Journal* had begun writing about a "bloodless compromise" and "links" to the Khomeini provisional cabinet. The *Washington Post* last week quoted a diplomat's statement that "The U.S. can live with Bazargan." But not unexpectedly, the loudest signal was heard from Andrew Young, the "progressive" black front man for the State Department whose supposedly "irresponsible" statements often serve to introduce policies shared by less flamboyant officials like Cyrus Vance. Young remarked that "Khomeini will be somewhat of a saint when we get over the panic" (*New York Times*, 8 February). While the street battles raged in Teheran, Young was meeting in New York with two representatives of the ayatollah, who assured him that the "human rights of all Iranians would be protected." Khomeini may be canonized by the imperialists because he has saved an otherwise lost cause, managing to supplant the shah's despised regime with a more popular government *based on the military*, the regime which will be if possible even more anti-communist than its predecessor.

Khomeini may want to protect his relations with U.S. imperialism, but the sentiment to "cut off the hands of foreigners" is practically a tradition in Iran. And guerrillas in the streets have the sword of Islam out for U.S. and other Western imperialists. The ferocious anti-U.S. hostility is not mere xenophobia or typical "Third World" apologia for the Stalinist notion that the national-bourgeois revolution can free the nation from the yoke of imperialism. The shah was not just a U.S. puppet, but a sub-imperialist in his own right. But the U.S. had linked itself to the shah's

AP

The face of defeat: shah loyalist, Lieut. Gen. Rabii.

rule when it engineered the CIA overthrow of the Mossadeq regime in 1953. And it has trained the Iranian military ever since.

Mopping Up

The problem now facing Khomeini's mullahs is the consolidation of their rule. On the one hand there are the shah's forces to be purged of hard-line shah loyalists while holding on to as many reliable officers and police torturers as can be protected from the anger of the masses. On the other hand are the mopping-up actions against runaway insurgency. More than anything at this moment, Khomeini needs to demonstrate that his Muslim marshals together with the revamped military can reimpose social control.

After having neutralized the overwhelming mass of the army, the new regime moved to secure its hold over the military by a purge of the shah's top commanders. According to the *New York Times* (13 February):

> "Mr. Bazargan moved to check the widespread anarchy by naming a new military chief of staff, Maj. Gen. Mohammed Vali Qaraneh, a little-known officer said to have been an opponent of the Shah at one time, as successor to Gen. Garabaghi, who was appointed by the Shah."

The Imperial Guard's deputy commander was gunned down in his home, while the military governor of the southern province of Khuzistan was shot down and killed while flying over Ahwaz in a helicopter. Bakhtiar's war minister, the head of the air force Amir Hussein Rahii and air cavalry commander Manouchehr Khosrowdad were all arrested. Former prime minister Hoveida and Nematollah Nassiri, ex-head of SAVAK, both previously arrested by Bakhtiar, were exhibited to newsmen at Khomeini's headquarters together with Rahii and the detained military governors of Isfahan and Teheran. Dozens of arrested SAVAK agents have also been concentrated there.

Meanwhile, a monopoly of armed might must be secured for the regular army. In a televised address Khomeini demanded:

> "All weapons must be surrendered to the mosques. The selling of arms is heresy. Don't let those weapons fall into the hands of the enemies of Islam. Islamic soldiers must be armed. But others must not be armed. The state must be preserved. The disorder must end."
>
> —UPI dispatch, 13 February

Khomeini knows, however, that many of the rifles, mortars, grenades and machine guns circulating in Teheran are now in the possession of such radical and "Marxist" guerrilla outfits as the Mujaheddin e Khalq (People's Strugglers) and Cherikhaye Fedayee Khanlu (People's Sacrifice Guerrillas), and are not going to be peacefully handed over to the nearest mullah. So behind the appeal to Islamic duty is the open threat to unleash the army against unreliable armed civilians. Bazargan has ordered all deserters to report for duty and newly appointed deputy prime minister Amir Entezam told a BBC interviewer that the troops would be used to crush the urban guerrillas if necessary. In a habitual turn of phrase the ayatollah himself warned he would "cut off the hands of traitors at work, of those who want to terrorize, massacre and destroy" (UPI dispatch, 13 February).

Despite the difficulties inherent in trying to order the same troops who only a few days before had passed out their weapons to the population to collect them again by force, Khomeini's government will likely succeed in suppressing "leftist" opposition to the new order. In Teheran, Muslim "shock brigades" have already carried out savage attacks on student leftists. The "Marxist-Leninist" guerrillas are well supplied with military hardware but their support to Khomeini over the last year has so completely *politically* disarmed them that they will not be able to mount an effective opposition to Khomeini in power. They have chanted "Allahu Akhbar" ("god is great") and "Khuda, Koran, Khomeini" ("god, the Koran, Khomeini") for too long to sing a different tune now and expect the masses to follow.

For Workers Revolution in Iran!

Victory will certainly usher in a process of political fissioning among the forces following Khomeini. The ayatollah's religious support ranges from pious technocrats like Bazargan to rich merchants of the bazaar to fanatical theology students to "Islamic-socialist" demagogues. Moreover, his climb to power owed much to the social power of striking oil workers and the heroism of air force technicians, both educated and Westernized groups whose support does not stem from Muslim devotion.

Iran's mullahs need the iron fist of a military trained and equipped by imperialism to enforce "justice" according to the Koran. The police stations burned down during the street fighting will be rebuilt. The shah's gendarmerie (which has now sworn allegiance to Khomeini) will reoccupy them and a regenerated and renamed SAVAK will again be unleashed against those dubbed "traitors" by the new regime. To restore the flow of oil abroad and refill the state's coffers, the government must restore labor discipline among the militant oil workers; a Khomeini representative has already condemned "leftist and non-Islamic elements" among them.

The Iranian workers have proved their willingness to lay down their lives to topple an oppressive dictatorship. If they are not to be put under the yoke of an equally reactionary "Islamic republic," the three million strong proletariat must begin now, before the stabilization of a new dictatorship, to prepare a struggle for power. Only the revolutionary leadership necessary for the independent mobilization of the working class is missing.

Iran's Phony February

There were incidents in the last few days that looked like the February Revolution in Russia in 1917—when the ranks of the Iranian army, after more than a year of bloody confrontation with demonstrating masses, went over to what they thought was the side of "the people." Upon such emotion-packed moments hinge insurrections. But despite the mood, Iran's February has little in common with Russia's February. One incident serves to draw the distinction) when the prisons of Moscow were opened, the Bolshevik Dzerzhinsky, who was at hard labor, rushed out to address the workers soviets still clad in his prison clothes. In Teheran the released prisoners rush to the mosques to thank Allah. There are no mass democratic institutions of incipient dual power and no revolutionaries to fight for a proletarian policy within them.

Iran's February and October 1917 are still to come. Perhaps the leading cadre of that future revolution will learn its crucial lessons from the explosion of the broad masses' illusions in Khomeini in the aftermath of 1978-1979. The reactionary character of Khomeini's theocracy—based on military rule draped with the "democratic" camouflage of referendums and constitutions—will emerge fully under the pressures of continued instability and tumult. A revolutionary cadre must be forged in political struggle against the mullahs.

It is the crisis of proletarian leadership which has delivered the Iranian workers and peasants into the hands of the mullahs. The powerful Iranian proletariat can be the vanguard of socialist revolution throughout the entire Middle East, sweeping aside all the shahs, sheiks and colonels who enforce imperialism's rule of oppression and exploitation. But this historic task can be fulfilled only under the leadership of an authentic Trotskyist party, built through unrelenting political struggle against absolutism, Islamic reaction and Persian chauvinism.

A genuine Trotskyist vanguard would fight for a sovereign, *secular* constituent assembly, championing the democratic aspirations of the peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie to win them to the side of the proletariat in the struggle for a *workers and peasants republic*. Only the seizure of power by the working class and the smashing of the capitalist state apparatus can guarantee democratic rights, land to the tiller, equality for women, the rights of the national and religious minorities and the struggle against imperialist domination.

Today in Iran the objective ripeness for social revolution can be seen everywhere: in the brittle arrogance of the former autocracy with its sophisticated Phantom jets which it could not put into the sky, in the mass hatred of monarchist rule and the willingness of virtually a whole people to fight to bring it down. But there will be no social revolution in Iran until the powerful proletariat takes the offensive away from the mullahs and *bazaaris*—until it is the proletariat and its vanguard which runs the general strikes, sets up the barricades along class lines, broadcasts as the "voice of the revolution." When it is the workers' armed militias and not the fanatic mullah marshals who take over public buildings; when there is popular justice against both the SAVAK torturers and their clerical replacements, when the army is split along *class* lines and the masses of soldiers come over to the workers' cause against their ex-monarchist and new Islamic officer corps—*then* Iran will have its decisive social revolution. ■

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Farmworkers Strike...

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all-out grower/cop/court/Klan offensive against the union.

Indeed, the "Imperial Valley" is aptly named. Never having accustomed themselves to the presence of the union, the growers see the valley as their own private fiefdom and moved instantly against the picketers with an army of gun-toting foremen and hired thugs. In addition, a special 50-man Imperial Valley deputy sheriffs' "strike force," backed up by police reinforcements from Brawley, El Centro and Calexico, has been mobilized to support the growers' massive scab-herding operation. Growers' ads in the local press blatantly solicit scabs from among Imperial Valley High School students as well as through Spanish-language leaflets distributed over the border. And UFW spokesmen say Ku Klux Klan goons are already in the fields.

The attack on Contreras came on February 10 at the huge Saikhon field where the foremen were running in a batch of so-called "replacement workers," many of them teenagers recruited for weekend work in the fields. According to the UFW, the foremen not only opened fire when union members crossed the field to talk to the scabs but kept up the barrage of bullets for a full 45 minutes, preventing the strikers from rescuing their fallen comrade.

In the face of the growers' all-out war and despite official UFW leaflets urging non-violent resistance, the strikers' combativity has continued to mount daily. A *Workers Vanguard* press team found picketers at the Maggio cooler yelling at scabs, "¡Esquiroles vendidos, esos que tienen sangre de la compañia—sabemos donde viven esos!" (Sold-out scabs with company blood in their veins—we know where they live!) And when 50 American flag-draped buses and trucks loaded with scabs and scab produce tried to rush the picket lines at the Vessey farm on January 29, windows were smashed and one truck overturned. One worker was hit by a helicopter-landing ski, another was brutally beaten and a third, rammed by a foreman-driven pickup, may never walk again; but strikers say the sheriff's deputies and hired goons fared far worse. One militant told *WV* about the sight of 2,000 workers converging on 150 scabs: "Estuvo muy bonito, es un dia muy bonito." (That was a beautiful sight, it is a day to remember.)

Huelga... At Last

The bitter strike in the Imperial Valley is a far cry from the pacifist tactics traditionally espoused by the UFW bureaucrats. Chavez, with his Gandhi-style turn-the-other-cheek rhetoric, hunger strikes and well-publicized but ineffective consumer boycotts championed by the Catholic Church and Democratic Party bigwigs like the Kennedys, has long been the darling of the liberals and the reformist left. In reality, however, such pacifist liberalism has time and again crippled the UFW. In 1973 Chavez warned striking grape and lettuce workers to limit themselves to peaceful appeals to scabs, and then later totally capitulated to grower and Teamster violence, calling off the strike and replacing it with a useless boycott. This betrayal led to the virtual extinction of the UFW, and is responsible for the fact that today the majority of California agriculture remains either nonunion or "organized" by the Teamsters. Then in 1974 the union devoted all its resources to lobbying Democratic Party politicians to establish the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), which Chavez claimed would protect the collective bargaining rights of farmworkers. In fact, in the current strike the ALRB has handed down numerous rulings limiting picketing size and location at the growers' request.

But the battle of Imperial Valley proves again that it is only through the pursuit of militant, class-struggle policies that the gains of the UFW can be preserved and extended. The effectiveness of the strike so far has largely been due to the heroic determination of the strikers to maintain their picket lines in the face of violence by the sheriffs, cops and the growers' thugs. As for Chavez himself, he has largely remained on the sidelines during the strike, ostensibly "raising money" in the cities. And on one of his brief forays into the fields, even Chavez could not get away with only his usual sermon about a "national lettuce boycott." He did not dare to tell farmworkers to dismantle their pickets, instead giving lip-service to the popular chant of the pickets, "Huelga, huelga, huelga."

But the UFW ranks must understand that Chavez has in no sense abandoned his backstabbing, class-collaborationist policies. Thus, the murder of Rufino Contreras should have been the signal to call out the entire Imperial Valley on strike, dumping the piecemeal strategy under which only one-third of the lettuce crop is being struck and even the majority of UFW-organized farms continue to work. But for Chavez the grower violence was simply an excuse to cool out farmworker militancy. "The growers asked me to call off the picketing yesterday and we're accommodating them in that," he told a strikers' rally. While Chavez requested the growers to return the favor by keeping the scabs out of the fields, the result was immediate and devastating: *that very day* the two largest growers, Maggio and Saikhon, were already moving the struck produce out of the fields!

Scab produce must not reach the markets! Although the Teamsters Joint Council 42 felt sufficiently pressured to belatedly issue a strike sanction and although many Teamster drivers have been honoring farmworkers' lines since the strike's inception, a Joint Council 42 spokesman warned *WV* that UFW picketers "better not come up here"; that is, to the LA produce markets where lettuce is handled and hauled by the Teamsters to the supermarkets.

Victory in this strike will be won through labor solidarity, which alone can insure the defense of the picket lines and the extension of the strike throughout the Imperial Valley and to the important San Joaquin and Salinas Valley fields. Instead of relying on impotent consumer boycotts, farmworkers should appeal to the Teamsters to insure that the struck produce does not move by taking up the fight to hot-cargo all scab produce from the fields to the coolers to the supermarkets. Teamsters and railway workers who bring the lettuce crop back East must also refuse to handle scab produce. Such a strategy would quickly bring the growers to their knees. Victory to the UFW strike! ■

Letelier...

(continued from page 2)

routinely tailing the Cuban hit-men tripped upon their initial meeting with Captain Fernández and Townley at the English Lobster Club in Coral Gables, Florida; and how in June of 1976 the FBI turned up in the same Santo Domingo hotel where the Letelier assassination plans were being discussed along with plans to blow up a Cuban airliner (which later took 73 lives). And there is the evidence of Townley's CIA ties.

It is these connections that the prosecution is trying to cover up. And it tells a lot about the real nature of the trial that the only side showing any interest in getting at the evidence of CIA links is the lawyers for the Cuban counterrevolutionary killers and not the U.S. "Justice" Department. Thus only when the defense demanded that the prosecution give it a copy, was it learned that a secret agreement was signed on 7 April 1978 between Chile and the U.S. stipulating that Townley could be questioned only on the Letelier affair and that certain still-undisclosed information would be confined to the courts and "not spread to the press" (*New York Times*, 24 January).

The workers movement is interested in seeing that all of these secret deals and as yet undisclosed plots be exposed. For one thing, the U.S. last summer handed over hundreds of pages of documents to the Chilean government laying the basis for its demand to extradite General Contreras, but refused to show their contents to the press. We demand that all of the suppressed evidence and the secret deals be brought to the light of day.

The fact that Letelier's murderers have come to trial at all stems from a decision by Carter early last year to bolster the U.S.' sagging "human rights" image by distancing itself from the most hated of the more than 20 dictatorships propped up by the U.S. in Latin America. But in view of the massive U.S. encouragement of the bloody '73 Chilean coup, it is above all necessary that the "investigation" not dig very deep. And while the gusanos take the rap, the big-time terrorists are slapped on the hand or get off scot-free.

The present trial proves the absurdity of relying on U.S. "justice" to get to the bottom of the Letelier case, or similarly calling on imperialist commander Jimmy Carter to wage a struggle against dictatorship in Latin America. Immediately following the September 1976 bombing of Letelier's car we pointed out that his DINA killers could not have acted in the American capital without the knowledge of the FBI/CIA. Now, despite the best efforts of the "impartial" judge and "prosecution," this is being shown in court. We demand an end to the cover-up of the U.S. connection in the murder of Orlando Letelier. Cancel the deals—publish the documents! Put away Townley and all the murderers of Orlando Letelier! ■

Cuban Trotskyists...

(continued from page 5)

sion of the POR. "Che" could only reply with the hackneyed slanders. In contrast to the SI's principled stand, when challenged in a public meeting, SWP leader Barry Shepard remarked cynically, "There are Trotskyists and there are Trotskyists. But if *I* were in Cuba, *I* wouldn't be arrested." Only three months after the POR militants were released in April 1965 did the SWP press even mention the arrests, and even then it attributed their freeing to "the struggle...by the Fidelista leadership against bureaucratism" (*World Outlook*, 25 June 1965)!

As for Juan Posadas, he was indeed a revisionist whose tailing after "militant" Stalinism reached increasingly bizarre and even comical proportions as the years wore on. Thus starting with the supposed imminence of a third world war as propounded by Michel Pablo, secretary of the Fourth International in the early 1950's, Posadas concluded that it was necessary to call for a Soviet nuclear first strike. Trying to relate this thesis to an architectural congress in Havana in early 1974, some Latin American Posadista delegates argued that it was useless to talk about building new structures that would all be destroyed inside of four to five years as a result of atomic devastation!

As we noted earlier, the Cuban Trotskyists had political weaknesses. Thus they did not have a fully elaborated analysis of the Castro regime as a deformed workers state, although their program called, in substance, for political revolution to replace the Stalinist bureaucracy with the proletarian democracy of soviets. The POR also reflected certain aspects of Posadas' revisionism, notably in its support to the Mao-Stalinist regime in China and the references to a "socialist camp" a form of apology for the ruling bureaucracies of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

In terms of specifically Cuban events, the POR's principal weakness was a softness on guerrillaism and initially toward Guevara. However, unlike the SWP, Posadas, Mandel and the other ex-Trotskyists who gave explicit political support to the Castro regime, the POR comrades had one cardinal virtue: courage of their convictions. Although they eventually signed a statement renouncing the Fourth International in order to obtain their release, the POR militants had fought a valiant battle against Stalinist domination of the Cuban Revolution, isolated from their comrades internationally and facing mounting bureaucratic repression.

The disgusting behavior of the SWP, acting as witness for the prosecution against the Cuban Trotskyists, recalls the treachery of that earlier renegade from Trotskyism, Michel Pablo, who in the early 1950's refused to defend the Chinese Trotskyists jailed and even murdered by Mao. They were, said the Pabloists, "refugees from a revolution" because they continued to fight for a Trotskyist leadership. More recently, the French Mandelites have made excuses for Ho Chi Minh's massacre of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. The repression of the POR marked a watershed: for the Cuban Fidelistas it accompanied the Stalinization of the regime as it fused with the pro-Moscow PSP, for the SWP it provided definitive proof of their complete degeneration into Pablo-ism, their willingness to sacrifice the most elementary principles of revolutionary morality in whitewashing the crimes of popular Stalinist heroes. ■

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Newport News...

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ordered state police to ride shotgun on scab coal trucks during last winter's coal strike) dispatched 80 riot-equipped state police to enforce the state's "right-to-work" law. Dalton put the Virginia National Guard on alert, promising it could be on the scene in an hour if needed.

Tenneco gave its creature, the PSA, the run of the yard before the strike to distribute anti-Steelworkers propaganda. Just days before the strike, the PSA handed out a flyer hailing the Steelworkers as "too gutless to strike," and obliquely pledging to scab; as USWA chief organizer Jack Hower said, "That's the one promise they've kept in 40 years."

The company has cut off the strikers' medical and insurance benefits, while supervisors call the workers threatening to fire them if they don't return to work, and the local newspapers print nothing but company propaganda. Outside the gates, cops escort company cars full of scabs through the lines, while harassing the picketers, who have been attacked by guard dogs, arrested for dropping cigarette butts or merely pointing at a scab, and nearly killed by scab trucks. Police pushed aside pickets to let through a pickup truck which suddenly stopped, went into reverse, and backed right into the line—and police arrested John Baker, one of the picketers!

"On Strike! 88! Close the Gate!"

The most popular chant on the line is "88! Close the Gate!" But this is just what the USWA bureaucrats are telling the pickets not to do, counseling respect for Virginia's "right-to-work" law, which forbids interfering with scabs. But it is "respect" for these notorious anti-union laws which has kept the AFL-CIO unions largely impotent in the South for decades. This country's unions were not built by "respecting" the rights of scabs, but just the opposite! Picket lines mean *nobody crosses*; many of the American labor movement's bloodiest battles have been to *enforce* picket lines against scabs, cops and troops.

But these decisive battles are only uncomfortable memories to today's ossified layer of bureaucrats sitting on top of America's labor movement, who fear any militant action that would disrupt their comfortable collaboration with the bosses and politicians. USWA president Lloyd McBride brags that there has not been a strike in basic steel in 20 years, and defends the union leadership's throwing away the right to strike in favor of the binding arbitration imposed by the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement." Indeed, if McBride had his way, there would be no strike at Newport News today. In a last-minute deal cooked up with Democratic "friend of labor" lieutenant governor Charles Robb, McBride agreed to call off the strike if the company reinstated 124 fired union members, stopped harassing union activists and accepted the next court ruling. But Local 8888's Negotiation Committee (as well as the company) turned it down, and the strike was on.

Picketers on the line at Newport News shipyard gates. WV Photo

Now McBride tells the strikers to exercise restraint, while pleading with President Carter to "enforce our national labor laws" in the interests of "the national economy, your inflation-fighting effort, and our national defense." Carter has in the last year invoked strikebreaking injunctions against the coal miners, the railroad workers, and wildcatting postal workers—and if he does intervene, it will surely be *against* the Newport News strikers and probably in the name of "national defense." After all, ten of the 13 ships currently in the shipyard are naval vessels, including two nuclear-powered submarines, one of Carter's pet projects.

This "strike strategy" of respecting the scabs' "right to work" can only undermine the strikers' enthusiasm and encourage wavering elements to return to work. Many workers now respecting the picket lines are waiting to see who has the most muscle: Tenneco and the cops, or the Steelworkers. Unless the plant is decisively *closed down*, union militants may find themselves increasingly isolated on the picket lines, while the company gets enough workers back to resume minimal production.

So far, the union's orders to let the scabs through have been acceded to by the strikers, who know the cops and National Guard are formidable foes. Many workers remember the 1967 strike at the shipyard, which began as a wildcat by crane operators and spread throughout the yard. That ill-prepared strike was crushed within a week by a massive deployment of state troopers, and both union bureaucrats and the local press use it to reinforce fears of a repeat performance.

Shut It Down!

Militants who reject the no-win policy of the USWA tops must not let the pickets be isolated. There are at least 10,000 strikers at Newport News, who can effectively seal off the shipyard—given militant strike leadership not afraid to go against the union's top bureaucrats.

Plants as large and well-guarded as Newport News have been shut down before. Autoworkers consolidated their power and broke the company at Toledo's Auto-Lite plant in 1934. When the company recruited 1,800 scabs, 10,000 pickets surrounded the plant, fighting hand-to-hand with company guards and cops for 15 hours until the National Guard arrived to rescue the scabs. In the next six days there was class warfare in the streets. Two strikers were killed and dozens of Guardsmen sent to the hospital—but when the gunsmoke had cleared, the strikers had won union recognition and a contract.

Workers striking at Ford Motor Company's giant River Rouge plant in 1941 were also faced with massive scabherding and the machine guns of Henry Ford's 3,000-strong private army. But the ingenious strikers closed the plant without facing machine-gun fire. Roads leading to plant entrances were jammed with strikers' cars, parked bumper to bumper and guarded by pickets. These "barricades" shut the plant down, and the UAW cracked the last bastion of the "open shop" in the auto industry.

It was bitter battles such as these—and not the "New Deal," NLRB elections or court orders—which established the right to organize for most workers in the U.S. Southern anti-union bosses have closely followed the J.P. Stevens battle. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers union won a representation election there in 1965, but has been bogged down in court squabbles ever since—and meanwhile the workers are still without a union contract!

The lessons of labor history are clear: no major strike, particularly against a bitterly anti-union company, has been won by letting scabs in! The Newport News strikers have the potential power to implement their picket line chant: "On Strike! 88! Close the Gate!" The future of labor organizing in the South for the next decade may well depend on it. Victory to the Steelworkers! Close the Gate—Shut Down the Tenneco Shipyard! ■

Debs Caucus...

(continued from page 8)

tuted themselves as the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency (RMT). Reflecting the group's political evolution, the RMT founding document stated that "the purpose of the RMT is to study revolutionary politics, especially Trotskyism as espoused by the Spartacist League" (RMT motion, 12 November 1978).

The first question facing RMT members was the united front. In the SP, work with other groups had been mostly through "coalitions"—semi-liquidationist propaganda blocs in which all participants sink their political differences in a lowest-common-denominator "unity." Some Debs Caucus members still viewed such rotten blocs as the basic framework of political work (this was the "overriding" question for the only RMT member to go over to the SWP).

Through study of the united front, the RMT majority consolidated around the need for the independence of the communist program in principled united fronts:

> "The United Front, for communists, is one tactic out of many for use in the struggle to win the leadership of the working class—an important one, but like all tactics used only to advance this struggle. Any subordination of this struggle for working-class leadership to a fictitious 'unity' with bourgeois and reformist politics is a betrayal of the interests of the working class and of the historic tasks of the communists."
>
> —"Theses on the United Front," 11 November 1978

For the members of the Debs Caucus/Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, the struggle to break out of social democracy—in its discredited SP incarnation and the updated version represented by the SWP—centered on embracing the Leninist theory of the vanguard party to lead the working class to power. The RMT looks forward to continuing the struggle to build that party through the revolutionary work of the Trotskyist comrades of the Spartacist League ■

SLP, SWP...

(continued from page 7)

the transition is not impossible. I joined the SLP in conscious (though ill-informed) opposition to Leninist "vanguardism." This was reflected most clearly in an article I wrote for the SLP Newsletter (July 1977), polemicizing against the Leninist ideas expressed by the Spartacist League. When I submitted a document for publication in the SLP Newsletter which corrected my earlier mistaken views and called on SLP members to study the politics of the Spartacist League before rejecting Trotskyism, I was informed by Nathan Karp that I was a member "in a technical sense only" and that there could be no question of my continuing to serve on the *Weekly People* staff or in any other capacity—thus exposing the SLP's touted "self-criticism" and "principled debate" as a sham.

The SLP's prospects for revitalization are nil. But there is a strong tendency as an SLP member to excuse the organization and invent rationalizations for it—especially since it is so much like a family. But this can only lead to cynicism and demoralization. Young revolutionaries who are considering joining the SLP would do best to stay out. Those currently in the organization would do best to get out soon and follow my example by joining the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the international Spartacist tendency.

Fraternally,
Steve Miles

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Pickets Face Cops, Scabs

Victory to the Newport News Shipbuilders Strike!

NEWPORT NEWS, VA.--State and city police in full riot gear. Police helicopters overhead, snarling attack dogs, barbed wire fences. Water cannons and armored cars. The National Guard on standby alert. This is Newport News, Virginia, 1979, where workers at Tenneco's giant shipyard—the largest in the U.S.—are on strike for union recognition in the most important challenge to the "open shop" South in decades.

The overwhelming majority of the 15,500 production and maintenance workers struck the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company on January 31, exactly one year after voting to oust the company-union Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA) in favor of the United Steelworkers of America.

The strikers know this is a do or die battle; up and down the picket line they talk about how Newport News is the "gateway to the South." Despite subfreezing temperatures and police intimidation—over 40 picketers arrested so far—spirits are still high on the lines. No cranes are moving inside the yard and only a few welding torches can be seen, exposing the company's lies that 60 percent of the workforce is crossing the picket lines.

Picket line at Newport News shipyard: front line of the battle to organize the South. UPI

The issues are clear: union recognition for Steelworkers Local 8888 and a new contract. Contract demands include wage increases (workers make over $2.00 an hour less than those in organized steel mills), cost-of-living clause, pension, and safe working conditions (although shipbuilding is one of the most hazardous industrial jobs, there has never been a safety clause in a Newport News contract). The strikers are also demanding an end to company discrimination against blacks and women, who are still concentrated in unskilled jobs, although blacks make up 50 percent of the workforce.

Tenneco Defends "Union-Free" South

A victory for the Steelworkers at Newport News can be the first step in a march to unionize the South. The gigantic Houston-based Tenneco conglomerate is determined to preserve a "union-free environment," backed up by Southern/Sunbelt employers and the police and National Guard of Virginia.

As the strike deadline approached, Tenneco issued its management personnel .38-caliber revolvers, and gave a special security guard brigade, called the "SWAT" team, a crash course in karate and firearms. Barbed wire fences were built around the 475-acre plant and high-intensity searchlights set up at the gates. At Tenneco's request, local police agencies promptly suspended regulations against "moonlighting" to allow an additional 60 cops to join the company payroll, and Virginia governor Ray Dalton (who

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Striker Killed by Growers' Thugs in California

UFW Pickets: Hold the Line!

EL CENTRO, CALIFORNIA, February 11—The blood line was drawn yesterday in the bitter 24-day-old United Farm Workers (UFW) strike against the country's largest lettuce growers association when a grower's thug shot striker Rufino Contreras with a .38 caliber bullet between his eyes. With Contreras' death the strike, which has turned the vast fields of the Imperial Valley along the Mexican border here into a giant battleground, has entered a critical new phase. While frenzied growers have demanded a call-up of the California National Guard, UFW president Caesar Chavez has bowed to the growers' demands for immediate labor peace by declaring a moratorium on all picketing until after Contreras' funeral, set for later in the week. It is urgent that farmworkers reject this blatant attempt to derail their strike and that they put aside the pacifist demagogy and appeals to bourgeois liberalism which have kept their union impotent for years. As has been shown in the last three weeks, the strike will stand or fall on the farmworkers' ability to defend their picket lines.

The strike, the longest continuous work stoppage in UFW history, began January 19, three weeks after the expiration of UFW contracts with the 28-member Imperial Valley Growers Association, producers of 90 percent of the country's winter iceberg lettuce as well as other winter vegetables. At stake is a UFW demand for a wage increase which has infuriated the growers by daring to exceed the 7 percent wage limit set by the Carter administration. With the seasonal, migrant UFW workforce now averaging only $4 an hour, the White House-imposed ceiling was a slap in the union's face. But the growers instantly responded to the strike with an

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WV Photo
Farmworkers confront busload of scabs in Imperial Valley, California.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Peking-U.S. Collusion in Vietnam Invasion

China Get Out!

FEBRUARY 28—As the Chinese troops crossed over the border into Vietnam at Friendship Pass eleven days ago, the echo of their marching boots and pounding artillery reverberated around the world. News of the invasion was emblazoned across the front pages; the stock markets trembled, governments set up their crisis monitoring teams. There were factory meetings in Moscow to protest Peking's aggression, big working-class demonstrations in Italy demanding Hands Off Vietnam! And something new: on the assembly lines of American factories workers closely followed the ominous developments, remembering the hellhole that was Vietnam. The smell of holocaust was in the air.

Washington tried to pretend it was above the battle with no immediate interests at stake, but no one saw the war as an event of merely local importance. Vietnam is tied to the USSR by treaty and it was obviously no accident that Teng launched the invasion so soon after returning from his trip to the U.S. With events moving rapidly in Peking and the crystallization of the Sino-American alliance with diplomatic recognition of Peking there was a sense of things coming unstuck. The question on everyone's lips was whether Russia would be drawn into the fighting. The tension recalled the October 1962 missile crisis, but this time it would not be an isolated incident.

The initial response of the American press was to gloat over the spectacle of two "Communist" countries in a shooting war. In a 19 February editorial, "The Red Brotherhood at War," the *New York Times* wrote: "They are singing 'The Internationale' on all sides of the Asian battles this week as they bury the hopes of the Communist fathers with the bodies of their sons." But soon glee turned to worry that perhaps Teng had gotten out of hand, setting off more than he had counted on. *Le Monde* (20 February) asked editorially:

> "Will the Soviet Union enter the fray and seek to put China 'in its place'?
> "Despite the relative optimism shown in Washington and most Western capitals, the question is far from theoretical. It is even the essential question, because the opening of a third world conflict can depend on Moscow's answer."

Vietnam News Agency

Vietnamese rush to meet the invading Chinese near Lang Son.

Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!

As the days wore on, with Chinese troops pinned down just over the border, unable to strike the "punishing blow" they had promised, the pressure on the Kremlin to intervene on behalf of its ally increased.

Initially Peking announced that its action was a counterattack against Vietnamese border incursions. However, it was immediately recalled that on his U.S. junket, Deputy Prime Minister Teng Hsiao-p'ing had repeatedly mentioned the need to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson" in reply to its lightning Cambodian offensive in January that in a matter of days had toppled the Pol Pot regime supported by China. Subsequently Teng announced that the Vietnamese must be punished because "they placed Laos under their control, invaded Cambodia, signed a peace treaty with the Soviet Union that is a military alliance in nature and encroached on Chinese soil at will" (*New York Times*, 27 February). The attack was launched on the day the top Vietnamese leaders were in Phnom Penh to sign a treaty with its newly installed Cambodian puppet regime.

There are various elements involved in the recent clashes in Indochina: in the case of the Vietnam-Cambodian disputes over the last few years, the local/regional factors were predominant. On the other hand, behind the Vietnam-China conflict lurks U.S. imperialism's ultimate appetite for capitalist reconquest of the USSR, main military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed workers states. Up to now, however, the main content of the confrontation between Peking and Hanoi has been the question of who will dominate Indochina. After the removal of American imperialist influence in the peninsula, the Chinese evidently felt that because of their great weight in the East they should inherit the region. But with their own history as the most active force in the area, the Vietnamese chose instead to make a deal with the Russians and then began to consolidate their influence.

The Peking Stalinist bureaucracy wants to take a swipe at Hanoi because it believes China must reign supreme in Southeast Asia and Vietnam is in the way. But the connection to the Sino-Soviet hostilities and the clear collusion of the Chinese invasion with imperialist aims are not a minor element. Perhaps the most revealing indication is the history of Teng's famous threat to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson." This remark was made on at least three occasions in the weeks prior to the invasion—in Tokyo, to a banquet attended by Washington newspapermen and to President Carter himself—yet each time the key word "bloody" was

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Spartacist League Press Release

The following is a press release for the SL/U.S. demonstration outside the Chinese Mission to the U.N. February 20.

Tomorrow, Tuesday, February 20, at 1 p.m., the Spartacist League will demonstrate outside the Chinese Mission to the United Nations, located at 155 West 66th Street, demanding, *China Get Out of Vietnam Now!*

The invasion of Vietnam is a dangerous anti-Soviet provocation by the U.S.-China-Japan axis. While this criminal assault is being carried out by Chinese troops, there should be no mistake who is behind it and what is its ultimate target. China is acting as the spearhead of a renewed drive by U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union and the working people of Indochina.

The nationalistic Stalinist bureaucracies of the Sino-Soviet blocs pose the greatest threat to the gains of their anti-capitalist revolutions. The increasingly reactionary Chinese foreign policy, both under Mao and Teng, has called on everyone from Carter's Dr. Strangelove, Brzezinski, to the deposed shah of Iran to join in an unholy anti-Soviet alliance. And it is obvious to all that Peking would not have undertaken this ominous step without at least tacit backing from Washington. The heroic victory of the Vietnamese working people is in mortal danger. Not empty dreams of détente but only worldwide proletarian solidarity for socialist revolution can defend that victory. The Spartacist League calls upon the working class internationally to combat the reactionary U.S.-China alliance.

- China Get Out of Vietnam Now! Don't Be a Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism!
- Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!
- Nixon/Mao and Carter/Teng—Anti-Soviet Diplomacy Means Bloody Aggression Against the Vietnamese People!
- For Workers Political Revolutions in Peking, Hanoi, Moscow to Oust the Nationalist Bureaucracies! For a Trotskyist World Revolutionary Party!

"China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism"

For Americans Vietnam isn't just another faraway place. Last week in factories from one end of the country to the other, workers worriedly talked about a war that could affect them personally—money, blood, taxes—in a way they hadn't felt since the late 1960's or even the Cuban missile crisis. No one bought the administration's charade of "hands off" neutrality—"Carter's going to get us back into Vietnam one way or another," said a black auto worker in New Jersey—and there was widespread fear that Washington's alliance with China would drag the U.S. into a global conflict with Russia.

But while memories of the second Indochinese war were awakened, when it came to protesting the Chinese invasion of Vietnam there was no repeat of the "broad-based peace movement" of yesterday. In a point-blank question of siding with the Soviet Union against American imperialism, the "progressive" rad-libs preferred to stay home. So anyone who looked carefully at the picket lines in front of Chinese diplomatic offices in New York and San Francisco would have found only the members and fellow travelers of the Communist Party U.S.A. (CP), the Stalinoid mush of the Mareyite Workers World group and the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Three days after the invasion the SL held a protest at the Chinese mission to the United Nations on NYC's Upper West Side. With signs proclaiming "China: Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism!" and "Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!" more than 50 Spartacist supporters demanded immediate withdrawal of the Chinese troops. The demonstrators chanted "Carter/Teng, Nixon/Mao—Out of Indochina Now!" stressing the continuity of Peking's anti-Soviet diplomacy. The SL press release and signs also called for "Workers Political Revolutions in Peking, Hanoi and Moscow to Oust the Nationalist Bureaucracies."

Significantly the Vietnamese UN mission telephoned greetings to the February 20 SL protest. Equally interesting, reporters and cameramen from the Soviet press and television showed up to cover the demonstration. *Izvestia* interviewed a Vietnam veteran as Moscow TV extensively filmed the protest. However, while they were eager to show that opposition to the Chinese invasion extended beyond the isolated CP, the reporters carefully turned off their microphones when the demonstrators chanted, "Not Stalinist Nationalism but Workers Internationalism!"

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at the Chinese Mission in NYC, February 24: Only the Trotskyists will truly defend the Soviet Union against imperialism.

The SL protest was also the subject of a long article in the New York *Daily News* (circulation 2,000,000, the largest of any newspaper in the U.S.) by columnist Pete Hamill. Hamill was intrigued that "Here were people calling themselves Trotskyites, defending the Soviet Union which is run by the heirs of Joseph Stalin, who had Trotsky murdered with an ax." While expressing sympathy for the "young revolutionaries" pounding the bricks in front of the Chinese mission, he wearily professed inability to understand the "logic" of it all.

> "'We oppose the Soviet bureaucracy,' this intense young woman was saying. 'But we defend the Soviet Union.'"

The logic of this position is straightforward. It is easily understood by any trade-union militant faced with the task of defending his union and the gains it has won for the workers against attack by the employers while at the same time seeking to oust the sellout labor bureaucrats who act as the bosses' agents.

The *News* column ended by quoting an onlooker at the demonstration who, perplexed by the Chinese invasion, said that since Russia, China and Vietnam are all supposed to be Communist, how come they were fighting each other instead of the U.S.? "There was no way to explain," commented Hamill. The answer is that none of these states *is* communist; instead they are bureaucratically degenerated or deformed workers states ruled by a parasitic caste resting on collectivist property forms. The Stalinist bureaucracies defend not the internationalist interests of the proletariat but rather the privileges they derive from control of the different national state apparatuses. This is the root of the nationalism of the Stalinist regimes and their often murderous repression against their own workers, and it is the reason the SL demonstrators called for political revolution to oust the bureaucracies.

Also last week the U.S. Peace Council, a Communist Party front, sponsored two demonstrations against Peking's invasion of Vietnam. On February 19, 300 people marched outside the Chinese mission and on Saturday a thousand protestors turned out at the same site. With signs like "U.S. People Salute Peace Loving Vietnam" and "U.S. Youth Demand: Break Ties with China," signed by groups like NYC Mobilization for Survival and Women for Racial and Economic Equality, only the 100-strong Spartacist contingent gave casual observers any clue that the demonstration was something more than a pacifist rally. The SL carried a large banner with the twin slogans, "China: Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism. USSR: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam."

Notably absent from the protest was the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Their spokesman James Harris justified their abstention with the lame excuse that since the U.S. was the "real instigator of the war," a demonstration at the Chinese mission was "inappropriate" and reflected only the pro-Moscow Stalinism of the CP. Of course, the entire demonstration repeatedly chanted, "U.S./China—Out of Vietnam!" in clear recognition that Washington and Peking are in collusion in this invasion. In reality, the SWP merely reflected the anti-Soviet sentiment rampant in left-liberal circles, and in its usual cowardly opportunist fashion was doing everything to avoid being identified with the USSR. So much for its false claims to Trotskyism. Trotskyism stands for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

Through its various front groups, the CP sought to give the demonstration a soppy liberal coloration. One of its slogans was "Brzezinski/Teng—Enemies of World Peace." By singling out the successor to Kissinger in this fashion, the Stalinists put forward their

WV Photo

CP fronts appeal to liberal pacifism, Spartacists demand of the Soviet Union: "Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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perennial illusion that the enemy is a cabal of crazed ultra-rightist generals while Jimmy Carter is supposedly "peace-loving" and pro-détente. At the rally concluding the picketing, "Peace Council" spokesman Michael Myerson even called on the Carter administration to pressure China into withdrawing from Vietnam! This class-collaborationist illusion-mongering was challenged by SL signs proclaiming, "Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet 'Human Rights' Crusade!"

Although the Moscow Stalinists controlled the demonstration, with the Mareyites politically indistinguishable from their Brezhnevite big brothers, the large and militant Spartacist contingent had a powerful impact. Many CPers were surprised at our presence, with one veteran "progressive" remarking to his wife, "Look, even Spartacus is here." (To which she replied, "But of course, dear.") On the other hand, our slogans and chants drove the most rabid Trotsky-haters left over from the Moscow Trials period into a frenzy. Little old Stalinist ladies jabbed the air with their umbrellas shouting "CIA" and "police," while Myerson began his speech with insinuating remarks about "cop agents in our midst."

The one SL slogan which most infuriated the Communist Party faithful was our demand, "Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!" First, it challenged the pacifist veneer which the Stalinists habitually don for their "peace" demonstrations. One woman gasped, "My god, do they want to start a world war?!" Secondly it challenges the USSR to live up to some of the pretensions of proletarian internationalism to which the Soviet regime pays lip service while endlessly betraying. Despite the vicious anti-communist cop-baiting directed at the SL, the Stalinists could not drown out our revolutionary slogans and had to stand by as we drew up to the concluding rally chanting, "Not Détente but Workers Revolution!" And again at the very end of the demonstration the crowd watched in embarrassed silence as the Spartacist contingent sang "The Internationale" and then marched off in formation through the middle of the assembled Stalinists.

The fact that the SL was able to participate, with its own slogans, in this CP-controlled demonstration without a serious confrontation was an unusual event. But this was not primarily due to our tight organization or military unpreparedness on the Stalinists' part. In the past the CP has set off brawls or called the cops in an attempt to keep the Spartacist League out of Chile demonstrations. Rather, the stand-off was the product of their political ambivalence about our presence. On the issue of opposing U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet power politics the CP is isolated from its usual liberal-radical allies. With the danger of a Sino-Soviet war in the air, the Stalinists found themselves forced to accept an unwanted united front with the Trotskyists.

Ironically, in a commentary on the demonstration over CBS Radio on February 27 well-known broadcaster Walter Cronkite referred to it as dominated by "Maoists and Trotskyites" and centered his remarks on our slogan: "China Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism" (see accompanying box). The demonstration indicated, said Cronkite, that the left was disoriented; after all, he asked rhetorically, who would have predicted a decade ago that China could invade a Communist Vietnam with the tacit backing of Washington? The answer, as we pointed out in a reply to Cronkite prepared for broadcast over CBS Radio, was the Spartacist League, which in its 1969 resolution, "Development and Tactics of the SL," warned of "the growing objective possibility of a U.S. deal *with China*." A clearer demonstration of the scientific character of authentic Marxism could not be asked for. ■

Walter Cronkite vs. the Spartacist League

The following editorial was broadcast by Walter Cronkite on February 27. Our reply has been submitted to CBS radio for future broadcast.

This is Walter Cronkite reporting with news and commentary on the CBS radio network. Last Saturday there was a demonstration in New York City near the Chinese mission to the UN. The demonstrators, a left-wing group, carried signs which variously demanded that the U.S. and China get out of Vietnam, and urged the Chinese not to become the cat's paw of U.S. imperialism. Obviously these people were having a hard time coping with reality. But that should not be surprising. It's tough for ideologues to keep their polarities straight these days, and that is true at both ends of the political spectrum.

If back in 1969 you had suggested that 10 years hence China would mount an invasion of a communist Vietnam, while Washington clucked like a maiden aunt about the threat of small wars turning into bigger ones, if you had suggested such a thing then, company would have been uncomfortable in your presence. The idea would have clashed with everyone's stereotypes, and it would have been much too far from perceived reality even to have been funny. To those who became accustomed then to viewing world events in the black and white clarity of ideological opposites, international developments today must be downright maddening. The communist victories in Indochina of a few years ago soon led to conflicts between the victors, Vietnam and Cambodia. And a Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. And that led to communist China's invasion of Vietnam. Furthermore the potential for major conflict which many fear today is not between communist and capitalist worlds, but between the two communist giants, China and the Soviet Union. Imagine, if you will, someone in a coma since the sixties waking up to a news account of Moscow's attack on Washington for encouraging the Chinese action on Vietnam, or rather, in Vietnam. It might be equally difficult for such a person to learn that conservative senator Jesse Helms today opposed confirming a new ambassador to Peking because it might seem the Senate was approving China's invasion of its communist neighbor. With such rapid wrenching changes in the ideological landscape, it is small wonder that the slogans and proclamations of America's Trotskyites and Maoists have taken on a growing incoherence, and at times even a kind of plaintive hysteria. But such confusion is not confined to the left, or to extremists on the fringes. It is shared by people across the whole spectrum. That fact recently led William Safire, the columnist, a confessed conservative and Republican partisan, to try his hand at a scorecard, a guide to help people to know whom to root for. While the Carter administration opposes both the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, Safire roots for both invasions, the first because the Cambodian regime was such a brutal one, and the second to thwart the growth of Soviet influence in the area. Of course it may be that Safire just wants to be on a winning team for a change. However, so far, Chinese forces seem to have gotten bogged down short of their objective, which appears to be humiliating the Vietnamese army. And if they get dangerously bogged down, Washington may wait to share with China its expertise on finding that light at the end of the tunnel.

SL Replies:

On February 27 Walter Cronkite editorialized on his network radio program against leftist demonstrators at the Chinese Mission in New York City. He said they carried signs demanding that Chinese troops get out of Vietnam and urged the Chinese not to be the cat's paw of U.S. imperialism. Mr. Cronkite took these political demands as evidence of what he called "having a hard time coping with reality." In his view the U.S. government is possessed of disinterested evenhandedness and humane principle with regard to the Chinese invasion. The idea that present events were conditioned by a developed Washington-Peking axis seemed to him a sign that "America's Trotskyites" had "taken on a growing incoherence."

The left group which made these demands at the Chinese Mission is the Spartacist League. We do not expect Mr. Cronkite to agree with our Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism or with our program for political revolution to replace the Stalinist bureaucracies with workers soviets. But we find it curious and amusing that Cronkite considers it obvious that no one could have predicted the possiblity of the U.S.-China alliance "back in 1969." Even the suggestion of such an idea, he says, "would have clashed with everyone's stereotypes, and it would have been much too far from perceived reality even to have been funny."

We have news for the newsman. Revolutionary Marxism is not based on "everyone's stereotypes." We have a program which is based on accumulated historic experience and scientif-

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DAILY NEWS

You can't tell Red combatants without a scorecard

The pickets walked behind gray wooden horses on the corner of 66th St. and Broadway and, for a moment, they appeared to be protesting some terrible injustice inside the Juilliard School. But the young girls carrying violins, and the boys with their books on theory and harmony, were not the target. The pickets were trying to say something to the People's Republic of China, whose mission to the United Nations is down the block.

"China, Get Out of Vietnam!" shouted one placard. "Soviet Union, Honor Your Treaty!"

The young musicians took leaflets handed out by a Trotskyite group called the Spartacist League, glanced at them, and moved along through the slushy streets to their classes. The cops looked bored. Down the block, China's UN Mission, which occupies the old Loew's Motor Inn, was gleaming in the sun.

"What China has done is certainly backed by the United States," one of the pickets said. "What we're seeing is an attempt to hand Vietnam back to U.S. imperialism."

The clumsy words bumped around in the head like loose luggage in a plane. Much of the language of Marxism seems translated from the original algebra, and it is usually necessary to decode the language in order to understand it. Obviously American workers have not taken the trouble for years. Trotsky was by far the best writer produced by the old generation of Communists, but even his present-day followers were having their troubles yesterday making sense of the modern world.

"Don't Be a Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism," one of the placards said. Now, nobody ever uses the word "cat's-paw" any more: it seems snipped out of some old and musty slab of rhetoric. But some of the other language was more lively. From a handout:

"The increasingly reactionary Chinese foreign policy, both under Mao and Teng, has called on everyone from Carter's Dr. Strangelove, Brzezinski, to the deposed Shah of Iran to join in an unholy anti-Soviet alliance." Not bad. The logic is flawed, but it reads. Later on, however, we are told: "Not empty dreams of detente but only worldwide proletarian solidarity for socialist revolution can defend (the Vietnamese)

PETE HAMILL

victory." And the brain again goes numb.

It all seemed so sad. We could make easy fun of these young revolutionaries; but they were, after all, the only human beings in this city yesterday who stepped out into the streets to protest the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. There were about 40 of them, which is a lot in this era of disco, "Superman," "Jaws," "Star Wars," est and other soul-numbing diversions. Nobody cares very much about Vietnam these days; but then nobody cares much about the Bronx either. We have mastered the art of indifference.

"We oppose the Soviet bureaucracy," this intense young woman was saying. "But we defend the Soviet Union."

The twists and turns of explanation were painful and tortured. Here were people calling themselves Trotskyites, defending the Soviet Union which is run by the heirs of Joseph Stalin, who had Trotsky murdered with an ax. There are no Trotskyites in the Soviet Union; at least none who is allowed to publish newspapers, stand on street corners and demonstrate, or talk freely to reporters. But simply because the Soviet Union is not capitalist, ideology places even its lukewarm supporters in an eerie prison of slippery thinking, bad history and worse logic.

"Down With Stalinist Nationalism!" came another chant. And one thought of all the people who were sent to the Gulag, of the painters who were murdered, of the poet Mayakovsky killing himself in despair, of Isaac Babel disappearing into the horror.

Exploitation and murder

Stalin and his gang of thugs proclaimed the workers' revolution, but they never worked another day themselves, except at murdering their own people. The Russian revolution was conceived as an act of liberation; it turned millions of people into prisoners or corpses. Stalin killed wives, friends, officers, other Bolsheviks, kulaks; he exploited the workers as ruthlessly as any capitalist, and turned the profits of their labor into the property of the state.

But is is not enough to protest the dirty years of murder under Stalin, as if they were an aberration. Brezhnev and his boys are no better, only slicker. The Chinese have Coca-Cola, but Pepsi Cola arrived in the Soviet Union years ago. After six decades in power, the heirs of Stalin are still afraid of elections. They are afraid of a free press. They are afraid of painters. They are afraid of writers. They are afraid, in short, of their own people.

And on this glorious afternoon in New York, all those old arguments were being churned up again, along with memories of old murders. The Chinese were still fighting in Vietnam, and the Vietnamese were fighting them back. The Russians were talking big and, as usual, doing nothing. Communist guerrillas were fighting Communist main force units in Cambodia. They had all come a long way from the glorious visions of Karl Marx, sitting in the reading room of the British Museum.

"It all sounds crazy to me, man," said Leroy Diggs, who was watching the demonstration yesterday from across 66th St. "They all Communists, right? I mean China is Communist. Vietnam is Communist. Russia's Communist. I thought they was suppose to be fightin' us. How come they fightin' each other?"

There was no way to explain.

China Out Now...

(continued from page 1)

deliberately left out of the main American-published reports.

The Chinese invasion fits into a consistent pattern of hardline U.S. opposition—diplomatic and otherwise—to Vietnam ever since the NLF/DRV army booted out the decrepit Thieu puppet government in Saigon in 1975. Washington opposed Vietnamese membership in the UN and has refused to pay the economic aid stipulated in the 1973 Paris "peace" accords. This hostility has escalated recently as a result of the signing of the Soviet-Vietnamese Friendship Treaty last November (preceded by Hanoi's entry into the Soviet bloc common market—Comecon—in June). As the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict was about to flare into war, the *New York Times* (6 December) headlined: "U.S. Warns Vietnam Growing Soviet Links Imperil American Tie."

The invasion comes in the context of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade and a recent escalation of provocations by the Carter administration against the Soviet Union. Thus when the U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan was kidnapped earlier this month by tribalist opponents of the Soviet-backed regime, Washington had the gall to accuse the Russians of being responsible for his death. And over Iran the State Department has fired off a number of diplomatic notes complaining about Radio Moscow broadcasts accusing the U.S. of planning to interfere in the explosive events there. Yet at that very moment a U.S. flotilla was sailing from Subic Bay in the Philippines heading toward the Persian Gulf, while giant C-130 transports were being lined up at airfields in the eastern reaches of Turkey for some "obscure" purpose!

Gamma-Liaison

Chinese troops are drilled in preparation for "hegemonism" in Indochina. Teng promised the U.S. that China would teach Vietnam a "bloody lesson."

Marxists do not support the nationalist aims of the rival Stalinist bureaucracies in Hanoi and Peking feuding over which of them shall be the overlord of the Indochinese peninsula. However, the Chinese invasion is clearly intertwined with imperialist opposition to the gains of the Vietnamese revolution, won at the cost of more than a million lives and decades of struggle. Socialists and labor militants throughout the world must demand that China Get Out of Vietnam Now! We call on the workers and peasants of the Chinese deformed workers state to demand an end to the obscene, sinister anti-Soviet Peking-Washington alliance now aimed at bloodying the working people of Vietnam. The workers movement must stop the shipment of any military supplies to China. And we address ourselves to Moscow and the Soviet workers to demand, USSR: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!

But it is also necessary to warn that the continuation of China's reactionary invasion can quickly take the conflict out of a regional context. Should the Soviet Union be drawn into the fighting in a direct way it would pit the Russian degenerated workers state against the Western imperialists, principally the U.S., through the intermediary of their Chinese ally. This would pose point-blank the urgent task of militarily defending the USSR and the gains of the October Revolution. In this conflict the Trotskyists know where they stand, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet workers against the counterrevolutionary attack. The Fourth International was founded on the principle of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and we will not flinch in the decisive hour!

Vietnam: Graveyard for Invaders

Ever since Christmas, Western intelligence has been reporting on the build-up of Chinese forces along the Vietnamese border. More than 100,000 troops were assembled along the frontier and fully one third of China's fleet of jet fighters was transferred to airfields in Yunnan and southern Kwangsi Province. Moreover one of Peking's top generals, Yang Teh-chih, who was chief of staff of the Chinese troops in Korea during 1951-53, had been put in command of the forces. So when the invasion began on February 17 it was immediately understood that this was not just another border clash.

The Chinese forces apparently planned to lay down withering artillery barrages and then walk in behind the wall of fire, pause to bring up the big guns and ammunition and then repeat the process until it drew in regular Vietnamese forces. However, after the first day's advance the invaders seem to have lost their momentum and have been held off by stiff resistance from Vietnamese border militias and regional forces. While casualties on the Vietnamese side are not known, Western intelligence sources believe the Chinese have taken heavy losses, perhaps over 9,000 casualties out of a force of 70,000 actually engaged in battle. It was obvious that Peking was having difficulties in landing the "punishing blow" it sought.

This should have been expected. The Chinese weaponry is limited to automatic rifles, World War II-model artillery and antiquated MIG-17 aircraft; even the infantry moves largely on foot rather than trucks. Moreover, the Chinese have had no combat experience at all since their 33-day incursion into India in 1962, and not really since the Korean War, more than a quarter century ago. In the meantime most of their army commanders have grown flabby or fallen victim to the Maoist Cultural Revolution. And across their gun barrels they are facing a Vietnamese army described by *New York Times* military correspondent Drew Middleton as "the strongest military establishment in Southeast Asia." With an experienced airforce with modern MIG-21's and a few MIG-23's, it is motorized and has large numbers of heavy tanks. Most importantly, after 30 years of almost continuous fighting they managed to defeat on the battlefield not only the South Vietnamese puppet army but also the French expeditionary force and then the most powerful imperialist army in the world. Commanding the Vietnamese forces is General Van Tien Dung (successor to Vo Nguyen Giap) who led the steamroller spring offensive which took Saigon in 1975 and the recent lightning strike in Cambodia.

So far the military reports in the Western press are based on massive ignorance—relying on "Thai intelligence sources" and the like. Successive reports of a Chinese pullout, a Chinese raid on supply dumps outside Haiphong and Chinese capture of four provincial capitals have all dissipated into thin air. What is clear as we go to press is that the Chinese advance has been stopped and that a major battle is shaping up around the city of Lang Son on Vietnam's northeast border. The Vietnamese know the terrain well—during the first Indochinese war Giap chewed up French forces here for months. While the unwieldy colonial army was forced into a series of last-ditch stands pinned down on hillsides or trapped in the valleys, the Viet Minh perfected a brand of infantry warfare (often inaccurately equated with Cuban or Chinese-style guerrilla war) adapted to the mountainous terrain that has made it one of the best land combat armies in the world. Peking may find out what the French and Americans before them discovered: Vietnam is a graveyard for invaders.

Thus far the Chinese have been vague about their specific battle aims. Teng has been quoted as saying that he hopes to be out of Vietnam in less time than the 1962 China/India border clash took. At that time the People's Liberation Army swept away Indian outposts at the border, strutted up and down the Indian side of the Himalayas for three weeks, then pulled back after having totally discredited the Indian officer corps. The very idea that the Chinese could inflict such a defeat on Vietnam is ludicrous. The Vietnamese have been caught off balance—many of their crack divisions are in Cambodia, and they have occupation forces in Laos and garrisons in the South. But they will be aggressive in their methodical way: it's their country and they've lost millions of human beings to assert that. In short, it is not at all clear that China will have the whip hand in this "punitive" expedition.

Collusion

The U.S. has affected an "even-handed posture, sanctimoniously criticizing "any use of force outside one's own territory"!! According to a State Department spokesman:

> "We are opposed both to the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. We call for the immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and

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Betrayal in Indonesia

In June 1965 the Indonesian army carried out a counterrevolutionary coup with the aim of dismembering the Communist Party, the PKI, which had achieved a position of influence under the nationalist regime of Sukarno. This goal was achieved by unleashing a reign of terror which murdered over *half a million* leftists and worker/peasant militants. The PKI leadership shared the responsibility for this bloodbath by its line of relying on the "progressive" Sukarno, as did the Maoist bureaucracy in Peking, which urged this policy on its Indonesian comrades in the name of "peaceful coexistence" in Asia. In our article we pointed out how this betrayal by the Chinese Stalinists endangered the working class internationally:

> "Meanwhile, China's rotten maneuvers have helped drive all the other deformed workers' states (e.g., Cuba, N. Vietnam, and now N. Korea), except Albania, at best toward neutrality in siding with the USSR—at China's expense; for Russia possesses overwhelmingly greater economic preponderance while China offers neither trustworthy military, nor economic, nor political aid. (The N.Y. *Times*, 13 October 1965, reports that even the feudal Cambodian government now draws back from China on the valid grounds that she has done next to nothing to stop the incessant bombing of her other 'ally,' N. Vietnam.) Thus China is now almost totally *isolated* as she faces U.S. imperialism—a fruit of the Mao bureaucracy's policies of coexistence with 'friendly' capitalist governments and cowardly subordination of the interests of the working people to the special interests of the Maoist national ruling caste. It is no cause of joy to record that once again in the Indonesian betrayals it is proved that Mao & Co. in China as Stalin and his successors in Russia, systematically undermine the defense of the workers' states over which they rule. The defense of the Sino-Soviet bloc against imperialism urgently requires the *political revolution* by the workers in these countries against the ruling bureaucracy which strangles workers' democracy and economic growth at home and betrays revolutions abroad."
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> —*Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

Mike Peters © 1979 Dayton Daily News

'I don't know what got into me . . . I went to America . . . I ate hamburgers and Coca-Cola . . . I wore a 10-gallon hat, and then I invaded Vietnam . . .'

2,000 Demand: Spread the Strike!

Farmworkers Caravan Shuts Down Scab Ranches

Cops stand by impotently as Farmworkers pull out the scabs. WV Photo

LOS ANGELES—More than 2,000 striking members of the United Farm Workers (UFW) swept through southern California's Imperial Valley February 21, stopping virtually all work in the nation's largest lettuce and produce fields. It was a high point for the farm workers in a six-week-old strike that has become a crucial test of strength between California agribusiness and the UFW. BT reporters who accompanied the strikers on their day-long battle to shut down the fields filed the following eyewitness account:

"We pulled into Calexico, a small town near the Mexican border, before dawn on February 21. There were already over 2,000 pickets stretching down Imperial Avenue and massed together in parking lots and on corners from 8th Street to the border. A union pickup truck with loudspeakers goes up and down the street announcing over and over that no one goes to work today, that today is a general strike in the Imperial Valley.

"It is only 4:45 a.m., but the scabs have already started to arrive. Every scab-filled car that tries to go by is stopped by the picketers, who step into the street, hitting the cars with the sticks of their UFW flags, kicking them and trying to open the doors. Foremen and growers receive special attention. Less than two weeks ago, striker Rufino Contreras was shot in the face and killed by one of these thugs. Yelling 'Coyote' (the term they use for foremen), the strikers attack their cars with all they can muster.

"At 6:15, the union loudspeaker is calling everyone to 'El Hoyo' ('the hole'), a huge parking lot where the labor contractors used to recruit their workers, now used for daily strike assignments. We gather there to form a car caravan to go to the fields where scabs have been reported. These caravans, reminiscent of the Auto Workers 'Flying Squadrons' of the 1930's and the coal miners' 'roving pickets,' have become a regular feature as the strike has intensified. There have already been several clashes between busloads of scabs and the strikers who patrol the struck fields to enforce their picket lines. Today, the whole Valley is their target.

"The huge caravan pulls out from El Hoyo about 8 a.m., with strikers jammed into hundreds of cars and trucks. We stop to drop off pickets at a couple of idle fields and then head toward Sam Andrews, one of the larger farms where scabs have been spotted.

"When we arrive, 30 or 40 scabs are already at work. Hundreds of strikers line the roads surrounding the field and start yelling 'Vénganse, vénganse, que entramos a sacarles) ('You better get out of there or we're coming in after you'). After about ten minutes, 30 to 40 strikers dash across the road and into the field. Growers and foremen who have been watching nervously jump out of their cars, banging no trespassing signs into the ground and yelling threats. In a few minutes, eight squad cars filled with cops arrive, but by that time, there is no more work going on. The strikers are coming out of the field, escorting about half the scabs, who are looking sheepish and saying 'Viva la Huelga' to the strikers. This draws a round of applause. Then the union soundtruck pulls up, notifying us of scabs at another field, and we are off again.

"Next stop is the Maggio field, the scene of the day's biggest confrontation. About 40 riot-equipped cops are occupying a corner of the field where the two main access roads intersect. The local police have been beefed up during the strike with reinforcements from as far away as Yuma, Arizona, units of the U.S. Border Patrol and the California Highway Patrol, who were sent in last week by Governor Jerry Brown. Across the road from us today we see mostly county sheriffs and a few local cops.

"Most of the 2,000 strikers take up positions opposite the police, and about 200 head down the road toward the field where the scabs are working. But before they have gotten halfway down the road, tear gas is filling the air.

"Without any warning, the cops began firing straight into the crowd. Tear gas canisters are landing all around us, literally at point-blank range. There are many injuries and pickets begin retreating into surrounding fields. Many are collapsing, overwhelmed by the gas. Along with hundreds of the strikers, we manage to get back to the cars, inviting those near us to get in out of the choking fumes. After recovering, we head back out; more volleys are fired, again right in our faces. The battle seesaws back and forth like this for over two hours—salvos of gas, a brief retreat, then an advance, more gas.

"There is no panic among the strikers at any point. Smaller-scale clashes over the past few weeks have seasoned them. Men and women alike moisten their bandannas in the irrigation ditches parallel to the field, wrap them around their faces and charge right back through clouds of gas to counterattack. The cops are kept tied up, forced over and over to fall back to regroup, while more strikers enter the fields to get at the main target: the scabs.

"And it works! The scabs are fleeing. Smashed irrigation gates are flooding and ruining some sections. A short way off flames begin consuming an overturned field conveyor. A police helicopter is now overhead. It buzzes the field, several times getting so low that it seemed it would hit the strikers. A chant goes up: 'Que se estrelle, el cabrón' (loosely translated, 'Let the fucker crash'). The copter gasses the field on at least seven or eight passes. While this helps clear the field of pickets, it also gets rid of any scabs who might be left.

"After two hours of this running battle, the strikers returned to their cars, leaving the cops to defend an abandoned field. When we returned later in the afternoon, the field was still deserted. The battle at Maggio had also made the point with growers and scabs throughout the Imperial Valley. Every field we visited during the rest of the day was empty save for the rotting crops that have already cost the growers over $20 million."

The next day, newspapers in the Imperial Valley and throughout California are filled with hysterical denunciations of the strikers' "lawlessness." The growers and their press agents are livid precisely because the strikers were so effective. By their own experience, the UFW farm workers are learning how the unions were built in this country and how to win this strike: by shutting the employers down tight with militant mass picketing.

Yet UFW president Cesar Chavez continues to restrict the strike to less than half the 28 growers the union is bargaining with. The militancy of the Imperial Valley farm workers is setting an example for farm workers elsewhere, however, and additional walkouts have begun in Northern California and Arizona. Many of the 7,000 strike supporters who came to Rufino Contreras' funeral are eager to be called out, but Chavez has kept the majority of the farm workers in the fields.

As his members are gunned down and gassed, Chavez says his place is "in the cities" where he is trying to organize a food drive and has announced a boycott of Sun Harvest, which markets Chiquita bananas. Chavez is trying to diffuse the farm workers' struggle into impotent consumer boycotts.

This is exactly what happened to lettuce and grape strikers in 1973 who fought back against cop and Teamster goon attacks. To eschew any allegations of "violence" Chavez simply folded up the strike and started a weak consumer boycott. The union was nearly destroyed as a result.

The farm workers' fight is in the fields and on the highways where scab produce is being shipped. It is here that it will be won or lost. The Imperial Valley strikers have shown the way to win. Spread the Strike! Shut Down All 28 growers! Teamsters: Hot Cargo Scab Produce! Victory to the UFW! ■

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Felix Greene

VIETNAM AGAIN: U.S. IMPERIALISM'S DIRTIEST WAR

U.S. imperialism sent more than two and a half million soldiers to Vietnam. It dropped more bombs than in World War II, devastating the people and the countryside for eleven years. But the determined struggle of the Vietnamese people prevailed. America's longest and dirtiest war ended with a panicky scramble into helicopters on the U.S. embassy roof as the North Vietnamese army marched triumphantly into Saigon in April 1975.

In the U.S., collective amnesia seemed to fall upon the land. Liberal ideologue John Kenneth Galbraith bitterly hoped Vietnam would return "to that obscurity which it so richly deserves." But the American bourgeoisie's war against the Vietnamese social revolution was for 25 years the pivotal expression of imperialist revanchism against the Sino-Soviet states, while it polarized American society for a turbulent decade.

Now banner headlines about a new war in Vietnam dominate the news—but this time it's the Chinese invading after getting the green light from Washington, setting off a third Indochinese war and evoking the prospect of global holocaust.

A sampling of opinion from yesteryear's bourgeois "hawks" and "doves" (*New York Times*, 22 February) shows the poles shift from the post-World War II days when the "ChiComs" were to be "contained" in Southeast Asia to today's palmy détente with the Peking bureaucrats. "Were you surprised by the invasion?" asked the *Times*. "No, I wasn't," coolly replied William C. Westmoreland, former commander of U.S. troops in Vietnam. Graham A. Martin, the last American ambassador to Saigon, echoed with bland racism: "I don't think that anyone who understands the Asian psychology is surprised." Perhaps most cynical was former Secretary of State Dean Rusk. "I've personally exhausted my capacity to be concerned about Vietnam." While hawks and doves sniped at the "irony" of each other's current positions, Eugene McCarthy was perhaps the blunt-est about the real concerns of the former bourgeois anti-warriors: "I'd rather see the Chinese fighting the Vietnamese than us fighting the Vietnamese."

Ronald L. Haeberle

It will not go away: My Lai.

Where All the Flowers Went

Things certainly look different today than they did a decade ago when ringing chants of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" echoed off the universities' ivied walls and tens of thousands of protesters jammed the Washington Mall at six-month intervals. Apathy, self-pity and isolationism have been the late 1970's popular American attitude toward Vietnam, while demoralization must reign among those few New Left remnants who haven't sunk back into the Democratic Party or "civil disobedience" in the muddy fields around nuclear plants. Where did all the flowers go, they must wonder, seeing the former "socialist brothers" of China and Vietnam fighting each other.

In 1965, at the beginning of America's heavy military involvement in Indochina, what later became known as "the movement" was not yet entirely dominated by bourgeois defeatism. SDS's first antiwar march on Washington in April 1965 did not yet have the red armbands and militant chants of the late 1960's, but it represented a sharp break from the Cold War liberalism of the 1950's. That this potentially revolutionary energy was splintered and dissipated, mainly into Maoism, is the responsibility of the fake-socialist reformists, mainly the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The CP and SWP plunged wholeheartedly into turning the heterogeneous radical "movement" into a low-level popular front of Democratic Party liberals and the left. Hiding behind pacifism and social-patriotism, they left the field clear for the New Left Maoists to grow among impressionistic petty-bourgeois radicals seeking a more militant "anti-imperialist" line. The now-jaded New Leftists whose short honeymoon with Maoism has turned into the nightmare of China attacking their revolutionary models, Cuba and Vietnam, are the product of the pro-imperialist neutralism of the CP and SWP, best expressed in 1967 by the SWP's Fred Halstead: "I'm personally for bringing the troops home. But as for victory to the N.L.F., I don't know, I'm not Vietnamese."

The "official" peace movement haughtily dismissed the American working class and black population, who bore the brunt of the actual fighting as well as the economic burdens of the war. But the alienation most flamboyantly expressed by the petty-bourgeoisie went deep. Muhammad Ali spoke for a broad section of American blacks when he said, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." As the agony of Vietnam dragged on, the American army disintegrated into a sullen, demoralized mess. It is estimated that as many as 100,000 soldiers became drug addicts in Vietnam. The ones who limped home to their working-class neighborhoods were confused and bitter. Among all sections of the working people, America's first big losing war broke the back of aggressive patriotic moods. There was a profound sense that the era of America's unquestioned "right" (and might) to rule the world was over.

The Spartacist League alone had the program which could have turned the antiwar movement into an authentic anti-imperialist movement based on *drawing the class line* in Vietnam and at home. The SL's resolute class solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants and its program for turning the multi-class antiwar movement toward working-class action against the war were the objective bases for uniting radical students, trade unionists and the black population around opposition to U.S. imperialism and its twin political parties. In the unions, among antiwar activists, on the campuses, among the soldiers, the small forces of the Spartacist League fought for the principled program of class struggle which if it had become rooted in the working masses would have given powerful assistance to the Vietnamese revolution and laid the basis for creating a Trotskyist revolutionary party in this country.

U.S.: Imperialist Policeman

The Vietnamese people have been at war for a long time. In the first Indochinese war French imperialism was the loser, totally smashed in 1954 at Dienbienphu by the North Vietnamese (under the leadership of Giap and Tien Van Dung, today's organizer of the army against the Chinese invasion). The flower of the officer corps trained at St. Cyr was crushed. France's Vietnam defeat, along with the losing colonial war in Algeria, set the stage for de Gaulle's defeatist bonapartist coup which established the basic structure of French politics for the last two decades.

After 1954 the U.S. took over directly. It was Kennedy's "Camelot,"

along with McNamara's "whiz kids" and their university counterinsurgency playgrounds who were going to show how it should be done, setting up the air-conditioned bunkers of the Pentagon East, where the CIA and military men plotted their kill ratios and body counts, developed the Phoenix assassination hitrean and unleashed the murder of their own puppet, the unfortunate Ngo Dien Diem. The second Indochinese war was on.

The first really heavy U.S. military involvement came in February 1965 when the Johnson administration, which already had over 20,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam, unleashed massive bombing raids over North Vietnam, the first phase of the "Rolling Thunder" sustained air war against the North. In response the Spartacist League immediately sent a cablegram to Ho Chi Minh expressing solidarity with the defense of Vietnam against U.S. imperialism and mass distributed a leaflet, "What Gives in Vietnam?" Exposing the Johnson administration's lies about North Vietnamese "provocations," we pointed out the real reason for the air raids.

> "They want to force Hanoi to intervene in restraint of the NLF. The basic fact which has now been spelled out in the headlines is that the U.S. military's dirty little war in Vietnam is *already lost*. The South Vietnam 'army' is now effective only to overthrow fictitious Saigon 'governments'. Unless the NLF can somehow be persuaded not to exploit its advantage the U.S. position will soon collapse."

We demanded "Hands Off Viet Nam!" and the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. Army as the only course "in the interests of American working people and our Vietnamese brothers."

It had been obvious since Dienbienphu that the Vietnamese Communist Party led by Ho Chi Minh was in essential control of the entire country. The heroic struggles of the Indochinese people to be free of imperialism and the military capacity of the North Vietnamese army had been demonstrated time and time again, yet the Vietnamese Stalinists repeatedly held back from the final offensive.

By the fall of 1965 the fundamental class axes and issues which would dominate events for the next ten years had crystallized. In Indonesia the largest Communist Party in Southeast Asia was betrayed by its pro-Peking leaders. They preached trust in the bourgeois army, who along with Islamic fundamentalists massacred the CP's members by the hundreds of thousands. This mass murder removed much of the strategic need for continued heavy U.S. military involvement in the area. But despite repeated indications that the North Vietnamese and the southern National Liberation Front could be pressured into a coalition government, and that Moscow and Peking would stop short of all-out military support, the U.S. government and its bloody war machine escalated the war, determined to uphold their position as number-one world policeman.

SUNDAY, 7 FEBRUARY 1965
PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIETNAM
HANOI, NORTH VIETNAM

SPARTACIST IN FULLEST
SOLIDARITY WITH DEFENSE
OF YOUR COUNTRY AGAINST
ATTACK BY UNITED STATES
IMPERIALISM. HEROIC
STRUGGLE OF VIETNAMESE
WORKING PEOPLE FURTHERS
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

SPARTACIST EDITORIAL
BOARD

WV Photo

SWP appealed to liberals—Spartacists drew the class line in the antiwar movement: Washington D.C., 1973. WV Photo

"Soviet Nuclear Shield Must Cover China, North Vietnam!"

By October 1965 the U.S. had 150,000 troops in Vietnam, and the first large antiwar demonstrations led by the burgeoning "official" peace movement occurred. In September 1965 the Spartacist League was forced to walk out of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee—the umbrella group sheltering both socialist and liberal antiwar tendencies—in protest against political censorship. While the SWP and the pacifist ministers blocked on the single slogan of "Stop the War Now," the SL counterposed the call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops, insisting that ostensible socialists must take a side in the civil war raging in Vietnam.

The SL was the only organization on the left which fought for the military victory of the NLF/DRV while warning that the Stalinist policies of the bureaucracy would lead to betrayal of the Indochinese people's heroic struggle. Demanding that the USSR and China give full military support to Vietnam, we picketed the Soviet mission in New York in 1965 with the slogan "Soviet Nuclear Shield Must Cover China, North Vietnam!" (see excerpts from an open letter to the Soviet military attaché distributed at a similar protest by Spartacist comrades in California).

While the SWP and its tame youth group "best-built" respectable demonstrations for the liberals, the Spartacist League recognized in SDS and sections of the New Left a growing frustration with liberalism and a potential revolutionary impulse for which the program of Trotskyism alone could provide a path forward. At antiwar conferences, at SDS meetings, in leaflets and in our press, we explained our class solidarity with the Vietnamese social revolution and warned of the dangers of Stalinist nationalism. The heroism of the Vietnamese fighters, especially the Tet offensive, spurred the growth of the "anti-imperialist" New Left. But the SL was too small to win more than a small fraction to proletarian Trotskyism, and the Maoist currents were the main beneficiary of the radicalization. For the vast bulk of these youth, Maoism was a temporary diversion from the pursuit of their careers. For those who were more serious, Maoist sympathies have now become the vehicle for reconciliation with the politics of NATO and bloody military aggression against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

From Protest to Power: "For an Anti-War Friday!"

The Spartacist League uniquely sought to turn the militancy of radical youth in the direction of labor action against the war. We recognized the possibility—for the first time since the McCarthyite witchhunt—to begin to reforge the necessary links between the left and the workers movement, drawing together the increasingly volatile and dissatisfied layers of U.S. society: the blacks, the workers, the students.

We proposed an "antiwar Friday" instead of one more weekend peace crawl, a one-day political strike against the war. Our leaflet, "From Protest to Power," distributed at the 21 October 1967 Washington demonstration, explained:

> "The series of demonstrations leading up to the April 15th affair not only had no effect on government policy, but the escalation of the war appears to have coincided with each demonstration... Isaac Deutscher caught the problem exactly when he said that he'd exchange the whole huge April 15th mobilization for just one dock strike."

Concretely the SL proposed:

> "...building for a one-day general strike in factories, offices, ghetto neighborhoods and schools as the next national mobilization. Given the existing strength of the anti-war movement, and proper organizing, such a mobilization could bring out huge numbers of workers and students, and have a severe effect on whole segments of the economy. Even on this modest scale, such a demonstration would put the 'fear of god' into the government, because it would mean the anti-war movement had gone far beyond accepted norms of protest and attacked the very foundations of American capitalism—production."

At the same time, the SL argued against the pacifist/utopian draft resistance current, pointing out that:

> "Far from resisting the war, the voluntary purging of radicals from the army strengthens the ideological purity and political reliability of the army.... Perhaps even more important is the effect of student draft avoidance, particularly the frenzied scrambling after 2-S student deferments, which are available only to the intellectually or financially privileged, on the attitude of working-class draftees."
>
> —reprinted in the Spartacist pamphlet, *Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam*

Calling for the abolition of the class-biased student deferments and the organizing of antiwar protests among soldiers, SL supporters put out a half dozen issues of *G.I. Voice*, a newsletter carrying a working-class socialist program into the ranks of the draftees.

But in the absence of a powerful pole of united working-class opposition to the imperialist adventure, the advent of the 1970's found the left and workers movement more divided than ever. The New Left had exploded, spinning off the would-be terrorist Weathermen into a netherworld counterculture of hippiedom, drugs, draft dodging and "lifestyle liberation." Embittered blacks had retreated into hard nationalism, the best of them—the Black Panthers—getting blown away by the "pigs" they had sworn to "off." Despite widespread disaffection with the war, the labor movement in its mass remained aloof from the organized antiwar movement (though Stalinist and liberal bureaucrats occasionally affixed their signatures to the "official" peace appeals) and the hard-hats' attacks on the "faggot commie draft-dodgers" remained the most visible statement of white-worker opinion.

But by 1970 some light was beginning to dawn in some influential bourgeois quarters. The Sino-Soviet split and the

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© Virgili/Paris Match

Heroic Vietnamese fighters; they beat the French, the Americans...

China Out Now...

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Chinese troops from Vietnam."
—*New York Times*, 18 February

This sounds oh-so-neutral until one reads it carefully and realizes that this statement coincides completely with the Peking position, namely that its attack was made "necessary" by the Vietnamese strike that toppled Pol Pot. And the U.S.' calm reaction to the Chinese adventure contrasts markedly with its hysterical frenzy over the Vietnamese drive into Cambodia or the entry of Cuban troops into Angola to fight the South Africans and CIA. When Carter remarked on February 20 that the war would not affect the new Chinese-American "friendship," the London *Economist* (24 February) noted it was "about as close as a nominally neutral observer can get to wishing China luck."

The present U.S. government is a rather peculiar fowl, posing as the purest fighter for "human rights" and then going down to the wire with the murderous shah of Iran and even backing the Pol Pot regime only a year after declaring it the all-time violator of Jimmy Carter's moral standards. The Carter administration is maximally hypocritical, overtly so, and downright stupid. So last summer it proclaimed that two U.S. government missions could not go to Russia, in protest against the trial of Soviet Jewish dissident Shcharansky, who even Pentagon sources admitted was guilty of passing military secrets to the U.S. But after the Chinese invasion Treasury Secretary Blumenthal is off to Peking where he clinked glasses with Teng while working out arrangements for U.S. investment and loans. (Likewise, the industry minister of Britain's Labour government, Eric Varley, despite a storm of left-wing criticism was packed off to China to negotiate the sale of some 70 jet fighters.)

Der Spiegel

Chinese soldiers on the way to the front.

Carter is still trying to act as gendarme of the world—the whole aim of his "moral" foreign policy is to salvage U.S. prestige after the Vietnam debacle and to rearm American imperialism (politically *and militarily*) to play a global interventionist role. He has tried to pull a hard cop/soft cop routine to hoodwink the gullible. So on the one hand his black front man Andrew Young is supposed to be saying indiscreet things on behalf of the "Third World" at the United Nations. Meanwhile back at the White House you find Ziggy Brzezinski, who comes on like something dredged up out of the Vatican catacombs. He's a Polish Catholic nationalist and ultrarightist and bitter-end Russia-hater who is so sinister that even the Israelis are nervous about him. Brzezinski's the one running the U.S. China policy, and you can bet that one way or another he had his finger in Teng's invasion of Vietnam.

That is not to distinguish him from the rest of the Carter administration, however, the way Moscow tries to do. In fact, government officials have practically said straight out that they were informed of the attack in advance. The CIA, for one thing, was so burned over its failure to get anything right about events in Iran, it rushed to the press to say they had been following Chinese troop movements for a month and a half. Earlier the *Washington Star* (1 February) reported that "Teng's comments on the China-Vietnam border situation ... seemed to be preparing the American public for the possibility of a war there" and that he "refused to deny that China's troop buildup might be used to support Cambodia by hitting its invader, Vietnam." And the latest State Department denial of foreknowledge—"we did not either give a green light or have a battle plan presented to us" (*New York Times*, 21 February)—is more like a total confession.

In U.S. political circles, both liberals and conservatives were convinced of

Vietnam Again...

(continued from page 7)

Indonesian massacre laid the basis for an anti-Communist restabilization of Southeast Asia without the continuation of the losing Vietnam adventure. Sizable sections of the bourgeois establishment came over to the "dove" camp and were hailed as comrades by the official antiwar leadership, which had been organized on the program of bourgeois defeatism from the beginning.

"Blood and Nixon"

Meanwhile Nixon was still escalating. On 30 April 1970 U.S. troops invaded Cambodia. In the ensuing mass demonstrations on college campuses, the Ohio National Guard opened fire at Kent State, killing four students. The largest antiwar demonstration in U.S. history hit Washington, where the SL banner "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" drew cheers. Campuses across the nation exploded in spontaneous "strikes" and occupations.

WV Photo

Spartacus Youth League demonstrates against Gerald Ford at Yale in 1975.

With massive outrage sweeping the nation, the SL threw its forces into building for an alliance of workers and students around the slogan of "labor strikes against the war." In California and New York, SL supporters in the trade unions fought for the passage of "labor strike" motions on the floor of union meetings, rallying many antiwar labor militants to their cause. And the SL youth group at Columbia University organized a "Work Stoppage Committee" which addressed local union meetings on the need for a one-day general strike against the war. This was the closest the SL's small forces came to implementing the class-struggle program that could have dealt a real and lasting blow to imperialism.

Meanwhile the SWP was busy cementing its alliance with the defeatist bourgeoisie. On 4 July 1971 the bloc was sealed in blood. At the New York City conference of the SWP's National Peace Action Coalition, members of Progressive Labor and the Spartacist League vehemently protested the presence of senator Vance Hartke on the platform. To reassure Hartke, the SWP unleashed its goons, who bloodied the protesters and threw them out of the meeting.

Nixon's 1972 trip to Peking and the infamous "Paris Peace Accords" negotiated by Kissinger were supposed to usher in a new era in imperialist politics and ensure "peace with honor" in Indochina. But the corrupt U.S. puppets in Saigon fled before the North Vietnamese army, which held off final victory as long as it decently could before finally being forced to move into the power vacuum created by the American retreat.

By the fall of 1974 Watergate had driven Nixon from the White House. The North Vietnamese unleashed the "great spring offensive" which drove into Saigon by April 1975. The Spartacist League hailed the victory but warned that it was fraught with dangers, for it was not the Vietnamese working class which had come to political power, but a Stalinist bureaucracy schooled in class collaboration and nationalism.

The present events in Indochina bitterly confirm our warnings that the Stalinist bureaucracies, from Moscow and Peking to Havana and Hanoi, are the greatest internal obstacle to consolidating the gains of the great social revolutions accomplished by the proletarian and peasant masses. Only the working class—through socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and political revolutions in the deformed workers states—can safeguard and extend the social conquests won by the Vietnamese masses in three decades of bitter struggle against imperialism ■

Open Letter to Soviet Attaché Rogochov

"Does Soviet Nuclear Shield Cover Hanoi?"

Daily Cal

SL supporter seized by University of California cops in picket of Soviet attaché on the Berkeley campus, 14 November 1966.

In November 1966 the Bay Area Spartacist League picketed the Soviet mission in San Francisco where it distributed an open letter to Soviet attaché Rogochov, asking, "Does Soviet Nuclear Shield Cover Hanoi?" Reprinted below are excerpts from this leaflet:

> "Within the limitations of our power, we and many others in this country have acted to oppose the imperialist war the U.S. government is waging against the working people of Vietnam. Now we ask you what your government, with its vast military and economic power, has done in this respect... Why are you sending fifteen-year-old Sam II missiles to Vietnam when you have a plentiful supply of Sam III's, which would provide real protection to the cities and villages of North Vietnam? ...for years you have used the threat of your own nuclear weapons system to shield Soviet cities against U.S. nuclear attack. Does this protection extend to Peking? Does the Soviet nuclear shield cover Hanoi? Your failure to so state and your obscene chase after a detente with the imperialists at the price of other people's revolutions and ultimately at the expense of the gains of the October Revolution, encourage the U.S. on a road clearly leading to nuclear attack against Chinese nuclear installations and against targets in North Vietnam. A credible statement by your government that a nuclear attack on the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam or the People's Republic of China would be treated as an attack on the Soviet Union itself would not increase the danger of atomic Armageddon, but vastly lessen it.
>
> "May we suggest, Mr. Rogochov, that you cannot answer these questions in a Marxist or socialist framework because you represent a regime and a social stratum which is the mortal enemy of both. ... We believe, Mr. Rogochov, that the world revolution will triumph, either that or that we will all die together, capitalist, bureaucrat and the people alike. But we think that this revolution will triumph not through and because of you and your like, but via a road whereon your political carcass will be trampled down alongside Lyndon Johnson's. Can you prove us wrong?
>
> "LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!"

—reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967

Washington's collusion in the invasion. The liberal *New York Times* (22 February) commented editorially that "...the daily Soviet charges that President Carter encouraged the Chinese strike, at least tacitly, during Teng Hsiao Ping's recent visit cannot be dismissed as mere paranoid propaganda." The liberals were plenty worried about the possible consequences. James Wechsler wrote in the *New York Post* (20 February) that "If this is the first fruit of our 'China card,' it must be said that the Chinese had apparently stacked the deck." In contrast, former Nixon staffer William Safire cheers hooray and provides a "global tout sheet" on "Who to Root For," with the cardinal principle of hostility to the Soviet Union. On the possibility of a China-Russia clash he advises:

> "*Root for*, China. Even though we now know that Mr. Teng took Mr. Carter to the cleaners by timing normalization to his secret invasion plans; the fact remains that the enemy of our main adversary is our ally."
> —*New York Times*, 26 February

In all this the Kremlin has reacted quite conservatively by ordinary bourgeois diplomatic standards—i.e., wanton abdication. A 19 February TASS communiqué warned China to stop the invasion "before it is too late," but pointedly omitted any direct military threat. Later an article in the 19 February issue of *Pravda* charged that it was impossible for the U.S. not to have learned of the forthcoming attack from Teng. And on 27 February *Pravda* published a lengthy authoritative commentary saying that "The ambivalent stand taken by the U.S. ruling circles ... contributed to Peking's openly taking the warpath." The Soviet military command dispatched an intelligence ship to the Gulf of Tonkin to monitor the fighting and to aid Vietnamese communications, and sent a few planeloads of urgent supplies.

In part, this reticent response is a reflection of Moscow's dreams of détente with the United States: hopes of negotiating a new SALT treaty, desire not to strengthen the hand of "warmonger" Brzezinski over "dove" Vance, etc. More importantly it is the expression of bureaucratic selfishness. For all its talk of proletarian internationalism against the Eurocommunists, when an ally is actually under military attack the Kremlin sits on its hands, stingily doling out minimum aid. Thus there is much speculation that they are holding back in order to pressure the Vietnamese into granting base rights at Cam Ranh Bay to the Soviet navy. It is this criminal negligence, allowing the Vietnamese to stand essentially alone against the Chinese attack in collusion with U.S. imperialism, that impels our demand, "Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!"

An interesting side effect of the escalating Chinese ties to the U.S. has been the reconsolidation of a Soviet bloc, which not so long ago seemed on the verge of breaking up due to the centrifugal forces of "polycentrism," "Eurocommunism" and the Sino-Soviet split. Unlike East Germany, for example, the Hanoi regime is no mere puppet of Moscow and has withstood Kremlin pressure to make disadvantageous deals (such as over Cam Ranh Bay). But Peking's ties to Washington have pushed Vietnam toward the USSR if only out of self-defense. It has also driven away China's erstwhile ally Albania, and called into question the allegiance of Kim Il Sung's North Korea, so that today China has no firm alliance with any other deformed workers state. Its *closest* ally, in fact, is presently the U.S. Over the Chinese invasion, only Yugoslavia and Rumania of the Eastern European states took the line of "soft" support for Peking, by calling for mutual withdrawal of troops from Vietnam and Cambodia. And in West Europe even Carrillo's PCE in Spain and Berlinguer's PCI in Italy condemned the Peking aggression.

As for Moscow's ultimate option, there is much that it could do to bring China around if Brezhnev & Co. were really committed to the international solidarity they cynically profess. Peking has an extremely narrow nuclear establishment, all of it targeted by the USSR. Likewise the Chinese oil industry is extremely vulnerable even to a surgical attack by conventional forces in Sinkiang and Manchuria. And the Russian bureaucracy could find its hand forced so that it must take action, not out of devotion to defending the gains of the Vietnamese Revolution but rather in order to ensure its own survival.

The Kremlin leaders are not particularly more or less sellout per se than their Yugoslav or Rumanian counterparts. But having built up a powerful industry and military establishment at great sacrifice by the Soviet workers, the USSR is necessarily the main target of the imperialists. Failure to push back the Chinese invasion will only embolden Teng as his military establishment begins to be filled with arms supplied by the West.

Murderous Stalinist Nationalism

In trying to explain the phenomenon of two "Communist" countries at war with each other, the bourgeois press has dragged assorted sociologists and historians out of the closet to discourse on the ethnic and national animosities that go back for centuries. Their message is that it is impossible to overcome such hatreds in spite of the "fine ideals" of the founders of socialism. Thus one newspaper report recalled that the Chinese first invaded Vietnam in 111 B.C. and were not expelled from the peninsula for another millenium. Another report noted mockingly that as recently as 1975 a Vietnamese official described the two nations as having ties "as close as lips and teeth" as a result of the decade-long struggle against the U.S. invasion.

For the pseudo-Marxist radical intelligentsia, on the other hand, the Vietnam-China war, like the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict before it, has shaken their fellow-traveling loyalties. After cutting cane in Cuba, marching around with the NLF flag and waving Mao's Little Red Book, the former enthusiasts of "Third World" Stalinism are now at a loss for where to turn. The best bellweather of this milieu is the ex-Khrushchevite, ex-New Left, ex-Maoist *Guardian* (28 February), whose front-page editorial on the new Indochinese war began plaintively, "These are sorry days for socialism...." Throwing up their hands in despair, these "Marxists" ask:

> "China has invaded Vietnam. Vietnam has invaded Kampuchea. The words evoke nausea. Where will it end,...
> "Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Ho... we pity your unquiet sleep.
> "China, Vietnam, Kampuchea. The names evoke pride. How can these brave comrades slay each other?...
> "It is a vicious cycle ...
> "All socialist countries make mistakes.... The great socialist countries ... make great mistakes from time to time.
> "China is a great socialist country. ..
> "China's invasion of Vietnam was a great mistake....
> "Vietnam, too, is a great socialist country...
> "Although our views on the situation are still developing, we think Vietnam made a great mistake in invading Kampuchea."

And so on ad nauseum. Obviously the editors don't know what to make of it and are reduced to kindergarten language expressing only their pathetic confusion. Lacking a Trotskyist understanding of the nationalism inherent in the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies, they can only see repeated betrayals of their ideals. And on top of that they report that the *Guardian*'s long-time roving correspondent Wilfred Burchett has broken with them over their opposition to Hanoi's Cambodian invasion. At least Burchett knows what master he is serving. Perhaps now would be a good time for the *Guardian* editors to throw in the towel and Irwin Silber could go back to reviewing folk music. Certainly he would sleep easier and the left would be freed of this brand of pompous Stalinoid confusionism.

The Communist Party (CP), on the other hand, has gone on the offensive against the Maoist supporters of Peking-brand Stalinism. In addition to the demonstrations outside the Chinese UN mission in New York (see accompanying article), for which they pulled their entire aging membership out of the woodwork, the CP recently issued a pamphlet by Gus Hall entitled *Letter to the Chinese Communist Party* (January 1979). The letter is a remarkable document, sounding extremely principled in its denunciations of Peking's support to Pakistan against Bangladesh, its diplomatic recognition of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, its support to South Africa and the CIA in Angola in 1975, etc. But there is one betrayal by the Maoist bureaucracy which Hall significantly omits: Geneva 1954.

The omission is not accidental, and it is most instructive in the light of the current China-Vietnam war. Peking's role at Geneva was truly treacherous. The Viet Minh had initially refused to proceed with the talks unless the "sovereignty" and "independence" of their allies in the Khmer Rouge (Cambodia) and Pathet Lao (Laos) were recognized at the conference table. However, Chou En-lai put the arm on Ho's delegation and on 16 June 1954 forced through a "compromise" which had the Khmer Rouge and Pathet Lao attend as part of the Viet Minh delegation—in effect turning over the two French protectorates to the neo-colonialist Sihanouk and Souvanna Phouma governments respectively.

But Chou En-lai was not the only one who betrayed at Geneva. Two weeks earlier Russian foreign minister Molotov, in secret talks with Britain's Anthony Eden, cooked up the deal to divide Vietnam along the 17th parallel, even though the Viet Minh controlled some 85 percent of the country at the time. This "compromise" abandoned tens of thousands of Vietnamese independence fighters and Communists to the terror of the U.S.-backed Diem dictatorship, and meant that before all Vietnam would be liberated from the imperialist yoke it would take another 20 years of struggle and hundreds of thousands of dead. Ho Chi Minh and the rest of the Viet Minh, of course, went along with these betrayals, laying the basis for future hostilities (with Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, for example, which bitterly denounces the Vietnamese for selling them out at Geneva).

This was by no means the limit for the mutual backstabbing by the Stalinist bureaucrats. The limited amount and outdated quality of the Russian aid to Vietnam is well known (the latest model Soviet weaponry went instead to Nasser's Egypt). And as a result of the Sino-Soviet split the Chinese repeatedly held back and delayed delivery of Soviet supplies to Vietnam sent by rail through China. (At the height of the "Cultural Revolution," one of the more extreme groups of Red Guards stopped a trainload of "revisionist" supplies on its way to Vietnam. This identification with Chinese nationalism on the part of semi-dissidents has continued to the present: the Human Rights Group which has authored several important wallposters in Peking recently came out in support of Teng's invasion. However, several other less prominent groups have called for withdrawal of Chinese troops.) And in the secret codicil to the 1973 "peace" treaty negotiated by Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, the North Vietnamese agreed to cut off its military aid to the Khmer Rouge as part of the price for receiving U.S. reconstruction aid. The Vietnamese kept their side of the bargain, as Pol Pot bitterly complained.

Or, to cite another relevant example, take the India-China border disputes of 1959 and 1962. In the former case, the Soviet Union remained formally "neutral" in the dispute between capitalist India and the Chinese People's Republic (a dispute which grew out of Peking's consolidation of control over Tibet, in which it faced a CIA-financed rebellion). However, with the Sino-Soviet split in the offing, the Russians implicitly sided with India, declaring some months later: "One cannot possibly seriously think that such a state as India, which is militarily and economically weaker than China, would really launch a military attack on China" (statement by the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 6 February 1960). In the summer of 1962, at the height of the fighting between India and China, Moscow confirmed its promises of delivery of Soviet MIGs to the Indian air force (Neville Maxwell, *India's China War* [1970]).

The most infamous incident of all in this orgy of Stalinist betrayal was undoubtedly Richard Nixon's December 1971 trip to Peking. In the middle of the murderous Christmas bombing campaign against Hanoi and Haiphong, Mao was clinking champagne glasses with Tricky Dick in the Great Hall of the Peoples.

Vietnamese Troops Out of Cambodia?

Reflecting the ideological pressure of Carter's "human rights" anti-Sovietism, not only liberals but many radicals and would-be communists as well have equated the Chinese invasion of Vietnam with the military strike by Vietnam into Cambodia a month earlier. For liberals all invasions are equal (except when their own national interests are affected); not so for Marxists. To paraphrase George Orwell, some invasions are more equal than others. What is key are the class forces involved and the interests of the proletariat. Thus on the eve of World War II, when petty-bourgeois public opinion was raising a tremendous hue and cry about "poor little democratic Finland"—i.e., the Finland of Baron von Mannerheim, which was militarily aligned with

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China Out Now...

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imperialist Britain—against Stalin's invasion. Trotsky wrote:

> "Yet in a war between the USSR and the capitalist world—independently of the incidents leading up to that war or the 'aims' of this or that government—what is involved is the fate of precisely those historical conquests which we defend unconditionally ..."
>
> —"From a Scratch to the Danger of Gangrene," in *In Defense of Marxism* (1940)

So what about the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in January? To begin with, for Marxists there can be no question of political support to one Stalinist bureaucracy against another in a war between two deformed workers states. In either case the victor would exclude the working class from exercising political power through soviet organs of proletarian democracy. Thus we called for flat opposition to the war on both sides and opposed the Vietnamese invasion which overthrew the Pol Pot regime. On the other hand, the Spartacist League did *not* demand the immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops propping up its creation, the FUNSK (National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea), and pursuing the remnants of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. Why?

In 1977 when fighting broke out between Vietnam and Cambodia, we were among the first to denounce this murderous Stalinist nationalism on both sides, at a time when many on the left pretended that the border war was simply a figment of the CIA's imagination.

However, once it was no longer a question of a border war, it was not immediately obvious that communists should demand immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. We declared our opposition to the presence of a long-term occupation army, which would necessarily place the national question for the Khmer people on the agenda and thus raise the question of Cambodian right to self-determination. But the Vietnamese forces presently in the country are wiping out the remnants of the Khmer Rouge regime and consolidating the hold of the new Hanoi client regime under the banner of the FUNSK.

Isn't the FUNSK regime, even with the presence of Vietnamese troops, better from the point of view of the working masses of Cambodia than its predecessor Pol Pot? Immediately after taking power in the spring of 1975 the Khmer Rouge forcibly emptied the cities, evacuating even hospital patients into the countryside where they were organized into vast labor camps lacking even the most rudimentary urban facilities. Now the Vietnamese have imposed a regime which promises to do away with this irrational peasant xenophobia and atavism. Given a choice, would the Cambodians rather have national independence or schools, marriage of their own choice, food, children, medicine, schools and wages? It's not immediately clear, although it was notable that the predicted wave of Cambodian refugees fleeing before the Vietnamese troops never materialized.

And it is equally unclear whether the Vietnamese Stalinists have the capacity to create an essentially federated state in which the peoples and sub-peoples of Indochina can freely choose their national destiny. In the case of the Chinese, their practice has clearly been that of Han chauvinism, as Peking authorities have flooded minority-populated regions with millions of Han Chinese. But the Vietnamese practice toward the montagnards of central Vietnam has been far less oppressive, following more closely in the line of the autonomous regions set up for the tribal peoples of the USSR in the early years of Soviet rule.

We do not place political confidence in the Vietnamese Stalinists to overcome the national question—on the contrary, we call for the working class to carry out a political revolution to oust the heirs of Ho Chi Minh and replace them with soviets. That is the only road to a genuinely democratic socialist federation of Indochina. However, one cannot say in advance that under a client or puppet regime the national question will necessarily predominate. To declare that the national question always comes first ultimately rules out the possibility of liberation by conquest. Such a position would lead to the conclusion, for instance, that the 1920 Red Army invasion of Poland—aimed at achieving a link-up with the German proletariat—was not just tactically impossible but wrong in principle.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that only history can decide the justice of Vietnamese-Cambodian relations.

Not Détente, But Workers Revolution!

While it is our proletarian internationalist duty to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialist attack, it is not the ruling bureaucracies we defend but the interests of the working people and the gains of their anti-capitalist revolutions. Our fundamental appeals are directed to the Soviet, Vietnamese and Chinese masses, whose interests are not served by the illusions of deals with Carter/Brzezinski but rather by the program of communist unity against imperialism. As an expression of that program we called early in the Vietnam war for the extension of the Soviet nuclear shield to cover Hanoi and Peking. Today we address the Chinese masses, drawn by their sellout leaders into a war against their Vietnamese class brothers: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism! Get Out of Vietnam Now!

In calling on the USSR to honor its treaty with Vietnam we are addressing the Soviet masses, calling on them to break with Brezhnev's capitulationist policy of détente with the imperialists and to remove the bureaucracy through workers political revolution. At the February 24 demonstration outside the Chinese mission in NYC the Spartacist League chanted the slogan, "Not Détente, but Workers Revolution!" a demand which particularly enraged the assembled Stalinists pretending to be pacifistic liberals. "Warmongers," they shouted at us. As revolutionaries dedicated to constructing a socialist future for mankind, we are not callous to the horror of war. We share the hatred of war of American workers who recall Vietnam, or the Soviet population which lost 20 million in World War II. But pacifistic sentiment for good relations between the U.S. and USSR will not prevent world war. And there *is* a war *now*, wantonly killing Chinese and Vietnamese youth.

The imperialist rulers remain dedicated to overturning the social revolutions which have driven them from more than one third of the globe. This means war of one kind or another. Right now the Chinese Stalinists are "punishing" the Vietnamese people in the hopes of cementing an alliance with the American bourgeoisie while extending their own bureaucratic sway. Meanwhile, as we pointed out ten years ago, for the U.S. rulers China is an arrow directed at the heart of the USSR. The alliance which is just now being cemented diplomatically has had its first military expression in the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. While it is not yet overtly consummated, the sinister U.S./China/Japan axis is now visibly felt by everyone as a distinct possibility.

It is already very late in the epoch of imperialist decay. It is almost 60 years since the Red Army, having defeated the Polish capitalists, failed to concentrate on the east bank of the Vistula opposite Warsaw, thus losing the common border with a Germany yet facing revolution. Berlin and that wave of world revolution were thus lost. Now once again the new alignments for a coming global war are ominously being sketched out on the horizon. The task of Marxists is not to hide this terrible reality but to tell the simple truth: *only workers revolution will prevent nuclear annihilation.* ■

A Spartacist League Forum

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China's Invasion of Vietnam

Speaker: Joseph Seymour
Spartacist League
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Is There Anything Koch Won't Do?

NEW YORK CITY, February 28—It began as an ordinary strike in which the workers were forced to walk out when management threatened to rip the guts out of their livelihoods and throw them out into the streets. New York City's school bus drivers, threatened by proposed new contract provisions which would reduce them to part-time status and wipe out their job security by clauses permitting the hiring of an entirely new crew, walked off the job February 15 and vowed to stay out until they won.

For the first few days the buses were locked up tight. Then school officials and the raving anti-labor NYC mayor Koch figured out they had a real propaganda ax handle with which to beat the strikers over the head. While most of the city's kids managed to get by on public transportation, management zeroed in on the plight of New York's 45,000 handicapped school children, pulling out all the stops to give the strikers a bad press.

At this point many unions, faced with tear-jerking stories of home-bound wheelchair-confined children, would have buckled under. But the Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 1181 and 1061 refused to budge. In fact, when the Board of Education started using taxis to transport the kids, the bus drivers went down to the taxi barns and protested against this scabbing. When a number of the offending cabs were subsequently found with their windshields broken and tires slashed, New York's war of the crippled children was on.

The next morning Koch called a press conference, denouncing the strikers as "bastards" and threatening to get them. His language triggered off the drivers' wives who picketed outside the mayor's office with signs reading, "Koch: You Couldn't Produce a Bastard!" But despite Koch's threats, the tactic worked, and the scab cabs didn't roll. So when school reopened February 26 after the weekend, Koch had launched Operation Kiddie Lift and mobilized the city's chauffeurs and a fleet of city vehicles to drive the kids to school.

The chauffeurs took the kids to school in the morning, but by that afternoon the union got to District Council 37 chief, Victor Gotbaum, head of the city workers' union. Gotbaum told the chauffeurs to respect the picket lines so they walked off the job, leaving the handicapped children stranded at school. Koch then threatened to fire them all, saying the city could do without chauffeurs, and the executives would damn well jog to work. He then commandeered some 112 city vehicles, including four prison vans, put a cop into each one to ride shotgun and ordered the president of the school board, the chancellor of schools and other top officials to drive the kids to school themselves. And when on February 27 bus drivers responded by slashing the tires of some 12 Long Island school buses used to transport cerebral palsy victims to their therapy sessions, Koch lashed out again at the "gutless wonders."

In the midst of this situation, while the editors of the city's pulp press were already wallowing in their crocodile tears, the milk drivers, members of Teamsters Local 584, went out on strike. Of course everyone is affected by the strike, but the press has chosen to focus again on the poor kids who, when they finally get to school in their armored cars, receive no milk with their school lunch!

Workers Vanguard says "hats off" to the courageous school bus and milk truck drivers who have stood solid in the face of the mayor's repulsive, utterly cynical ploy to use these innocent children as pawns in his union-busting game. The entire NYC labor movement ought to get behind their beleaguered brothers with powerful action to win the strikes and put a stop to this obscene spectacle! ■

Cronkite...

(continued from page 3)

ic principle, as we like to point out at key moments like the present. Somebody did foresee this possibility way back then: us. We quote from our document "Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League," published in 1969:

> "At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoist[s] to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the U.S.S.R.'s avowed policy of 'peaceful co-existence' while themselves peacefully co-existing with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long-run interests (which would take time, as such factors as U.S. public opinion would have to be readjusted), the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build "Socialism in One Country" through deals with imperialism at the expense of internationalism." [emphasis in original]

Walter Cronkite is no more likely to tell the truth about what is going on today than he was in 1969. He is in the business of readjusting U.S. public opinion—a droning voice amid the white noise of bourgeois ideology, and a small part of the reason predictive truth sounds "funny" to the ear of so many Americans.

The perspective of revolutionary Marxism is not grounded in the ideologically self-serving stereotypes contrived by pompous media pundits for broadcast as official "perceived reality." We perceive reality and cope with it as partisans of the interests of the international working class. It so happens that the truth is also on our side. To Walter Cronkite and U.S. liberals this must seem incoherent, perhaps even dangerous. ■

Khomeini Vows...

(continued from page 12)

ing law and order and to crush the bandits," while paratroopers have been sent in.

Rebirth of the Army

Already the left apologists for Khomeini are constructing a mythology around the insurrection that provoked the overthrow of the Bakhtiar regime bequeathed by the Pahlavi monarchy. Some even speak of embryonic organs of workers rule coexisting with the government. But less than two weeks later the left is under violent attack by Khomeini and besieged in Teheran University by the new Islamic police and a nascent National Guard. How could this turnabout of a popular insurrection come about so quickly?

Actually, the weekend of February 10-12 saw both the beginnings of a generalized insurrection and an attempt to limit this by the army chiefs who capitulated to Khomeini. The beginnings of a massive uprising were certainly there as air force technicians at the Doshan Tapeh air base in East Teheran and the guerrilla organizations took over weapons depots and began distributing rifles and machine guns to the population. After taking the air base and another army installation the insurgents proceeded to sack 23 police stations, storm the SAVAK headquarters and open up the capital's main prison to free political prisoners. However, there was no full-scale confrontation with the army.

Only the "Immortals" battalion of the Imperial Guard was militarily defeated, with even the Rangers going over to the anti-shah forces. Calculating that the bulk of their troops were unreliable, the top generals opted for preserving the "unity of the military institution" by declaring their "neutrality" in the conflict between the Khomeini-led forces and the puppet regime of Shapur Bakhtiar, installed by the deposed monarch.

In terms of their personal safety, the generals had miscalculated. They did not consummate a deal with the ayatollah, and a number of the more notorious butchers are now being executed. Predictably, this raised a flurry of "humanitarian" objections in the U.S. bourgeois press. But those ordered shot by Khomeini's revolutionary tribunal were certified torturers and mass murderers. The first batch included Nematollah Nassiri, chief of SAVAK; Riza Nazih, military commander of Isfahan; and Amir Rahimi, martial law commander of Teheran. Each one of these criminals was personally responsible for ordering the deaths of thousands and even tens of thousands of opponents of the shah and richly deserved his fate. Our only objection was that the mullahs got them instead of revolutionary people's tribunals where their crimes could have been exposed before the entire population.

In the days following the capitulation by the army chiefs, the ranks melted away in a tide of mass desertions. At this point there are reportedly almost no operational units left in the capital. But the base of the army had not risen up against their officers, and many of them have since returned to their barracks. The structure of the imperial army remains intact, although it is to be infused with Khomeini-loyal militiamen and renamed in a process of what Prime Minister Bazargan terms "rejuvenation" of the military. Among the elements of continuity are the new commander-in-chief, Qarani, who is an old friend of the CIA. Although implicated in a 1959 coup against the shah, he was saved from execution by his ties to the U.S. intelligence agency (*Le Monde*, 15 February).

Bazargan candidly explained the difficulties in reviving the army: "The problem is, the people hated the army and police and will react if we send them out into the streets again. That is why we are establishing a National Guard and will reestablish the army and police later" (*Newsweek*, 26 February). Despite objections raised by soldiers to the retention of a number of monarchist officers, some of whom have been replaced, and a resolution passed by a mass meeting of the air force technicians calling for election of officers by soldiers' committees, the situation is far from the revolutionary ferment in the Portuguese army in mid-1975.

The Left Still Bows to Khomeini

The Iranian left, from the Mojahedeen to the Guevarist Fedayeen to the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party to the pseudo-Trotskyists of the Iranian SWP, has set the stage for the present menacing situation by politically disarming the proletariat. Taken by surprise by Khomeini's vehement attacks, they are totally unprepared for a showdown. While an elemental sense of self-preservation has prevented them from surrendering their arms, they are simply sitting in their redoubts waiting for the attack to begin. They are *politically* stymied and can respond only by attempting to draw a distinction between the "anti-imperialist" Khomeini and his "bad advisors" or Bazargan's cabinet. Their appeal is for a measure of influence in the new government. But while such naiveté keeps the backward peasant masses loyal to autocratic regimes—the Russian muzhiks believed the tsar was good but simply surrounded by evil courtiers—in the mouths of leftists who represent a potential threat to the regime it is asking for a slaughter.

Oondero/L'Espresso

Khomeini's revolution is no victory for women.

The Tudeh Party echoed the Kremlin's rapid diplomatic recognitinn of the Bazargan government and the Soviet ambassador's personal congratulations to Khomeini by lending support to the efforts to get the leftist-influenced oil workers back on the job. As for the pseudo-Trotskyists of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, their position was spelled out in a banner headline in the American SWP's *Militant* (23 February): "VICTORY IN IRAN." A victory for whom? Not for the guerrillas, not for the Kurds, not for the oil strikers or the women who will now be pressured or ordered to put back on the *chador* (the traditional Iranian full-length veil). But for these fake-socialists even this is not enough, and the second headline reads: "Iranian masses show the way for workers around the world." Meanwhile, Khomeini and his mullahs—the *real* victors—are preparing to strike down the "satanic" left "traitors"!

Leroy/Time

Gun-toting mullah of the Islamic police: Khomeini's new SAVAK.

In Teheran it is the Guevarists of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas that has emerged as the far left wing. Worried about the direction taken by the Bazargan government, they had called for a march on Khomeini's headquarters on February 24. But when the ayatollah denounced this plan, the Fedayeen tactically compromised by holding a rally on the university campus where they attracted a crowd estimated by the *New York Times* at 70,000 in a rainstorm, a considerable show of support for an organization whose hard core strength numbers a few thousand at most. Many of those attending were members of the Mojahedeen, with whom the Fedayeen hope to cement an alliance on the basis of a call for a "people's army" instead of a National Guard staffed by former middle-level officers of the shah's army. However, Khomeini is doing his best to split Islamic forces away from any cooperation with the left... and having considerable success by dangling the prospects of a role in the new regime.

The Fedayeen program of workers control in the factories through expanding the powers of the strike committees, of popular tribunals to try the shah's henchmen, and of arms for the masses certainly picks up widely felt sentiments in the working masses. They have become the voice of a gut-level dissatisfaction with the "Islamic Republic," such as that voiced by a construction worker who attended the February 24 rally: "Khomeini and his people want to carry on the system like it was before, only with a different color and under different slogans" (*Newsweek*, 5 March). But the central contradiction in the program of the Fedayeen, one which will soon come to a bloody resolution, is their attitude toward Khomeini, expressed in the words of one of their leaders: "We think there is a lence of reactionary mullahs around Ayatollah Khomeini, who in the last few days have diminished his direct contact with the people of Iran..." (*New York Times*, 22 February)

Last fall we warned emphatically:

> "And what of the Maoist and guerrillaist groups which vehemently denounce Tudeh's reformism? They too speak only of the 'progressive religious leaders,' echoed by their supporters in the various wings of the Iranian Students Association.... The Iranian left thus marches on the road to suicide."
>
> —"Iran in Turmoil," *WV* No. 215, 22 September 1978

The democratic and working-class demands raised by the Fedayeen are nullified by their Stalinist conception of "two-stage revolution," in which the first stage is represented by the likes of Khomeini. By first helping put him in power through their political support, and now their refusal to oppose Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" which is about to strike at them, these courageous militants may be signing their own death warrants. As pointed out by the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution and confirmed by historical experience from China 1927 to Chile 1973, the colonial bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism is *incapable* of breaking with imperialism and domestic reaction. While it may topple a hated monarch like the shah, the new regime will "carry on the system like it was before, only with a different color," as the construction worker remarked.

Only an Iranian workers and peasants government, raised to power by an uprising of the powerful Iranian proletariat, will guarantee the right of self-determination to national minorities, bring land to the tiller, free women from medieval subjugation and advance to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, the foundation of the Pahlavis' dictatorship. To obtain such a government what is needed above all is the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party basing itself on the lessons of October 1917 and the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

No to Islamic reaction—Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Khomeini Vows to Crush "Anti-Islamic, Satanic Elements"

Down with the Mullahs!

FEBRUARY 28—They asked for it, they got it. Khomeini. And now that the mullahs are in power, the Iranian left is getting a bitter taste of what life under the "Islamic republic" will be like. The grim-faced oracle whose picture they held high in countless demonstrations has now turned on his leftist camp followers, branding all Marxists with the mark of Cain as "*satanic elements, worse than the shah*." These are not just verbal pyrotechnics but orders for the executioner's sword. The Muslim fundamentalist holy man, now being revered by his followers as an imam (the representative of god on earth), vowed last week: "I won't tolerate anyone who is anti-Islamic. We will crush them." And he means it.

In the very first days of its existence Khomeini's new social order is rapidly demonstrating that it has nothing to do with the democracy so fervently desired by the millions who suffered under the shah's iron heel. Now that the Pahlavi dynasty is overthrown the new regime is issuing blood-curdling Koranic threats against any who dare question its theocratic rule. The Khomeini-installed government is feverishly organizing an "Islamic National Guard," incorporating the middle levels of the officer corps of the old imperial army, in order to go after its next target: the "atheists" and "traitors" of the ostensibly Marxist left who doggedly supported the mullah-led movement over the last year.

As the religious leaders gained dominance over the opposition to the hated shah, the opportunists simply tailed after what was popular. The International Spartacist tendency (IST) was *unique* on the left in warning that the Islamic clericalist movement was *reactionary* in its social and political program. Pointing to Indonesia 1965, Qaddafi's Libya and General Zia's Pakistan as horrible examples of what an Islamic republic would mean, we warned that support to Khomeini could be positively suicidal. Our slogan, "Down with the shah, Down with the mullahs!" brought thug attacks on IST meetings not only from Iranian Islamic student groups but also from the Maoists who were tailing them.

Now everyone from the CIA (which had portrayed Khomeini as a "Communist dupe") to the leftist guerrilla groups has come to see the chilling truth that Khomeini's holy war against the left is in deadly earnest. This Islamic reactionary with his sights set on the seventh century has gone from xenophobic promises to "cut the hands off foreign thieves" to ominous threats to "cut off the hands of traitors." The danger goes far beyond the medieval Koranic "justice" of mutilating petty thieves and submitting violators of puritanical social codes to the lash. Our warnings are tragically being proven true, yet still the fake-Marxists proclaim their devotion to the ayatollah. As the new regime prepares a bloody attack on the left to chants of "allah akbar" (god is great), it is the duty of socialists everywhere to protest Khomeini's threatened storm of repression!

Khomeini: The fake-lefts asked for his blessing, received his wrath.

Der Spiegel

While there is an ongoing tug-of-war between Mehdi Bazargan's provisional government and Khomeini's shadowy "Council of the Islamic Revolution," they are united in their vows to smash the left. On February 19 Khomeini pontificated, "If the united leadership is not accepted by all groups, I shall regard this as an uprising against the Islamic revolution, and I warn these bandits and unlawful elements that we were able to destroy the Shah and his evil regime, and we are strong enough to deal with them." The same day propaganda minister Sadeq Qothzadeh attacked the leftist People's Fedayeen guerrillas as "prostitutes," ominously adding, "Go ahead and demonstrate. We will know who you are" (*New York Times*, 20 February). For his part, prime minister Bazargan announced that if the left continued to "fight and destabilize the country, we're going to crush them" (*New York Times*, 18 February).

Mullah-led forces take over tanks guarding the shah's palace.

Der Spiegel

The Bloody Sword of Islam

Even as the guerrillas exulted over the "insurrection" which defeated the shah's Imperial Guard and European reporters summoned up joyous images of Paris in May 1968, the new regime launched a crackdown on the widespread possession of arms (more than 70,000 were reportedly distributed over the February 10-11 weekend as guerrillas and rebellious soldiers broke into the arsenals). The fountainhead of the revolution declared:

> "All weapons must be surrendered to the mosques. The selling of arms is heresy. Don't let those weapons fall into the hands of the enemies of Islam. Islamic soldiers must be armed, but others must not be armed."
>
> —UPI dispatch, 13 February

The surrendering was not just voluntary. Spotchecks of automobiles by "Islamic defense guards" were instituted to recover arms. Teheran University, a stronghold of the left which only a few days before was ringed by the shah's tanks, now faced incursions by Khomeini's militia.

The regime's first major "anti-imperialist" action, the visit of PLO leader Yassir Arafat, also played a role in Khomeini's sinister witchhunt against the left. In return for receiving the Israeli "embassy," Arafat was prepared to do some favors for his new benefactor. Not only did the PLO chief endorse the Islamic Mojahedeen guerrillas at the expense of the Fedayeen, but he addressed a mass rally in the southern oil fields, lending his "revolutionary" prestige to the government at the height of its efforts to force strikers back to work. This supposed champion of a "democratic secular Palestine" refers to his new patron as imam.

Another of the "Islamic republic's" international forays directly confirmed the program of social reaction that lurks behind its Muslim populism. Khomeini's deputy prime minister Ibrahim Yazdi hailed the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood as "open-minded and sincere" and as "already being revolutionized by the events in Iran" (*New York Times*, 27 February). The Brotherhood, a reactionary petty-bourgeois grouping whose demagogy won it a base in the Cairo lumpenproletariat, is above all renowned for its burning down of "sinful" movie theaters, pogromist dynamite attacks on Jewish businesses and residential quarters and fanatical opposition to even the slightest secularizing measures. So great was its hatred of the left that the Muslim Brotherhood conspired with the British against the Communist Party and bourgeois nationalists in the late 1940's.

But if Khomeini's propagandists declaim that Islamic fundamentalism "can also replace Arab nationalism as a rallying point for Arab people," they have hardly convinced the Kurdish nationalists and other minorities. Events have rapidly confirmed our earlier prediction that "The Persian chauvinism and blind anti-foreign sentiments whipped up by the mullahs promise a grim future for Iran's national/communal minorities" (*WV* No. 222, 5 January). Accused of fomenting the February 15 attack on the U.S. embassy and scapegoated for the recent rise in crime in Teheran, thousands of unemployed Afghani workers have been rounded up and deported.

Baluchi, Azerbaijani and Kurdish nationalists are already locked in combat with the new regime. The Kurds have demanded autonomy within a federated Iranian state, to which Deputy Prime Minister Entezam vowed to "ruthlessly crush those behind unrests" in Kurdistan. Soon after, fighting was reported between Kurdish partisans and government troops, leading to a pitched battle near the town of Kaneh, close to the Iraqi frontier, in which more than 100 people were killed. Khomeini then issued a radio call to the Mojahedeen, "to aid the army and police in maintain-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 227 | 16 March 1979

For Workers Revolution to Defeat Islamic Reaction!

No to the Veil!

"We will fight the veil," chanted thousands of women as they marched for hours in a driving snowstorm in Teheran on March 8. They had come from International Women's Day meetings at Teheran University and from government offices where they were turned away from their jobs because they wore Western-style clothes. They were joined by women and men until tens of thousands of demonstrators—defiant in blue jeans, smoking cigarettes—shouted words never before heard in the streets of Iran: "Down with Khomeini!" And for the first time since the reactionary mullahs swept into power, a mass demonstration was answered with bullets. As the Islamic marshals opened fire to disperse the demonstration, women hit the ground and took cover behind parked cars and buildings. The first open battle between Khomeini and opponents of Islamic fundamentalism had been launched and, not surprisingly, it was over women's rights.

The rude awakening has begun. And we welcome its first stirrings, the first open crack in the fatal illusions in a "democratic Islam." To the women who chanted, "In the dawn of freedom, there is an absence of freedom," we say: You have not yet seen the dawn. But it is a source of hope that some Iranians have begun to perceive the nightmare which the mullahs are already making reality for the masses. Sections of the population most immediately hit by Khomeini's Islamic reaction—like the "Westernized" women—are shocked, confused, angry.

With terrible and perhaps tragic irony, many of the women who today gathered in protest at the office of Prime Minister Bazargan chanting, "Bazargan, do not forget we do not want the *chador*," had yesterday donned the veil claiming it was a "symbol of resistance" to the shah. In that costume, they helped bring the entire country under the leadership of the musque and turban. One organizer of the women's demonstrations remarked bitterly: "We fought for freedom with the men. None of us knew freedom would come with chains" (*New York Times*, 9 March). Why didn't they know? Who told them that, having put on the *chador* for the Islamic revolution, it would be easy to take it off when the mullahs came to power? It was the opportunist left which said political fashions could change so easily; it was certainly not the mullahs.

UPI

International Women's Day, Teheran, 8 March 1979. Thousands march against Khomeini's reimposition of the veil.

Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" necessarily makes women one of its special targets. Even the miserable token liberalizing under the shah was more than these fundamentalists could stand. They have always been determined to make the veil—and the subjugation and seclusion of women for which it stands—the law of the land. The consolidation of their rule depends on it.

Hail the Protests for Women's Rights!

The first of the women's protests began in response to Khomeini's pronouncement: "Sin may not be committed in Islamic ministries." The "sin" was the refusal to wear the stifling head-to-foot *chador* without which they are "naked": "Women should not be naked at work in these ministries . . . they must be clothed according to religious standards," said the ayatollah (*New York Times*, 9 March). True to his promises to bring the state in line with the Koran, Khomeini had the Family Protection Act of 1975 revoked. Thus the women in the streets are protesting the reinstitution of the old Muslim laws which allow polygamy and by which women are deprived of the right of divorce while a man can get a divorce simply by filing for one with any notary public. Coeducation has been abolished while the aged reactionary rages that Iran's colleges have become "centers of prostitution." Abortion has been banned. At least 300 women are threatened with expulsion from Iran for the "crime" of marriage to non-Muslims. And public floggings for adultery have begun.

Immediately threatened by the Islamic reactionaries, the women's rights protests have kept up on a daily basis since March 8, growing in militancy and numbering in the tens of thousands. Significantly, the demonstrators have been joined by Fedayeen guerrillas.

On March 9 the protest marchers were stoned by Muslim zealots and driven away from Bazargan's office by guards. The next day the protests escalated as nurses, high school teachers and employees of some government ministries walked off their jobs. Nearly 15,000 women staged a three-hour sit-in at Teheran's major mosque. Widespread rallies in Teheran were again assaulted by Khomeini's official and unofficial thugs. Fanatic Muslim women dressed in the *chador* reviled the "infidels," while faithful men jeered "whores" and brandished knives at the demonstrators. But this time more than insults were hurled. The machine guns and knives were not for intimidation only; three women were shot and others knifed and beaten.

On March 12 the demonstrations took place under the protection of Fedayeen guerrillas, who ringed the protesters, machine guns in hand. UPI estimated that 20,000 women jammed Freedom Square, defended by the Fedayeen from the continuing knife and stone attacks of Khomeini supporters. The minister of propaganda—hated for his puritanical censorship of TV and the Iranian news blackout of present events—was stopped and had his car turned over.

But despite the increasing militancy of the demonstrators and their coura-

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Newport News: Organize the South!

Fight the Racist Weber Court Suit

Idi Amin's State of Blood

Bosses' Court Shafts Shipyard Strike

Newport News: Key Battle to Organize the South

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia—Four thousand striking shipyard workers and their supporters rallied here March 2 in defense of the six-week-old strike at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company. On Friday a crowd of 3,000 gathered at the nearby Hampton Coliseum to hear solidarity greetings from a host of labor leaders, while 1,000 more marched on the picket lines outside the massive shipyard. Unionists from as far away as Texas and Maine, including 200 steelworkers who made a 19-hour bus ride from Chicago, came to help bolster the strikers on the front lines of what is being heralded as the battle to win labor's "gateway to the South."

It was the second major show of support in a week for embattled Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), on strike for recognition and a union contract. On February 24 the Newport News Central Labor Council sponsored a march of 3,000, equally divided between striking shipyard workers and unionists from over 20 different locals throughout Virginia. Stretching down 15 city blocks in front of the plant, many strike supporters sported buttons demanding "Stop Union Busting in the South."

But union busting is just what the giant Tenneco conglomerate, which owns the shipyard, is up to, and on March 2 the bosses got an important shot in the arm. Steelworker officials interrupted the rally in Hampton Coliseum to announce that a U.S. Appeals Court had just thrown out the certification the union had won in an election a year ago. The court directed the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to hold further hearings on the company's charges of vote fraud during the election.

This decision was just what Tenneco was hoping for, giving it the prospect of months and months of additional litigation and court appeals. Tenneco is also seizing on the court ruling to whip up a new back-to-work movement, claiming that under existing labor law it is now free to fire the "uncertified" strikers and hire outside scab replacements.

The court's decision underscores once more that this crucial strike *will be won or lost on the picket lines*. Tenneco knows full well that—like the notorious J.P. Stevens textile giant, which has stalled bargaining with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for 15 years through endless court wrangles—it can tie the union up in court almost indefinitely while it tries to break the back of the strike through scabherding protected by riot-equippped state and local police.

Yet the leadership of the USWA continues to undermine the strike by instructing pickets to obey Virginia's "right to scab" law. Union spokesmen claim that only 25 to 30 percent of the shipyard workforce are reporting to work, while the company says over 50 percent are on the job. Whatever the exact figure, it is clear that there is a good deal of scabbing going on at Newport News. And that number seems destined to increase unless there is a decision to shut the shipyard down tight. Local 8888 officers told *WV* that many workers, barely surviving on the union's paltry $30 to $40 a week strike benefits, were holding out pending the court's decision, which they had been encouraged to believe would be favorable.

WV Photo

"88! Close the Gate!": Newport News strike will be won or lost on the picket line.

In another ominous sign, USWA president Lloyd McBride has begun to

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ILWU Warehouse Militants Fight Contract Sellout

OAKLAND, March 10—At the just-concluded 34th Annual Constitutional and Contract Convention of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), the union's officers made it clear that they are already on their knees as the local's June 1 master contract expiration date approaches. Terrified of waging a strike against Jimmy Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines, and intimidated by the recent crushing defeat of a four-month Teamster grocery workers strike in the Bay Area, the ILWU bureaucrats pushed through a bargaining program calculated to signal surrender in advance to the warehouse bosses. "We hope to avoid a strike" was the leadership's theme.

Having recently signed a series of roughly 7 percent packages in warehouses whose contracts have already expired, Local 6 president Keith Eickman argued that asking for more would cause more runaway shops to non-union states in an already unemployment-ridden local. He proposed a three-year wage package of 75 cents, 65 cents and 55 cents—i.e., within Carter's guidelines—and vehemently opposed even such minimal demands from the delegates as more vacation time and extended funeral leave. Eickman & Co. paved the way for delegate acceptance of the meager demands by acquiescing over the past several months to a host of employer attacks: new absence-control policies, back-breaking speedups, assaults on the union's jurisdiction and the move of one of the local's major warehouses, Thrifty's, to low-wage, "right to work" Nevada.

But the voices of bureaucratic defeatism did not go unchallenged. Delegates Pete Woolston, a Local 6 steward, and Bob Mandel, recently re-elected to a third term on the local's General Executive Board (GEB), were given an attentive hearing by delegates looking for an alternative to simple capitulation. Members of the Militant Caucus, increasingly recognized as the only consistent opposition to the sell-out ILWU tops, Woolston and Mandel argued that a hard-fought strike will be necessary in 1979 to beat back the mounting anti-union offensive. Such a strike can be won, they said, by mobilizing the full strength of the union together with the Teamsters (who represent a majority of Northern California warehousemen and bargain jointly with the ILWU) to stop scabbing and police attacks.

Demoralized by a leadership that clearly does not want to fight, mindful of the recent Teamster defeat and remembering the mauling the local took in a bureaucratically bungled and unorganized strike three years ago, most delegates were not yet ready to back such a class-struggle perspective. Though they slapped down several leadership proposals, including one that would have sharply limited the policy-setting power of the convention and another to give employers the power to force overtime on lower seniority workers, the delegates adopted most of the bureaucrats' bargaining points. But with two-and-a-half months to go until the contract is up and the pace-setting Teamsters Master Freight Agreement still to be negotiated, this conservative mood could radically change.

The bureaucracy's hold on the disgruntled Local 6 membership is fragile and they know it. This year's convention was notably lacking in long harangues and physical threats against Militant Caucus spokesmen which have marred previous ones. The officers have been rebuffed repeatedly in recent months by an increasingly distrustful membership, particularly in the East Bay where the Militant Caucus has its strongest support, and they are treading more cautiously as a result.

Just last December, angry ILWU members forced the local's officers to back down from an attempt to purge Mandel from the GEB through a trumped-up recount of the election results. Then, at the February 15 East Bay membership meeting, the ranks

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 227 16 March 1979

Chicago Primary Upset

Snowball Fight in Daley Machine

CHICAGO—Liberals here did everything but sing, "Ding, Dong, the Witch is Dead" during the first unseasonably balmy days of March as they celebrated what they claimed was the defeat of the city's legendary political machine in a February 27 Democratic Party primary. Their heroine is dissident party insider Jane Byrne, who successfully campaigned against "a cabal of evil men" in City Hall who couldn't even pick up the snow after this year's record-breaking storms.

Flinging around words like "populism," Chicago liberals pushed the illusion that the election of the 44-year-old Irish Democrat whose previous political life had been spent entirely within Mayor Daley's inner circle meant no less than, in the words of her campaign manager, "the end of traditional machine politics...and a city administration dedicated to the interests of all the people." But as the ticker tape settled it was clear even to many bourgeois pundits and practical politicos that it was not the machine that went down in flames on election day. Byrne is doing her best to overhaul the machine with ward heelers, party bosses and their bosses—the industrial/finance captains of Chicago.

That Byrne wants to be another machine "boss" should have surprised no one. Her campaign, for all its anti-machine rhetoric, was really based on the premise that she and not Michael Bilandic is the rightful successor to the Daley throne. Her TV campaign advertisements featured "Boss" Daley praising her, as Byrne gloried in the "Daley makes Chicago work" heritage. And while the snow piled up on the streets, Chicago voters wanted at least the snowplows to "work."

The Byrne upset was due in part to a protest vote that came particularly from Chicago blacks. But nothing will change for the poor and working people of Chicago with the switch in the Democratic Party titleholder. To underscore this Byrne has made a post-election

UPI

Daley's dead. Now it's Bye-bye Bilandic.

beeline for worried business leaders and some shuddering Democratic regulars, assuring them that her tenure will be good for business. At a private breakfast meeting with top Chicago business leaders, no less than the First National Bank's A. Robert Abboud remarked that "there's no reason to suspect that the kind of harmonious coalition between business and the city administration we've had in the past won't continue." And the party regulars are coming around as well, with West Side alderman Roman Pucinski commenting that "if she smoked cigars, she would not be a great deal different from the Committeemen."

It is obvious that business and the old Democratic hacks have nothing to worry about with Jane Byrne. She has been "Daley's daughter" since the 1960's. As machine organizer for North Shore women, Byrne crusaded to stop the spread of "independent" reform Democrats. She was above all a Daley insider, rewarding his friends and lashing out at his enemies. Daley invented a post for his favorite in 1975 when he made her co-chairman of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee—a delectable honor by machine standards, to serve so close to the Chairman. But Byrne deserved it: she was no less than an intimate personal protégé of the late mayor, trained in his methods, loyal to his patronage system and faithful as he was to the rule of big business in Chicago.

Jealous of her, the less-favored machine pols dumped her from her post when Daley died. She then began to snipe at the new insiders. But Byrne is no "outsider." She isn't even a Dennis Kucinich type whose populist posturing sticks in the craw at Cleveland City Hall.

Byrne is a machine loyalist who was temporarily on the outs, and now back in. She may succeed in axing a few of her more odious personal enemies at City Hall, but Chicago will go on as before—with racist administration of woefully inadequate city services, and government by the ward boss system on behalf of the financiers and industrialists. The party's infrastructure is weaker, but still fleshed out with the usual patronage and graft. In other words, it's a case of "the machine is dead—long live the machine."

The Great Chicago Snow Job

It was the snow that made Byrne's victory possible as it buried Bilandic and revealed the deep fissures in the once monolithic Daley machine. A popular Chicago joke had one old-timer commenting to another after the record snowstorms, "If Mayor Daley was alive, this would never have happened," to which the other replied, "If Mayor Bilandic was alive, it wouldn't have happened either."

Voters may have elected "independent" Democrats in as many as eleven wards, but there is no sign of a newly forged liberal coalition. It has gone nearly unnoticed by the media, for instance, that one of the "independents" elected February 27 was Aloysius A. Majerczyk, the Chicago cop who in August tried to mobilize the cops to contract the "blue flu"—a "sickness" meant to be the high sign for racist terror against black schoolchildren bused into white neighborhoods. This certified racist demagogue will now sit on Chicago's City Council. And in the white racist laager of Marquette Park, Nazi Party führer Frank Collin also ran as an "independent" and received 10 percent of the vote.

Cusack/Chicago Tribune

Winner Byrne: "Daley's daughter"

"Independent" Byrne owes her victory not only to the snow, but to the seething black electorate caught in a storm of racist "benign neglect" by City Hall. She carried 14 of the 16 predominantly black wards. These voters, and the thousands of whites who voted for Byrne were fed up particularly with the mayor's arteriosclerotic reaction to the mountains of snow dumped on Chicago since January 1. All Bilandic did was to give an old crony $90,000 to come up with a snow removal plan which was not even to be completed until February. He went on TV to claim arrogantly that everything was under control as the snow piled up to the knees and then to waist level. Streets were not plowed, buses ran only occasionally, and half the badly designed motors on the "El" trains were destroyed by ice and salt.

Then the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) decided to "solve" its equipment shortage by "altering service." What this meant was cutting service to Chicago's blacks. They ran the "El" from the downtown loop to the white middle class areas at the end of the line, skipping all the stops for blacks in between! Those were the wards where black office workers depended completely upon the CTA to get to the Loop. For the average worker expected to reach a job and get home, day after day, life became a relentless frozen hell.

Reformists Shovel for the Democrats

Now black "progressives" like Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH are calling Byrne's victory a "message to City Hall." But Byrne isn't accepting "messages." She has promised Chicago blacks and working people nothing but more of the same government in the style of Richard Daley. It was under Daley that Chicago became America's most segregated city, and the present system of racist political patronage came of age. It was under Daley that cops were given shoot-to-kill orders during the 1968 ghetto outbursts following the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr. Today, Byrne talks about a better racial composition for the school board, while she joins the chorus chanting that desegregation of the schools won't work in Chicago. "We're past that," she said in a recent interview. "That's an old issue." It is old, but explosive. Blacks can expect from Byrne what they got from Daley and Bilandic: rotting ghettos, segregated schools and continued high unemployment.

Chicago labor can also expect business as usual from City Hall. Byrne has accepted the notion that city workers can negotiate written contracts, because she can't pull the strongman stuff in the style of "Boss" Daley. However, like her LaSalle Street investment banker opponent in the Republican Party, she has made the key provision of the contract a "no-strike" pledge.

With a sharpening racial polarization in the city and the unionization of city labor posed, with the Democratic Party weakening with the loss of its "boss," the mayoral election could provide a useful platform for an independent working-class candidacy. Instead the residents of Chicago have been subjected to the insipid electoralism of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP's Andrew Pulley was the sole "third party" candidate to qualify for the April 3 election. Pulley has campaigned on a program of namby-pamby reformism starring a "Snow Removal Plan" which calls for "the best, most modern snow removal equipment" in every neighborhood and direction by "committees of area residents." SWP campaign propaganda is puffy with pride over "this direct, efficient plan for snow removal."

Unfortunately for the SWP, they have now been quite outdone by Jane Byrne, who has also called for "decentralization" of snow removal and so combines precisely the same program—good government and pick up that snow—with the necessary blessing of Chicago's rulers. Voters won't see much difference between a capitalist who vows to shovel snow and a "socialist" who vows to shovel snow, all their babble about "the community" notwithstanding. The SWP's version of ethnic politics as "community control" is nothing new to Chicago voters.

Without revolutionary leadership available to the working and black masses of Chicago, the Democratic Party will retain its reactionary grip no matter how faction-ridden it appears today. In the class struggle, Chicago's powerhouse proletariat must break with the Democrats—not only to shovel snow but to sweep away the Daleys, the Byrnes and their capitalist masters. ■

SWP Up Against the Spartacist League

They Wanted Khomeini, They Got Him

The explosive events in Iran—the fall of the shah, the mass demonstrations in the streets, Khomeini's triumphal return and his efforts to consolidate an "Islamic Republic"—have dominated not only the headlines in recent months, but also the political life of the American left. Thus, as tens of thousands of Iranian women marched through the streets of Teheran in defiance of the mullah's orders to don the veil, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL) were locking horns over the question: Is the Islamic Republic a victory for the working masses?

The two sharply counterposed lines were crystalized in the respective SWP and SL headlines which appeared in the week following the fall of the shah's handpicked prime minister, Bakhtiar. Thus the 23 February *Militant* proclaimed: "Victory in Iran," with a subhead "Iranian Masses Show the Way for Workers Around the World." In contrast, the 16 February *Workers Vanguard* front page headline declared, "Mullahs Win." The article warned:

> "This is not a victory for the working masses. Today Iran belongs to middle-class Islamic reaction in a bloody alliance with a section of the same officer corps which has dealt out decades of death and oppression on behalf of the Pahlavis. They are prepared to do the same now."

Each new unfolding event, from Khomeini's campaign against "Satanic traitors" to the marches for women's rights, proves the validity of our program and the utter bankruptcy of the SWP's tailism.

The polemical battle has now extended from newspaper pages to meeting rooms as *Militant* writer Cindy Jaquith has been touring the U.S. to report on her recent trip to Teheran. And while the SWP has continued its periodic practice of anti-communist exclusion against the SL (notably in Detroit), as occurred over the question of Portugal in 1975, Barnes/Sheppard & Co. are trying to harden up their ranks on Iran by making a point of attacking the Spartacist League from the floor and calling on SL speakers whom they would normally try to ignore.

In New York on March 4 Jaquith reported on events in Iran in the form of a radical travelogue. Politically she went out of her way to argue that Khomeini played a "progressive" role. Thus while the ayatollah was thundering vows to crush the left, and Khomeini-loyal Islamic marshals were busting up meetings of the SWP's Iranian comrades; while his regime was executing homosexuals, from Cindy Jaquith we hear that, "What you really have... is the most classical example of a revolution that we have seen since the Russian Revolution."

Particularly outrageous was her defense of the veil (*chador* in Persian), that age-old symbol of feudal oppression. According to Jaquith, it seems that on this question the shah was an ultra-leftist (!), denying Iranian women their "democratic right" to wear a veil!! Today, you see, the veil is a "symbol of resistance":

> "The shah used this women's liberation campaign in part to attack the religious hierarchy which was opposed to him.... But instead of saying 'women should not have to wear the veil—this is a matter of free choice,' he sent his cops in and tore the veil off women....
> "Well, it's no wonder then that when the demonstrations began, one way the women showed what they thought of his women's liberation program, his human rights program in general, was to put the veil back on. It became a symbol of protest."

So for the SWP wearing the veil is "a woman's right to choose"! What would they have said about Atatürk, who

really did do away with the veil: he violated the "democratic right" to be oppressed? Jaquith's remark speaks volumes about the SWP's "democratic" program for women's liberation. Consistent feminism means, "Put on the Veil"!

After delivering her "dateline Teheran" account, Jaquith turned the platform over to SWP national secretary Barry Sheppard. He briefly criticized the Communist Party and the New Left *Guardian*, then directed the brunt of his attack against the Spartacist League. Waving our "Mullahs Win" headline around the stage, he demagogically declared, "It was wrong to say 'Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs'," and denounced all who attacked Khomeini as "counterrevolutionaries" in an objective bloc with the shah. He went on to outline an almost textbook version of the reformist two-stage theory of revolution:

> "Revolutionists were with Khomeini and this revolution, were with the masses in the streets against the monarchy. Only counterrevolutionaries would stand aside from that fight.... You have to also know how to stand with whatever anti-imperialist measures Khomeini takes."

Sheppard strained to make a doubly false analogy to the Russian Revolution, repeatedly declaring that Khomeini was the Iranian Kerensky. Just as it was necessary to fight with Kerensky against the tsarist general Kornilov, he said, socialists must support Khomeini against the monarchy and back his "progressive steps." But Khomeini is *not* progressive relative to the shah and in any case the Bolsheviks never made a *political* bloc with Kerensky, which is what the SWP does with Khomeini. Like Jaquith, Sheppard denied that the movement was led by the mullahs ("That was a myth, they weren't leading it, they were part of it.") And he tried to pretend that to "many workers—when you say Islamic Republic, then you say you're for a workers and farmers republic...":

> "One reporter asked somebody in the street, 'What's the difference between Islam and Communism?' And the guy says, 'Well, the communists don't believe in God. Other than that I can't see any difference'."

In the subsequent discussion period the first SL speaker pointed to the need for a united front in defense of the left against Khomeini's gangsters. "The Spartacist League," he said, "will be defending your own comrades in Iran when they face the bloodbath that the 'Islamic Republic' will institute against them." A second SL speaker noted that the SWP repeatedly covered up for the ominous course of events in Iran—Khomeini's army's preparations to move on the Kurds, its mounting campaign against the left, etc.

Pointing to the *Militant*'s pollyannaish "eyewitness reports" she remarked: "Cindy Jaquith's articles could be accurately described as 'Gidget Goes to Teheran'." "Yes, we raised 'Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs'," she went on, "because we do not think the Islamic reaction is half-way to the class struggle. It's a return to the eighth century." In his response Sheppard declared:

> "To say that the new regime now is just as reactionary as the shah—I don't know what world you live in. That's counterrevolutionary. We would have been shooting at each other in Iran.
> "... It broke the power of the capitalist state.... That can be rebuilt, of course. *That's the next fight and the next stage of the revolution.*" [our emphasis]

After Sheppard's remarks, the final SL speaker took the floor and asked:

> "Who is responsible for the fact that the Iranian masses see no distinction between Islam and Communism? Certainly not Khomeini who takes great pains to draw the distinction. It was the left, none of which did anything to prepare the masses."

At no time prior to the fall of the shah did the SWP come out against Khomeini, he pointed out, and today it continues to support the Khomeini regime, "criticizing" his "shortcomings" while defending its every "progressive step." He concluded: "If this sounds familiar, so does the SWP's Stalinist charge that the SL has a 'counterrevolutionary' line—i.e., that either one supports the mullah-led mass movement or is objectively an agent of the shah."

A week later, on March 10, when Jaquith took her forum to Chicago, she repeated the SWP's arguments for political support to Khomeini. But in the meantime tens of thousands of women had marched through the streets of Teheran chanting, "In the dawn of freedom, there is the absence of freedom." So this time around Jaquith had not one word to say about the veil as a "symbol of resistance." An SL speaker challenged Jaquith about her defense of the *chador* the previous weekend in New York:

> "The *chador* is a reactionary symbol of the degradation of women under Islam....
> "I want to see what kind of party are you. Which SWP women will go to Iran and put on the *chador*? Let's see which SWP women will go to Iran and say that those women who say 'Down with Khomeini' are counterrevolutionary. What SWP woman will go to Iran and cheer while Khomeini's Islamic marshals execute male homosexuals? Where does the SWP stand? I want to hear from each SWP woman where they stand on the *chador*."

There was no answer. ■

WV Photo

Mullah Lovers Exclude Communists

In Detroit the Spartacist League was excluded from a March 4 Socialist Workers Party forum on Iran as the cheerleaders for Khomeini sought to seal off their ranks from exposure to authentic Trotskyism. At a previous SWP forum in February a film on Malcolm X was shown quoting him stressing the need to involve women more in struggle. In the subsequent discussion a black SL comrade pointed out that while Malcolm had begun to see the important role of women, the SWP in Iran was tailing Muslim reactionaries who wanted to relegate them to a subservient position. When she condemned the SWP for not opposing the mullahs' attempts to reimpose the veil our comrade was shouted down.

When the Spartacist League appeared at the March 4 event we were told that only two comrades could enter, and that all who had been present at the February forum were absolutely barred. This effectively excluded our black comrades from the event—which is exactly what the SWP wanted, since their favorite tactic is to race-bait the SL and they are utterly incapable of politically answering black Trotskyists. Thereupon the SL threw up a picket line to protest this cowardly violation of workers democracy, with signs reading: "Khomeini Lovers Oust Communists," "Khomeini's Revolution: No Victory for Women," and "SWP's 'Consistent Feminism' = The Veil for Women in Iran."

Fight the Racist Weber Court Suit

Last December 11 the Supreme Court agreed to review what could be its most racially explosive case in years—Weber vs. Kaiser Aluminum and United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Brian Weber, a white lab analyst at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana plant, claims he is a victim of "reverse discrimination" as a result of a 1974 company-union "affirmative action" agreement.

Weber's suit has been upheld by two lower federal courts. The Supreme Court's willingness to hear this case marks a watershed with affirmative action. For a decade, the principle of government intervention in the labor movement ostensibly to provide more and better jobs for blacks and women has been accepted not only by the liberal section of the bourgeoisie, but by most conservatives as well. Weber represents the first serious challenge to this policy.

For years the Spartacist League has denounced such government affirmative action programs as tokenistic frauds, bourgeois "divide and rule" schemes and a betrayal of the principle of trade-union independence from the capitalist state. However, the Weber case has nothing to do with class-struggle opposition to state intervention in the unions. And the lower courts which have upheld Weber did so not to favor a program for full equality in hiring and upgrading, but in support of the racist *status quo ante* whereby blacks were virtually excluded from the skilled trades.

Following on the heels of the Bakke decision, which overturned "affirmative action" in higher education, the Weber suit is part of the same racist backlash. The lesson here is not that government affirmative action is "progressive," but quite the contrary. The reactionary mobilization of the courts and bourgeois politicians behind Weber underlines the cardinal lesson that the capitalist state, however much it may delude some people (including many who masquerade as socialists), is the *enemy* of blacks and working people.

Down with the Racist Weber Court Suit!

In 1974 Kaiser signed an agreement with the USWA whereby openings for on-the-job skills training programs would be filled alternately from two separate seniority lists, one for whites and one for minorities. Although the government was not formally a party to this deal, the Kaiser pact was signed right on the heels of the notorious consent decree of April 1974 involving nine basic steel companies, the Steelworkers union, and the U.S. government. With a long history of racist and discriminatory practices, and with a number of court suits filed by black employees still outstanding, Kaiser's implementation of the skilled trades quota program, modeled after a similar provision in the consent decree, was designed by the company and the union bureaucracy essentially to take the heat off their backs from the government.

When it opened in 1958, Kaiser's Gramercy plant hired blacks only as janitors and maintained segregated eating and showering facilities—even separate drinking fountains for blacks and whites. By 1969 still only 10 percent of the workforce was black, and in the skilled trades it was even worse. Before the 1974 agreement, the company maintained a "prior experience" requirement to screen applicants for the skilled trades. Especially in the Deep South small town context, "prior experience" naturally meant "whites only." In 1973 there were five blacks among the 273 skilled workers in Gramercy Kaiser, although blacks make up 46 percent of the town's population and 39 percent of its labor force.

Weber contends that his rights under the 1964 Civil Rights Act were violated because two blacks with less seniority than he were admitted to the skilled-trades training program while he was not. The federal district and circuit court upheld Weber on the incredible grounds that no prior discrimination had been shown to have existed at the plant; therefore, there was no basis for such an "affirmative action remedy." Less than 2 percent of Kaiser's skilled-trades department is black in a town that is almost half black, yet the courts maintain that the company didn't have racist hiring practices! It seems the courts have reverted to the spirit of the pre-Civil War Dred Scott decision, when Judge Taney made his famous pronouncement: "Blacks have no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

Weber now demands that the skilled-trades jobs be filled on the basis of plantwide seniority and seeks at least in part to pose as a good union man out to defend the seniority principle. This is pure bunk. Weber's utilization of the bourgeois courts to overturn a union contract exposes any pretenses he has to being a defender of the trade unions.

Ken Light

Workers in steel foundry: blacks are locked in dirtiest, most hazardous jobs by discriminatory departmental seniority.

Brian Weber AP

Moreover, Weber's commitment to plantwide seniority is a sham. He worked in Kaiser for five years before the 1974 agreement and did nothing to protest the "prior experience" requirement which vitiated the seniority rights of all production workers, including whites. And were he genuinely concerned with plantwide seniority, he would do something about the vicious departmental seniority system in steel, under which blacks have been historically concentrated in the dirtiest and lowest-paying jobs.

No, Weber's sudden interest in strict plantwide seniority is simply a cover for his desire to eliminate blacks from the skilled trades. Weber's appeals have always been pitched in racist tones. Thus his lawyers make the ludicrous claim that under the thoroughly tokenist affirmative action programs "a substantial number of white workers today are suffering employment discrimination," and that the Weber case is "important to the employment hopes of millions of nonminority workers" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 December 1978). In fact, contrary to the absurd claims of massive "reverse discrimination," the affirmative action programs have had a virtually negligible impact on discrimination. Thus at Kaiser Gramercy under the 1974 agreement the proportion of blacks in crafts rose from 1.8 to 4.4 percent, from five workers to a grand total of 13 of 300!

And Weber has made clear his own racist proclivities, publicly endorsing segregation: "They [the government] started telling grocery stores and restaurants—you people have to serve everybody. I never did agree with that. If it's your private place, it's your business who you serve and don't serve" (*Washington Post*, 12 January).

Unlike many other "affirmative action" programs, the 1974 Kaiser-Steelworkers agreement did not involve direct government intervention in the union, nor did it overturn a fundamental union gain like seniority. While we do not advocate dual or preferential seniority systems, the contractual provisions Weber is suing against are certainly more democratic than the "prior experience" system which effectively excluded blacks. Thus class-struggle militants could have given critical support to this plan against defenders of the racist status quo, while pointing out that like "affirmative action" in general, the Kaiser plan is tokenistic.

Today, above and beyond the specifics of the Kaiser-USWA agreement, the Weber case has become a rallying point for racist reaction. A victory for Weber, coming on the heels of Bakke, would encourage racist mobilizations against non-discriminatory hiring, open housing, school integration and all-sided attacks on the rights and interests of black people. The workers movement must take a hard stand against the racist backlash spearheaded by Weber. Smash Weber—For full equality in hiring and advancement!

No to Union-Busting Affirmative Action

Although the bourgeois press generally treats the Bakke and Weber cases as having the same basic content, because both involve racial quotas, there is in fact a substantial difference. It is one thing when the government mandates admissions quotas for bourgeois educational institutions, as occurred with Bakke. Socialists, of course, would fight for an open admissions policy to the universities for *all* students, with no tuition and state stipends for living expenses. But in the absence of this, quota policies that break down racial and class barriers to higher education can be given critical support. Government-imposed affirmative action for employment is quite another matter. Most of these cases involve a *class* counterposition between the bourgeois state and the organized labor movement—the trade unions.

The 1960's was a decade of seething discontent and rebellion in the ghettos, at least partially reflected in the trade unions by the wildcat strikes led by black workers organized in such groups as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. For the bourgeoisie, affirmative action was designed to channel militant black struggle from the streets and the factories back into the courtroom. Its basic program, stripped to essentials, was to pit blacks against the unions. Thus under the 1965 Title VII Amendment to the Civil Rights Act, for the first time employers *and* unions were made equally liable for job-related discrimination.

It is important to note that affirmative action was not merely embraced by a small section of liberals but, to the contrary, it has been supported by the ruling class as a whole for the entire past decade. In fact, the first real implementation of affirmative action was Nixon's 1969 Philadelphia Plan for the construction trades. Nixon, of course, was hardly noted for his defense of the rights of blacks.

With the decline of the ghetto upheavals and black nationalist movement, liberal groups like the NAACP once again came to the fore within the black movement. Affirmative action, in fact, was simply NAACPism

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IDI AMIN'S STATE OF BLOOD

Nouges-Sygma

Camerapix-Keystone

Victims of "Big Daddy's" terror are loaded for "disposal."

MARCH 12—Idi Amin Dada may soon be swinging at the end of his rope. The most notorious tyrant of black Africa, personally responsible for murdering literally hundreds of thousands of his countrymen, he is being pushed to the wall by a Tanzanian invasion force (accompanied by Ugandan exiles) and mutiny in his own army. Already an elite Simbi Regiment has rebelled while another unit reportedly refused to fight as the Tanzanian column closed in on Uganda's largest city, Kampala. The end seems near for this bloodthirsty "Big Daddy" whose eight-year reign of terror consisted of throwing the bodies of thousands of suspected dissidents among the country's elite to Nile River crocodiles while bludgeoning the masses with selective tribal genocide. Indeed, Amin may have been more prophetic than he intended in naming himself President-for-Life.

While a lightly armed group of the "Save Uganda Movement" briefly held a town on the Kenyan border, it is the Tanzanian army that represents the real threat to Amin. This is President Nyerere's answer to the Ugandan dictator's invasion of northwestern Tanzania last autumn. A 250-pound former heavyweight boxing champion of Uganda, Amin mocked the slight Nyerere by challenging him to settle their differences in the ring, then proposed "mediation" by Amin's sole remaining ally, Libyan strongman Qaddafi. After two weeks of laying waste to the countryside and hurling insults over Kampala Radio (a few years earlier Amin had offered to "marry" the Tanzanian leader), the Ugandan troops pulled back to their border.

That adventure was an attempt by Amin to divert some of the top Ugandan army officers from plotting against him by tying them down in a phony war. It is reported that in late October the combined western and southern commands drew up a 12-point petition demanding an end to the "Nubian superiority complex" within the army; a check on the most vicious of the three secret police agencies, the State Research Bureau; and reinstatement of three top officers, including Vice President Mustafa Adirsi (*New York Times*, 10 November). Behind this lies a rift among the Muslim ("Nubian") officers who have provided the backbone for Amin's army. Headed by Adirsi, native Ugandans, who fear reprisals when the despot falls, are pitted against those recruited from related tribes in the southern Sudan, who figure they can hightail it back to their homelands when things get too hot.

Until recently this gang was united by complicity in mass murder and in the pareeling out of luxury goods seized from local businessmen or flown in from London on Air Uganda's nightly "whiskey run." But with the fall in the price of coffee, the country's only export, and the collapse of the economy into universal starvation-level subsistence, the solidarity of mercenaries has broken down. Adirsi was badly injured in a suspicious auto accident last September and is convalescing in a Cairo hospital. The former head of the State Research Bureau, Major Farouq, who denounced Adirsi's plotting, was attacked by unknown assailants and is now recovering in Tripoli (*New African*, December 1978). Amin's bloody rule hangs on the thread of an estimated 600-800 Libyan troops, while 80 members of his family have already flown to safety under Qaddafi's wing.

Doubtless the demise of Idi Amin will be accompanied by an orgy of racist journalism in the imperialist press about "The Wild Man of Africa" (*Time* cover story, 7 March 1977), presented as retroactive apology for colonialism. But this should not cause communists to retreat into embarrassed silence or even to stoop to cover up the horrendous barbarism of this terror regime. Marxists unconditionally champion independence for the colonial peoples not because the acts of a megalomaniacal murderer like Amin are more humane than the "civilized" butchery ordered by genteel British governors-general sipping sundowners on the verandas of their portieoed mansions. We do so in order to remove the national question from the agenda, so that the working masses of Africa and elsewhere can see the necessity of working-class revolution—confronting the savage oppression of their "own" oppressors.

Gamma-Liaison

Amin's soldiers prepare another victim for the firing squad. Note sign.

Idi Amin cannot be written off as a madman, clown or "savage"—he is a grotesque product of imperialism. If his sadistic thugs are more thorough in their exterminating, his rule does not differ qualitatively from that of a dozen other neocolonial dictators on the continent (e.g., Zaire). The gunpoint looting by Amin's killers is merely done in a more respectable manner in the few African states mimicking the forms of bourgeois democracy—such as those next door in Kenya where the Kenyatta clan has monopolized both legal trade and contraband. Even the various "African socialist" or phony "Marxist-Leninist" regimes have been unable to overcome the bloody tribalism and desperate impoverishment which are the end result of decades of Europe's "civilizing mission."

For the peasant masses and the nascent working class of sub-Saharan Africa, formal political independence under tyrants like Idi Amin, pseudo-democratic patriarchs like Jomo Kenyatta or "socialist" demagogues à la Julius Nyerere does not offer liberation from the ravages of colonialism or the racist rule of white settler regimes. Only proletarian revolution, strategically based on the 5-million-strong black working class of South Africa, can break the chains of imperialism, sweep away its loathsome satraps and open the road to genuine economic and social freedom for the oppressed masses.

Imperialism's "Bad Boy"

The Ugandan dictator is a favorite villain of the imperialist media. He is always "good copy" with his outrageous statements and blustering threats. He can set up a "Save the British Fund," collecting food from impoverished Ugandans to offer to his former colonial masters. He will admonish Queen Elizabeth to "pull her socks up" and offer himself as king of the Scots (One of his favorite army units parades in tartan kilts.) At a meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) he arrived in a sedan chair borne by local British businessmen as a symbol of "the new white man's burden." To the U.S. he sent a message wishing Nixon a rapid recovery from Watergate, and when Jimmy Carter criticized "human rights" violations in Uganda, he advised the American president not to be used as "exhaust pipes of the Zionist lorries."

A 1974 documentary film, *General Idi Amin Dada*, was billed as "a comic masterpiece." Despite graphic accounts of the sinister dictator's cruelty, he is presented as a figure "whose monstrosity is inseparable from a degree of charm, of pathos, and of authenticity" (*New York Times*, 5 September 1976). Amin's Uganda seems nothing but buffoonery and parody of British imperial rule. To be sure, occasionally he "goes too far," like a "servant who doesn't know his place." The British bourgeoisie was genuinely shocked when then Foreign Minister Callaghan had to go to Uganda to beg for the life of a hapless English author, Denis Hills, who had written of Amin's atrocities. But even when he is seen as a "bad boy," this is viewed paternalistically as "proof" that African blacks are not fit to rule.

In his wild zigzags Amin has managed to step on quite a few imperialist toes, particularly resulting from his alliance with the Arab states and the fanatical Muslim dictator Qaddafi. Shortly after coming to power the Ugandan strongman wrote to UN secretary-general Waldheim praising Hitler for murdering six million Jews. The most dramatic incident came as a result of the 1976 hijacking of an Air France passenger plane by a commando of the Palestinian PFLP, who diverted the craft to Uganda's capital of Entebbe. The 106 Israeli hostages were rescued in a daring raid by Israeli paratroopers, who killed 20 Ugandan soldiers and seven PFLP guerrillas as the Western press cheered.

Amin's attitude toward the imperialists and their clients is classically schizophrenic. At first angrily blustering about "Zionist aggression," a few weeks later Amin returned his presidential jet (on loan from its Israeli manufacturer) with the note, "I am sending this plane back just to show you that I believe in peace" (*New York Times*, 7 September 1976). Similarly, after Carter's March 1977 censure Amin forbade all Americans to leave Uganda and summoned them to the capital. But when the U.S. ordered a warship to stand by for action off the Kenyan coast, he quickly changed his tune and declared he only wanted to thank the Americans for their service. This pathological combination of alternately bullying and cringing is the hallmark of an imperialist toady run amok.

Thus the relationship of Idi Amin to Western imperialism is by no means simply one of mutual hostility. Following the 1975-76 South African invasion of Angola, the Ugandan leader praised the Cubans who "have come so many thousand miles from the other end of the earth in order to aid their African brothers with their blood" (*Spiegel*, 21 February 1977). Yet at the height of the invasion Amin joined the pro-imperialist American black nationalist group CORE in offering to raise a force of black mercenaries to back the CIA-bankrolled FNLA, then fighting together with the South Africans against the

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Russian- and Cuban-aided MPLA! More recently Uganda has been training a private army for Rhodesian Bishop Muzorewa, who is acting as a black front man for Ian Smith's racist minority-rule government.

Nor is the aid limited to occasional gestures by the unpredictable Amin. There is, of course, the fact that the U.S. and Britain buy over half of Uganda's coffee exports ($350 million in the first nine months of 1977). What is not so well known is Amin's "Israel connection," which in spite of Entebbe, in spite of his often violent anti-Semitic outbursts, even in spite of his ties to Qaddafi, *remains intact*. There are by now several reports from reliable sources attesting to the fact that the vital "whiskey run" of Uganda Airlines, Amin's lifeline to obtain supplies for his army and goodies to keep his mercenaries satisfied, is a cover operation run by Mossad, the Israeli espionage agency. In addition, there have been repeated questions raised about his British Jewish right-hand man, "Mr. Bob" Astles.

"Big Daddy's" Reign of Terror

One of the earliest exposés of hideous massacres in Uganda was an article, "Inside Amin's Prisons" (London *Observer*, 15 August 1976) by David Martin, who quoted a former minister of education. He described one of the favorite methods of killing "dissidents" (i.e., anyone who had fallen out of favor with the dictator or happened to run afoul of his secret police):

> "These involved making prisoners line up and ordering the first to smash the second man's head with a hammer. This process was repeated down the line until the last man was shot. Another method was to cut the flesh from a victim and force him to eat it until he died."

Evidence before the United Nations regarding conditions at Naguru Prison contains the following description:

> "The most revolting form of torture described by the businessman, and every former Naguru detainee, occurred after the guards shot an inmate. One or two prisoners would be called from their cell after the shooting and would be ordered to beat the dead person's head into an unrecognizable pulp with a car axle. Then the prisoner would be ordered to lie down in the blood and gore of the dead person."

Prisoners are kept in forest concentration camps without food and expected to cannibalize the flesh of other prisoners. A young Ugandan schoolteacher told of being held in such a place, where he was forced to kill badly mutilated prisoners while:

> "...the soldiers laughed, abused us and locked us up with the corpses.
> "'We were hungry, angry and ashamed,' the teacher said in his statement, 'but because of the guns we had to do it. One soldier announced the food was ready and we ate shamefully.' Those who vomited were kicked and beaten with rifle butts. The remains of the corpses were thrown into a trench. On the following day eight more prisoners were selected, beheaded, butchered, and eaten."

There is no doubt that Amin himself has inspired much of the forced cannibalism and other grotesque aspects of this horrendous orgy of killing. After fleeing to Britain in 1977 his former private secretary Henry Kyemba wrote: "I am ashamed to admit that on several occasions while I was Minister of Health he told me, quite proudly, that he had eaten either the organs or the flesh of his human victims" (London *Sunday Times*, 12 June 1977). Amin is also widely believed to engage in blood rituals and, according to several reports, claims to commune with the spirits of his victims. Martin relates the case of Brigadier General Suleiman Husein, the army chief of staff who attempted to prevent Amin's 1971 coup d'état: after being hideously mutilated his "severed head was brought to Amin, who put it on the table and spoke to it, then kept it in his refrigerator overnight."

Amin's victims are not random. His first target was tribal rivals in the military. Historically the British recruited the soldiers of the King's African Rifles from the Nilotic tribes of northern Uganda Protectorate. A number of politicians who played a leading role in the independence movement were also northerners, and after taking office they promoted tribal associates from among the non-coms to be the officer corps of the Ugandan army. Former prime minister Obote was a Langi with links to the Acholi, so when Amin took over he proceeded to massacre soldiers from these two tribes. In one instance, 32 Langi and Acholi officers were herded into a room and blown up with explosives. Kyemba estimates that of some 800 officers arrested as suspected Obote supporters at the time of the coup, some 250-300 were slaughtered in December 1971 at Mutukula Prison.

Subsequently Amin's terror shifted to high officials of his own government, anyone who could pose a danger to him. Of the 23 top officers at the time of the coup, at least 14 are known to have been murdered and several have gone into exile. Nobody was exempt: Chief Justice Kiwanuka was kidnapped from his chambers and assassinated in September 1972, and in early 1977 Anglican Archbishop Lowuum was assassinated shortly after meeting with Amin. Kyemba in his book *State of Blood* (1977) provides a list of 100 individuals—all personally known to him—who were killed by Amin and his henchmen. Typically the victims were snatched in broad daylight by agents of the State Research Bureau dressed in sports shirts and sunglasses, were stuffed into the trunks of Peugeot sedans and were never seen again. The parallels to "Papa Doc" Duvalier's infamous Tontons Macoutes in Haiti are inescapable.

The sheer scope of the killing is staggering: in a country of some 11 million people estimates of the number murdered in Amin's bloodbath go from 80,000 to over 300,000, with the most credible figure being a little under 200,000. At least three dumping sites on the Nile river are known, and workers crossing the Owen Falls Dam report seeing dozens of bodies almost daily. A boatman is employed full-time at this location for the sole purpose of pulling cadavers out of the river, and a new occupation has arisen in the country: "body finders," who for a fee locate slain relatives through their contacts with the secret police. Massacres on this scale have occurred before, but there is something unique about the Ugandan horrors: usually such bloodbaths occur in one great wave, in a pogromist hysteria—under Idi Amin Dada the killing goes on and on.

John Hillelson Agency Ltd

Amin and Moshe Dayan toast Uganda-Israeli friendship in Tel Aviv, 1971.

The Agony of Uganda

Massive as this butchery is, Idi Amin could not have ruled as securely as he has for eight years on terror alone. To understand the fundamental affinity of the bloody Ugandan tyrant to dictators throughout the continent it is necessary to look at his origins and the social/economic policies of his regime. It will be seen that this pathological and sordid offspring of imperialism ruled through conscious exploitation of tribal rivalries and manipulating the greedy aspirations of the Ugandan petty bourgeoisie to replace their colonial masters as new exploiters of the masses.

Idi Amin joined the King's African Rifles in 1946. Though he claims to have fought with the British in Burma, his only real experience in fighting was in helping to put down the Mau Mau rebellion in nearby Kenya from 1949 to 1953. His other recorded "battle" experience was in suppressing cattle theft among nomadic Turkana of northern Uganda. In this exploit the British received complaints of a massacre in which several tribesmen were beaten to death while others had been tortured and then buried alive. There was unmistakeable evidence of Amin's guilt, but instead of courtmartialing him the colonial authorities did nothing because the case was too politically sensitive (independence was approaching and he was one of only two black officers in the army). He was described by his superiors as affable, though a little slow, and was only semi-literate (he cannot write).

Amin's rise to the position of army commander was the result of tribal political clashes under the government of Milton Obote. Obote was a liberal nationalist lawyer-politician whose Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) attempted initially to include representatives of the various tribes and constituencies in the country. However, not long after independence in October 1962 Obote, the prime minister, came into conflict with the king of Buganda (the largest kingdom, which dominates southern Uganda) over a question of territorial rights. In May 1966 Obote abolished the Buganda state administration and attacked the *kabaka*'s palace. "King Freddy" fled to London, and the author of the military operation, Idi Amin, became head of the armed forces.

Two other operations marked Amin's ascendency in this period, again in close cooperation with Obote. One was the covert support by Uganda to pro-Lumumba rebels in the ex-Belgian Congo (now Zaire), headed by Gbenye. Cut off to the west by the CIA-backed Tshombé government and General Mobutu's troops, Gbenye's only source of guns and ammunition was to buy them from Obote in exchange for truckloads of ivory and gold. Amin was the go-between, and conducted the transactions without records through his house in the West Nile border region. The second instance was Israel's use of Uganda as a supply route to aid black southern Sudanese (Anyanya) rebels.

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Idi Amin...

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fighting against the Arab government in Khartoum. Again, Amin was the conduit.

So just as he had earlier been a flunky for the British, Idi Amin began as a creature of Obote. But soon events enabled the protégé to dump his patron. Increasingly under pressure from the imperialists abroad and from the economically dominant Baganda at home, in 1969 Obote initiated the policy demagogically known as the "Move to the Left." In foreign policy he shifted from Israel to support for the Arab states and in Uganda he sought majority ownership in a few prominent British firms. This simply increased conservative opposition without significantly strengthening the regime. Meanwhile questions were being asked in parliament about rumored pilfering of millions from the army budget by Amin. So when Obote was attending a Commonwealth prime ministers' conference in Singapore in January 1971, Amin took advantage of his absence to seize power. Obote went into exile in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

What was interesting, particularly in view of what was already known of Amin's unsavory character, was the degree of Western support for the coup. Not only did the army commander use Israeli-supplied tanks and Israeli-trained elite units, in the middle of the operation Amin called Colonel Baruch Bar-Lev, head of the Israeli mission, to inform him. (Amin, who received paratrooper training in Israel, also called Bar-Lev in Tel Aviv repeatedly during the Entebbe crisis.) Britain was the first government to recognize the new regime, and the London press greeted the coup enthusiastically.

Meanwhile, the Baganda population cheered in the streets and many bourgeois politicians smarting from Obote's increasingly heavy-handed rule flocked to the new regime. Although the killings of Langi and Acholi began almost immediately, they were largely limited to the army and hidden from public view. But Amin went even farther in seeking to build public support by fostering a populist policy which had been increasingly attractive to the black petty bourgeoisie: expulsion and seizing the property of the Asian (largely Indian) population. Amin solidified his regime by attacking these "brown Jews of East Africa."

The Asians of Uganda had already been a target of pogromist riots in 1948 and 1949. Altogether Asians numbered 50,000, of whom 20,000 were Ugandan citizens (the remainder holding British passports). Kicking these small businessmen out of commerce had already been suggested by Obote, under the watchword of "Ugandanizing" the economy. And after months of preliminaries (an ethnic census, limitations on bank credits to Asians, threats) on 9 August 1972 Amin gave all Asians exactly 90 days to leave the country.

The measure was sweeping—and what followed was an orgy of looting and seizures. A cabinet commission was set up to distribute abandoned properties, but in practice the troops plundered the shops, ministers moved into the houses and Amin got the white Mercedes and the mansions. Soon the distribution of businesses was in the hands of military officers who doled them out to subordinates, cronies and family relations. Hundreds of petty bourgeois were scrambling to get a piece of the pie as their dream of instant wealth appeared to be coming true. But the morning after this celebration they woke to find they had no capital or technical/commercial expertise. Moreover they were now facing a predatory military caste that subjected them to a thousand and one exactions and harassments. The result of Amin's expulsion order was a rapid collapse of the economy and a return to generalized subsistence—so much so, in fact, that the only reported oppositional leaflet to come out of Uganda in recent years has the following key demand: "We want sugar, hoes and soap."

The imperialist press naturally made hay out of the chaos, accusing Amin of racialism. They did not mention the stringent racist restrictions on U.S. immigration laws or the fact that Asian holders of British passports in Uganda could not enter Britain without special legislation!

Idi Amin and Neo-Colonialism

Idi Amin is a horrendous scourge on the people of Uganda. But when Jimmy Carter threatened to bring "human rights" to the ravaged East African country via the U.S. Navy, *WV* proclaimed: "Hands Off Uganda!" We explained:

> "Communists must denounce the bloody massacre instigated by Uganda's mad dictator and struggle against his brutal rule. But we do not call on the American Seventh Fleet to topple Amin and install 'democracy' in Uganda. The gendarmes of U.S. imperialism have already wreaked death and destruction on a vast scale which blood-crazed Idi Amin cannot even begin to emulate, bombing and napalming to death more than one million Indochinese during the Vietnam war."
>
> —*WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977

Sadly, Idi Amin is no freak phenomenon. His megalomania is shared by a number of "Third World" despots. The Ugandan despot merely proclaimed he had received a PhD from god and awarded himself the Victoria Cross, the Distinguished Service Order and the military rank of field marshal (in addition to president for life). In the former Ubangi-Shari, the one-time "Life President" Jean Bedel Bokassa in late 1977 proclaimed himself the "world's first socialist emperor." Even more grotesque is the case of Equatorial Guinea, whose leader Francisco Macias has taken the title: "President for Life, General in Chief, Grand Master of Education, Sciences and Culture, President of the United National Workers Party and Unique Miracle of Guinea." His regime is no joke. It is estimated that fully half of the population of 400,000 has fled into exile to escape his bloody rule, while tens of thousands have died on the island. After some 45,000 Nigerian cocoa workers were evacuated, slavery was introduced by presidential decree in 1976.

More important than finding such examples of wanton butchery, however, is to point out that *Amin's bloody practices are an extrapolation to the extreme of his predecessor's policies.* The liberal Obote, too, rested on a cabal of tribal allies in the army and arbitrarily jailed numerous politicians from opponent tribes. (Obote's General Services Unit was the model on which Amin based his State Research Bureau.) Obote's own policies of licensing traders were already pointing to the racist expulsion of the entire Asian population.

As for the absence of working-class opposition to Amin, much of the explanation lies in the fact that Obote banned and smashed the Uganda Federation of Labour as far back as 1964, and in 1969 he expelled Kenyan workers—the backbone of union militancy—from the country en masse (Mahmood Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda* [1976]). At the time of the 1970 nationalizations Obote declared to a May Day rally that henceforth there was no need for the "archaic principle and practice of strikes."

The same litany could be repeated for "democratic" Kenya or "socialist" Tanzania and any number of other neo-colonial regimes in Asia or Africa. Why? Because imperialism laid the basis for these trihalist pogroms, petty despotisms and mass starvation that are the tragic lot of the former colonial countries today. While an Ivory Coast or Kenya may boast a capital city with gleaming skyscrapers as a false sign of economic "development," its slums will demonstrate the most massive poverty. As long as these states remain subordinated to the world market of capitalism, as long as they are not integrated into a planned economic order based on utilizing the resources of workers states in the industrial centers, it will be impossible to escape the barbaric conditions of genocide and poverty. That is why we do not call on the Nyereres, Kenyattas or Obotes to replace the murderous Idi Amins. Imperialist exploitation and national oppression can be ended only by smashing the entire capitalist-imperialist system, under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard of world socialist revolution. ■

Iran...

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geous defense by the Fedayeen, the protests have remained isolated. Khomeini can call millions into the streets. It is a relatively small stratum of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women, feminists and the left who make up the bulk of the protesters. The young militant textile workers who took on the shah's troops and SAVAK in their heroic strike battles have not yet been seen.

Bourgeois feminists are claiming the embattled women of Iran as their own. "Iran right now is the heart of our struggle," said American feminist Kate Millett in Teheran (*Newsday*, 8 March). But those who anticipate a reformist feminist ascension in Iran are not living in this world. There is no room on the Iranian social spectrum for a "classless" feminist mass movement; the petty bourgeoisie, backbone of "classless" movements, is solidly, even fanatically, in Khomeini's camp. The women protesters of Iran must find common cause with a powerful proletarian movement or their militancy will be dissipated or crushed under the heel of clerical reaction. Only the proletariat can lead a victorious struggle for democratic rights in Iran.

The women's protests have focused on legislative reforms under the shah, whose imperialist ambitions even led him to foster a bourgeois feminist movement as proof positive of his "modernization" of Iran. The shah even sent his sister, Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, to Mexico City for the feminist UN conference in 1975. This has been used by the Islamic "revolutionaries" who intend to put down such "Western decadence." They are quick to point to the women in the demonstrations who wear furs or imported dresses, and even quicker to brand the demonstrators as "SAVAK," "American agents" and, more creatively, "Pahlavi Dolls."

The protests have appealed to Bazargan against the mullahs. While the token reforms (even the shah's) must be defended against Khomeini, they offer no real hope to the masses of Iranian women. The shah's "White Revolution" brought about only the most minimal, legalistic reforms amid the most brutal monarchist terror and oppression. Millions of Iranian women remain imprisoned by home and family, hidden and debased behind the veil, imbued with backward religious piety. Their liberation will not become possible until the proletariat takes center stage in the fight against Islamic reaction.

"You Are Weak, Mister"

Consolidating an "Islamic Republic" means more than driving Westernized women back to the veil. A strong Islamic state needs a reliable army, cops and courts to enforce allah's will on earth. The political basis for the Muslim theocracy is making itself brutally clear in the work of the mullah-organized "neighborhood committees" headed by Khomeini's secretive, sinister national "Islamic Revolutionary Committee" (Komiteh).

To begin to forge a reliable Muslim state apparatus, the mullahs must revamp the old armed forces and make them their own. Likewise, they must enforce the medieval Koranic code in the daily life of the people. Thus the Komiteh has executed many of the shah's most notorious military and police butchers (and now they have begun executing his propagandists as well). Were the mullah-led revolution simply the "anti-shah" movement advertised by the reformist left, that might be all we could expect from the Komiteh. But the main task of the Komiteh is to make the weight of the Islamic reaction felt among all "sinners."

So far 14 homosexuals have been executed for alleged "rapes." One of the alleged *victims* of these "rapes" was given 100 lashes with a leather whip. In a central Iranian city a man convicted of bank robbery was executed and another sentenced to amputation of his right hand. "Revolutionary" courts have flogged a man and woman charged with "promiscuity." Another court handed out lashes to seven men accused of gambling. And in the village of Astara a youth convicted of rape was sentenced to be stoned to death.

Mohammed Riza Mahdavi-Kany, the mullah in charge of all of Khomeini's "revolutionary committees," has made the Islamic clerics' intention to continue the executions crystal clear:

> "The mullah was asked whether the executions of people deemed torturers and criminals would continue. 'Yes, they will continue,' he said.
>
> "And the executions for violating the Koran in other aspects of Moslem law, would they continue too? 'And those will continue as well,' he replied. 'We have to purify, we have to renew'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 7 March

Non-Muslim and Westernized sectors of the population have reacted to Khomeini's increasingly authoritarian pronouncements and orders with varying degrees of fear and apprehension. As the Islamic Repuhlic becomes a reality, more and more Iranians are looking to the prime minister of the provisional government, Mehdi Bazargan, to moderate Khomeini's repression. Faced with mass demonstrations and without a reliable army to crush the protesters, Khomeini still finds it necessary to maintain his ties with the bourgeois liberals and with his appointee Bazargan.

Bazargan, a "progressive" Muslim politician whose Islamic Liberation Movement comes out of the National Front coalition, has accused Khomeini of excesses and undermining the authority of his government. At one point the prime minister went so far as to threaten to resign. But after a weekend retreat to the ayatollah's stronghold in the holy city of Qum, during which he was told by Khomeini that the "best interests of allah" would not be served by his resignation, Bazargan knuckled under.

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"You are weak, mister" was Khomeini's message to the representative of Iranian bourgeois democracy. And the ayatollah spoke the truth. The sclerotic septuagenarians holding down cabinet portfolios in Teheran today are no more than figureheads.

The women demonstrators and Westernized petty-bourgeois democrats who appealed to Bazargan last week were encouraged when Khomeini apparently backed off, saying that the injunction to wear the *chador* was merely a religious "duty" and not a government order. But in the present context, when Khomeini is seeking to establish a theocratic regime in which allah's word (as interpreted by Khomeini) is law, the distinction becomes ever more subtle. Whether one is stoned to death for dereliction of religious duty or for defiance of governmental order makes little difference to the victim.

Defend the Left, the Women, the Workers

The bourgeois-democratic heirs of Mossadeq in Khomeini's cabinet and even more moderate mullahs such as Ayatollah Taleghani of Teheran are embarrassed at the referendum scheduled for March 30. On that date the Khomeini Komiteh is planning to hold a sham election in which the voters will be asked to cast either a red ballot signifying support for the deposed shah's monarchy or a green ballot for Khomeini's "Islamic Republic." Not only will there be no choice allowed for any secular regime, each voter's *name and address* will be recorded on the ballot! It takes no great imagination to presume that such a rigged plebiscite held under the machine guns of the Muslim militia will register nearly unanimous "approval" of the mullahs' regime.

Illusions in the democratic character of the Khomeini-appointed provisional government extend even to the leftist Fedayeen guerrillas. While the Fedayeen still demand that they be allowed a voice in the councils of the Islamic revolution, they are also looking to the "progressive anti-imperialist" forces led by Bazargan to play their assigned role in the Fedayeen's Stalinist scheme of revolution by stages. The Fedayeen have warned Khomeini that an "unwanted civil war" might result if Bazargan's authority is not strengthened. But there will be no bourgeois-democratic stage of the Iranian revolution.

Khomeini threatened the powerless liberals with the message that "Those who in their writing continually talk of democracy are either stupid people who do not understand what they say or traitors" (*New York Times*, 12 March). The National Front politicians no doubt got the message. Bazargan, Karim Sanjabi & Co. know that they have no solid independent base of support and are not about to attempt serious political opposition to the mullahs who placed them in the new government.

But the bankruptcy of the bourgeois democrats by no means guarantees the triumph of the reactionary Islamic leader. Khomeini has not yet been able to consolidate the power necessary to crush the non-Islamic opposition. From the Fedayeen to the women in the streets, every non-Islamic sector of society is under the gun of the Muslim fanatics. The Fedayeen's protection of the women's protests in Teheran is an encouraging sign that the basis for a united-front defense of the left, proletarian and secular democratic forces exists.

Revolutionaries in Iran would agitate for the formation of workers militias based on factory committees and trade-union organizations as the backbone of such a united front against the mullahs' rule. But while marching shoulder to shoulder with the Iranian left against Khomeini's terror, Trotskyists would seek to break the Fedayeen members and other potential revolutionary militants from their support to Khomeini. The Fedayeen guerrillas, together with virtually the entire left, both inside and outside Iran, have tailed after the Muslim opposition to the shah and the Islamic government that has replaced him.

Why Didn't They Tell You So?

It is a special kind of hell for revolutionaries to be condemned—even for the historical instant—to witness great events without being able to influence them. We saw it coming in Iran...and we said it straight. But our class in Iran was sealed off from even the simple political truth by the decades of class collaboration of the mass reformist parties and the continuing bottomless opportunism of the left.

If we are heartened by the women's protests which indicate the beginnings of recognition of the reactionary content of the mullahs' Islamic Republic, we are sickened by the public execution of homosexuals, the floggings, the sustained and vicious attack on Iranian women, the threatening cries of "death to the transgressor" that fill the air in the highest administrative bodies in Iran.

What we did was fundamental for any organization claiming a program that can lead the working class: we warned against Islamic reaction in power. We said what it would mean. The left in and out of Iran also said what it would mean: a step forward, they said, the democratic overthrow of the shah, etc. In short they supported Khomeini—some critically, most with veils.

Some of our opponents on the left were horrified that we spoke so harshly of the mullahs while it seemed everyone but U.S. imperialism was following them into the mosque. Consider the remarks made against us by a small centrist group in Britain, *Workers Power* (February 1979):

> "The Spartacists make a series of charges against the Mullah led opposition as a result of which they characterise the movement as one of 'clerical reaction'. A number of these charges amount to uncritical retailing of the chauvinist rubbish which filled the American press throughout the Autumn. The Mullahs they claim wish to restore Iran to the 7th century AD ... They wish to introduce savage Islamic law punishments; stoning, public hanging and whipping etc. They wish to enforce the wearing of the veil and the removal of the rights given to women by the Shah...."

Programmatic clarity helps you to see straight. Chile. Portugal. Iran. For or against the popular front. For or against the Armed Forces Movement. For or against the mullahs. The future party of world revolution will be composed of workers who have learned the key programmatic lessons of these historic class battles. ■

Like Teamster Chief Fitzsimmons:

TDU Refuses to Call for Strike

On April 1 Jimmy Carter may find himself face to face with the biggest industrial union in the U.S. as 300,000 truck drivers and warehouse workers take aim at the administration's wage guidelines. Standing squarely in the path of a Teamster (IBT) victory, however, is the thoroughly corrupt union bureaucracy headed by Frank Fitzsimmons. Amid rumors of Teamster demands for wage and fringe benefit increases totaling 38 percent there are ominous warnings that the IBT tops will settle for far less. One negotiating team member has already hinted at the possibility of a contract extension and chief hargainer Roy Williams didn't even bother to talk tough. "I don't think there will be a work stoppage," he said.

And what of the highly publicized opposition to Fitzsimmons, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU)? The last several months of TDU newsletters and special contract bulletins scarcely mention the need for strike action! Even an announcement for a "decent contract" rally in Washington just a week before the deadline avoids calling for a strike.

Some 40 Ohio Teamsters heard the same anemic message last Sunday as TDU national steering committee member Mel Packer addressed a meeting of the new Canton chapter. Packer had plenty of stories of company and bureaucratic harassment but no strategy or even a call for an industry-wide shutdown on April 1. Recalling the 1976 Detroit Teamster wildcat, which ended with the Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDU's predecessor) capitulating to Fitzsimmons and the *threat* of court injunctions, a *WV* reporter asked how TDU would respond to government strikebreaking in 1979. Packer responded, "It's up to the people on strike."

TDU's readiness to collapse before government scabherding will come as no surprise to anyone familiar with its history of lawsuits against the union to achieve everything from local bylaw changes to its current pleading for equal access to the International's monthly magazine. An opposition which endlessly summons the courts into internal union disputes only strengthens the position of the government against the union. Packer admitted in fact that when the courts "give us something, they're going to want something back." That "something" is a license to crush labor militancy.

TDU's program consists of a list of minimal reforms representing in several cases merely the established norm in other industries—e.g., 30 and out, one year's S.U.B. benefits after layoffs. Their call for "a fair grievance procedure" would allow for firings once a worker is "proven guilty." TDU's overall package simply seeks to match the mine workers' 37 percent settlement—a contract which union president Arnold Miller could force on the UMWA ranks only after a 110-day strike. Neither a call for a 40-hour week nor TDU's opposition to deregulation of the trucking industry—a position they share with both Fitzsimmons and the carriers—will halt the employers' job-stealing offensive. A class-struggle program would raise the demand for a 30-hour week, coupled to a substantial pay boost and full cost-of-living protection.

Above all, class-conscious Teamsters must demand absolute independence from the bourgeois state. The upcoming contract showdown pits the Teamsters not only against the carriers but Carter and his wage guidelines. Follow the miners' example: smash government injunctions through strike action! A resounding Teamsters victory can obliterate wage controls and open a path for a real labor offensive in 1979! ■

Sales Blitz Reaches New Readers

Recently we began hearing from supporters in factories across the country that American workers were talking politics with more than usual interest in light of the Chinese invasion of Vietnam and the continuing ferment in Iran. So we undertook a special sales blitz for *WV* No. 226, which presented our unique Marxist analysis and program on these important events. Quotas for single-copy street sales were set at 165 percent of normal. As we go to press with the drive not yet completed, this goal has already been surpassed, with more than twice (210 percent) the usual number of *WV*s having been sold so far.

Local	Blitz Quota	Sales to Date	Percentage
Berkeley/Oakland	450	634	141
Boston	250	265	106
Chicago	500	605	121
Cleveland	275	382	139
Detroit	600	977	163
Los Angeles	400	430	107
New York City	450	404	90
San Francisco	425	554	130
TOTAL	3350	4251	127

China...

(continued from page 12)

at of the Fourth International," to which the SWP is "fraternally" related, claiming: "It is the conflict between the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies, for which the Kremlin bears the historic responsibility, that constitutes the framework for the clashes between the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Khmer Rouge leaderships." At least the SWP highlighted the complicity with the U.S.—the USec statement barely mentions the imperialist threat and puts the blame on the Soviet Union! And then it adds: "No Soviet military intervention against China!"

This begins to look curiously like an alibi for Peking, cooked up in the grand style of Livio Maitan, who in earlier years wrote USec statements praising the Red Guards and siding with Peking in the Sino-Soviet conflict. But turn a few pages and we read an even clearer presentation of the "majority" line: a translation of a 23 February editorial from *Rouge*, newspaper of the French LCR, ends with the call: "Just as we have demanded the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, we demand the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from Vietnam." Now *that* could have come straight from the mouth of Andrew Young, Jimmy Carter's front man at the UN! Curiously, a lead article in the same issue by LCR Vietnamophile Pierre Rousset says not *one word* of criticism of Hanoi's invasion of Cambodia. As Trotsky remarked, centrism is crystallized confusion.

From the beginning of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade we have stressed the obligation of all Marxists to defend the USSR from imperialist attack. The Chinese invasion of Vietnam threatened to pose this issue directly. While Deng's threat to "punish" Vietnam fell flat, the Peking bureaucracy's sinister collaboration with Washington deepened. As the Stalinists compete for Carter's favor, Trotskyists call for communist unity against imperialism, through social revolution in the capitalist countries and workers political revolution from Moscow to Peking and Hanoi to oust the nationalist parasites. ■

Weber...

(continued from page 5)

applied to the trade unions. For if there is one thing that characterizes the NAACP it is its continual preaching to the black community to rely on the good graces of the capitalist government—whether it be for protection against the racist thugs threatening black schoolchildren in Boston, or to "protect" black workers from the unions. And it was not surprising that a considerable amount of legal braintrusting that went into the affirmative action cases originated with the NAACP.

Needless to say, the liberals like the NAACP who provided the ideological justification for affirmative action accepted the framework of capitalism and therefore the limited number of jobs generated by the capitalist labor market. As such it necessarily pits different sections of the working class against one another. The NAACP's labor director, Herbert Hill, summed up this social outlook: "Correspondingly, white male workers as a class have benefited from this systematic discrimination. The notion that these workers are innocent and blameless is a myth, and we categorically reject this notion." Hill goes on to denounce the AFL-CIO as "against the vital interests of women and minorities" (*New York Times*, 29 July 1977).

"Affirmative action" is based on the view that white, male, unionized workers are among the privileged sections of American society and must make sacrifices to overcome racial and sexual oppression. This anti-working-class thrust becomes outright *union-busting* when the government intervenes to overturn seniority and rewrite union-negotiated contracts. Seniority is a basic principle of trade unionism protecting *all* workers. Without an impersonal criterion for layoffs and promotions, management can easily victimize union militants and anyone else viewed as "troublemakers." Thus whatever gains a few blacks get out of government affirmative action programs are more than offset by the damage to the working class of increased management and capitalist state control over organized labor.

The choice posed to the workers movement by affirmative action was starkly simple: the government or the unions. Most of the left, capitulating to what were undoubtedly the pervasive moods and attitudes among blacks at the time, chose the capitalist government. The Spartacist League stood alone in upholding the independence of the unions and fighting to oust the job-trusting, racist, pro-capitalist bureaucracy in order to transform them into class-struggle institutions that would genuinely defend the interests of all workers.

Ten Years of Affirmative Action

At the heart of black economic oppression is the question of jobs. In the late 1960's, when affirmative action was first implemented, the American bourgeoisie was beset by black ghetto conflagrations in the context of a relatively expansionary economy (the Vietnam War period). Within that context, offering a token increase in jobs for blacks and women was rather cheap. But a decade later the situation is sharply changed. The black militancy is no more and over at least five consecutive years the government's own understated figures show an average unemployment rate exceeding 6 percent. While black joblessness has doubled over the last ten years, so has unemployment for white workers.

Thus affirmative action has become an increasingly attractive target for racist demagogues like Brian Weber who blame blacks for the ills of capitalist society. And the bourgeois politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as the capitalist judicial system, are increasingly responsive to the Webers. This is not to assert that the courts will necessarily rule in Weber's favor. Affirmative action in industry remains a handy union-busting tool, and the government is still supporting such programs while abandoning admissions quotas in education. Thus at the same time it was ruling in favor of Allan Bakke, the Supreme Court upheld an affirmative action consent decree in the telephone industry.

But the real significance of the Weber case should not be lost. Five years ago it would have been virtually unthinkable that the Supreme Court would have reviewed it. The era of affirmative action has already passed its high-water mark. Whatever the particular disposition of this case, the American ruling class has signaled that the few token number of jobs that it has doled out to minorities under these programs will not be extended, but rather *curtailed*. And for those workers—particularly blacks and women—who have looked to the government rather than the unions to redress their grievances, it is high time to draw a balance sheet.

After a full decade of affirmative action programs which received the blessing of every major capitalist politician from Nixon to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, is the social oppression of minorities any less? Do they have better-paying jobs, for instance? In 1967 the income of black families averaged 58 percent that of whites; by 1970 it had risen modestly to 61 percent, but by 1977 it had fallen back to 59 percent. What about unemployment? In 1967 a little more than twice as many blacks were unemployed percentage-wise as whites; ten years later this ratio has not changed. Meanwhile the absolute level of black unemployment has risen to 13.2 percent—the largest number of blacks without jobs since the government began making separate statistics by race (National Urban League, *State of Black America 1978*). So much for the affirmative action myth!

Even in individual plants covered by such programs, the exclusion of minorities from the skilled trades has not been overcome. In the first place, the "goals" for upgrading minorities into crafts are not even enforceable: according to the 1974 consent decree in the steel industry, "No company's compliance status shall be judged solely by whether or not it reached its goals and met its timetables," but rather by "reviewing the extent of the company's good faith efforts"! Even the ostensible intent of this section of the decree is circumvented by hiring skilled workers off the street and systematically harassing minorities out of apprenticeship programs. Thus while the quota program at Kaiser Gramercy enrolled 13 workers (six black and seven white), most of the craft openings in this plant over the past years were filled by outside hiring: 30 skilled tradesmen, 28 of whom were white!

The provisions for "plantwide seniority" are even more farcical. A minority worker who transfers from one department to another must start at the bottom level of his new department. He may retain his old rate of pay only if he were hired into the plant prior to 1968, and then only for a maximum of two years. Few older black workers are willing to take a pay cut of several thousand dollars a year in order to get into a better department—and not surprisingly departmental segregation is as much a reality today in basic steel as before the consent decree.

Labor, the Left and Weber/Affirmative Action

George Meany and the AFL-CIO leadership have filed a "friend of the court" brief against Weber. But this is a cheap gesture. The union bureaucracy has not defended busing or open housing, nor has it organized the unorganized. If blacks look to the capitalist state, even under a Nixon or Carter, to secure racial justice it is because the union bureaucracy has been a main support to the racist status quo. From the viewpoint of black women in runaway clothing or electrical shops in the Deep South, Chicanos in Los Angeles sweatshops and ghetto youth in fast-food chains in New York or Chicago, the AFL-CIO is seen as a bastion of white economic privilege. The precondition for a class-struggle fight against racism is the unionization of the great majority of black workers.

Moreover, for decades the union movement has had a paper program for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, which would greatly expand the pool of industrial jobs. Such a demand is of direct interest to millions of unemployed blacks who would be the most benefited. But the bureaucracy has done nothing to fight for a shorter workweek and amidst mass unemployment has actually permitted killing overtime. Thus today, after three and a half years of recovery from the 1974-75 depression, the official unemployment rate for blacks remains at 11 percent, and for black teenagers it is an astronomical 34 percent.

While the labor bureaucracy has simply hung onto the job-trusting practices of the past, to the extent possible, or simply turned a deaf ear to the plight of ghettoized minorities, most of the left has supported the government's anti-union affirmative action schemes. Thus while predictably denouncing Weber, they sought to turn opposition to the racist backlash represented by his suit into political support for the government programs and court orders which overturn union-negotiated seniority systems. Moreover, while the reformist Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) originally criticized the tokenism of the steel consent decree, today they pose this plan negotiated by Nixon's Justice Department as the vehicle to fight job discrimination. Thus the CP writes:

> "The consent decree established plant-wide seniority for all workers for the first time and broke down a seniority system that was often divided by job and therefore by race."
> — *Daily World*, 27 December 1978

But certainly the SWP takes the cake when it has the gall to attack Weber for going to court against the union:

> "Weber's case is unmistakably an attack on the United Steelworkers because it seeks to overturn the union contract."
> — *Militant*, 19 January 1979

What nerve—for a group that has backed every phony "reformer" who tries to get elected to union office by mobilizing the U.S. Labor Department, from Arnold Miller to Ed Sadlowski. The SWP supports all sorts of government affirmative action plans, from the steel consent decree on down, which rip up existing union contracts. Like all good social democrats they believe the bourgeois state can be pressured into serving the workers—they only get upset when it openly sides with racists like Weber.

The logical corollary of the view of blacks competing with white workers for a limited number of jobs was the demand for preferential seniority for layoffs. Thus during the 1974-75 depression, the liberal establishment, black organizations and their reformist allies accepted mass layoffs as an unalterable fact of life; concentrating on who should be laid off, "preferential layoffs" became the rallying cry of affirmative action supporters. For example, in November 1975 the SWP brought out a pamphlet entitled *Affirmative Action vs. Seniority* which reprinted without criticism a contribution of the NAACP's chief anti-union ideologue, Herbert Hill.

A class-struggle response to the mass layoffs was that put forward by the Committee for a Militant United Auto Workers (CMUAW) in the Fremont, California General Motors plant. In this plant supporters of the Maoist October League (now Communist Party Marxist-Leninist) sued the company and union for preferential layoffs for women. The CMUAW initiated a petition against this divisive, anti-union suit, which was signed by more than 600 workers, including large numbers of blacks, Chicanos and women who recognized the value of the seniority principle. In opposition to the defeatist policy of "preferential layoffs," the CMUAW agitated for plant occupations and a nationwide auto strike in the face of mass layoffs (see "Militants Fight Layoffs in West Coast Auto," *WV* No. 60, 17 January 1975).

But while most of the left identifies struggle against racism with support to union-busting affirmative action, the small, crazed Workers League (WL) simply ignored the fight against racial oppression. Thus while correctly denouncing government intervention, the WL absurdly denounced the "furor being whipped up over the Weber case" as an attempt to "divert the movement of workers against the Carter government into a self-defeating struggle of blacks vs. whites" (*Bulletin*, 26 December 1978). The article conspicuously refuses to condemn Weber and the racist backlash he represents.

For a Class-Struggle Program to Fight Racism

As opposed to the idiot Workers League, we are not indifferent to the question of racial oppression and under certain circumstances we are prepared to extend critical support to quotas, as long as fundamental Leninist principles such as the independence of the trade unions from the state are not violated. For example, a preferential hiring quota directed at an *employer* might be supported if it is the only immediate way to overcome a company's racist hiring practices. Or, as in the Weber case, we take a defensive stance against racists who attempt to repeal quotas for job upgrading in order to drive blacks out of the skilled trades.

Where the liberal reformists choose

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the government over the unions, we call for trade-union independence from the state. Thus, our starting point must be a struggle *within* the unions against the policies of the trade-union bureaucracy for a program that addresses the special questions of black oppression while strengthening the working class as a whole. Instead of the cry for government-run affirmative action programs, we call for union control of hiring and upgrading. Union hiring halls should be established to insure that hiring is implemented on a nondiscriminatory, first-come, first-serve basis. Where hiring halls do exist and operate on a virtually segregationist basis, as in the building trades, class-struggle militants would demand an aggressive union campaign to recruit and organize minority workers.

As opposed to the reformists' willingness to trade off seniority for a token number of jobs, militants defend seniority as a basic principle of trade unionism. Blacks in particular would be victimized by the erosion of the seniority system, as managers and foremen in this country are overwhelmingly white, with a good percentage of right-wingers and racists. Moreover, in large parts of heavy industry, where blacks have been concentrated for years, it is not because of low seniority, but rather because of the absence or deformation of the seniority principle that blacks are segregated in the dirtiest and worst departments. The departmental seniority system, bypassing of apprenticeship programs through hiring journeymen off the street, discriminatory tests for the crafts—all are means by which management keeps blacks out. Key to integrating the skilled trades is union control of upgrading based on a plantwide seniority system.

In counterposition to the reformists' demand for "preferential layoffs," pitting blacks against whites, militants demand jobs for all—no layoffs! And while the labor bureaucracy throws its support to liberal capitalist politicians who promise full employment through such phony gimmicks as Humphrey-Hawkins, labor militants call for strike action to win a shorter workweek at no cut in pay.

Affirmative action has proven a dead-end for the American working class. Not only has it failed to alleviate racial and sexual oppression, but in undercutting the possibility of united class struggle, in its own way it bears responsibility for the Brian Webers. Not the least of the harm wrought by affirmative action has been its demoralizing effect on the most militant sections of the working class. In the 1960's, the wildcat strikes led by DRUM and other groups, however distorted by black nationalism, were militant class struggles. Black workers, having fewer illusions in American capitalism, time and again stood in the forefront of the struggle against the bosses.

But in the following decade many of these militants, deserted by their leaders and misled by ostensible leftists, either retreated to passivity, entered the trade union bureaucracy or became the spokesmen for affirmative action liberalism. Reliance on the government replaced class struggle. And this retreat by black workers had an enormous impact on the class as a whole. The generally low level of strikes and other struggles by the American working class in the 1970's was in no small way related to the paralysis of one of its most militant sections. And it is the absence of any real social struggle, intersecting mounting unemployment and inflation, that set the stage for racist backlash.

Every upsurge in class activity—the coal, postal and rail strikes—demonstrates the anti-labor, strike-breaking character of the bourgeois state. That the courts and the capitalist politicians are openly rallying to Weber demonstrates the same fundamental point. Key to unlocking the great power of the American working class must be the junking of illusions in the government by the most militant workers. Only on such a basis can a class-struggle leadership be constructed in the unions that will genuinely defend the interests of all workers—black and white, men and women—and lead the struggle to smash the reactionary capitalist system. ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 2)

overwhelmingly voted down a so-called "unity" resolution aimed at gagging both the Militant Caucus and all opponents of the pro-company leaders. Previously passed by the GEB, the motion declared that:

> "...once a consensus of adopting a program has been reached at the Convention and the Membership meetings, then the members of the union are obliged to support the program and each faction or grouping with their own program does not have the moral right to go off and do everything to stymie or hinder the program.... It is not our intention to work with people who put out material of a slanderous character exemplified by the bulletin put out by the Militant Caucus stating as follows: 'The officers are preparing to ram a giveaway contract down our throats'."

Attempting to pave the way for actions to silence dissent as the contract period approaches, the Local 6 officers were most chagrined when the membership threw their gag motion back at them.

The same meeting also stung the leadership on its quashing of a wildcat to defend union jurisdiction at the Owens-Illinois plant. The members voted that the union would not tolerate the loss of a single job.

The demonstrated ability of the Militant Caucus to mobilize the membership around specific issues has had an impact not only on the mainline bureaucrats but also on supporters of the Communist Party (CP). With years of experience in the methods of class collaboration, the Stalinists have long been in a firm alliance with the ILWU tops, often occupying influential posts in the union hierarchy. But the growing authority of real class-struggle unionists in the Militant Caucus threatens the Stalinists, exposing them time and again as merely "left" apologists for betrayal of the membership.

Well-known supporters of the *People's World*, the CP's West Coast newspaper, have been taking some lumps for their toadying to the bureaucrats. They backed the attempt to dump Mandel from the GEB and were defeated. They backed the gag motion in February and were trounced again. They took a dive on the strike at Owens-Illinois, enraging the Spanish-speaking bloc around Business Agent Roberto Flotte which had helped elect a number of *PW* supporters to office.

Smarting over these embarassing setbacks, *PW* supporters such as Joe Figueiredo, Joe Lindsay, Franklin Alexander and Victoria Mercado tried to strike a modestly militant pose on various secondary issues that came up at the convention. But, true to their normal form, on every significant issue they rallied round the bureaucrats' two-hit proposals and opposed those of the Militant Caucus.

Thus Figueiredo was among the first to the microphone to endorse the officers' opening report (which slipped in much of the infamous "unity" resolution), chipping in with his own slanders about left critics being "in the service of the bosses." It was left to Militant Caucus delegate Pete Woolston to point out that the officers would trim even their own modest demands to placate the bosses in eleventh-hour negotiations. Woolston argued that only strike action can turn the tide on the rampaging employers and called for the election of strike committees to counter the officers' sabotage.

There was a similar counterposition on the question of jobs, critical in an area where more shops are running away to non-union states and where high unemployment has provided a ready pool of scabs, which helped beat the grocery strike. Figueiredo and his gang teamed up with Eickman again to defeat the Militant Caucus proposal to fight for more jobs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay: 30 for 40.

CP supporters similarly refused to support the Militant Caucus resolution to junk the contract's no-strike clause and end binding arbitration, though the issue of the *People's World* that came out the very day of the convention opposed binding arbitration! In arguing against the dead-end policy of relying on arbitrators, who almost always rule in the company's favor, and for a return to the right to strike, Mandel noted that the union's proposed budget allocates three times as much money for paying arbitrators as it does for organizing. He exposed the bureaucrats' hot-air pledges to organize the unorganized by noting that only $1,200 of the $20,000 in the union's organizing fund last year was actually spent and that the total this year has been reduced to only $5,000. Caught with their pants down, the leadership could muster only a faint voice vote for the budget, with most delegates abstaining. Even well-known CP supporter Franklin Alexander had to concede that "Mandel raised one here."

As the contract deadline grows nearer, the union's ranks confront the fact that they will pay dearly this year if they do not fight. The ILWU is a strategic union, which in alliance with the Teamsters has the potential power to shut down critical sections of West Coast commerce. The task for the Militant Caucus and its supporters is to rally those members, stewards and GEB members who want to wield that power, breaking the bureaucratic hold that is paralyzing the union. ■

Newport News...

(continued from page 2)

downplay the significance of the strike. Although almost all observers throughout the country see the strike at Newport News as a critical test of labor's ability to break into the "open shop" South, McBride told reporters at a February 24 Bal Harbour, Florida press conference that it may have been a "blunder" for labor to boost the strike as "an expansion into the South." "I don't look on this as a crusade against the South," he repeated, in flat contradiction to earlier statements he had made.

McBride may have a hard time if he tries to call off the strike at Newport News. Strikers on the picket lines continue to show their determination to crack Tenneco and win the strike. But the chances of success depend on their ability to shut off the flow of scabs, their willingness to defy their leadership's directives to "respect" the scabherding "right-to-work" laws.

Unlike the pollyannaish reformists of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, who endlessly cheer for the labor bureaucrats' cheap statements of support (backed up by no action), we insist that the battle at Newport News can only be won by the strikers themselves through decisive action to shut the shipyard down! Now more than ever the strikers must understand that it is lethal to rely on help from the bosses' courts! While J. P. Stevens is still unorganized after years of impotent consumer boycotts, Newport News is the first important attempt in decades to crack the "open shop" South through powerful *strike action*. The entire labor movement and particularly steel workers across the country must back it to the hilt. Victory to the Newport News strike! ■

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NOTICE

Beginning with this issue *Workers Vanguard* is going over to the system of transliterating Chinese names officially introduced by the Peking government on January 1 and subsequently adopted by most Western newspapers. Until the new (Pinyin) usage becomes familiar to readers we shall print the old style (Wade-Giles) version after the first mention of a name: e.g., Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). For certain well-known place names and historical personages (such as Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai) we shall continue to use the previous spelling.

A *Women & Revolution* Forum

Down with Khomeini! For Workers Revolution in Iran!

Iranian Women Face Islamic Reaction

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Editor, *Women & Revolution*; Spartacist League Women's Commission
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WORKERS VANGUARD

For Political Revolution in Moscow, Peking, Hanoi!

China's "Bloody Lesson" Fails

China's invasinn ol Vietnam on 17 February marked the first military result of its developing counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union and its allies. This shilt in the big power lineup was first signaled in 1972 with the Mao/Nixon Shanghai Communiqué. Currently this alliance is being formalized as the parallel Sino-Japanese treaty and the U.S.-China normalization of relations statement both include the same key euphemistic anti-Soviet "hegemonism" clause.

So from Washington to Mosców, when China marched into Vietnam on February 17 its collusion with the U.S. was immediately evident: as a perceptive journalist wrote, Hanoi was being punished for having routed American imperialism from Indochina in 1975. In the face ol this reactionary aggression against the Vietnamese people, it was the urgent task of working-class militants throughout the world to demand: "China Get Out of Vietnam Now!" The international Spartacist tendency fulfilled its duty and even achieved a degree of recognition in the hourgeois media with our banner: "China: Don't Be Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism! USSR: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!"

On March 5 after being bogged down in a narrow hand just over the border for 17 days Peking proclaimed "an important victory" and announced it was pulling out of Vietnam. In its withdrawal, however, the Chinese army was systematically shelling villages, burning houses, destroying bridges and railroads—leading to Hanoi's charges that the invaders were still "nibbling and plundering" many areas in Vietnam. And at press time Chinese officials in Bangkok were reportedly announcing Peking's aims to retain some bases inside the Vietnamese border (*New York Times*, 13 March).

This scorched-earth withdrawal was yet further evidence that the threat by Chinese deputy prime minister Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson" had clearly failed, resulting only in an abortive bloody adventure. Another invasion in the near future cannot be ruled out, which would quickly pose a Sino-Soviet war and could well draw in the U.S. on the side of the militarily far weaker Peking. Thus the nascent U.S./China/Japan axis remains a dagger pointed at the heart of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the principal target of imperialism's drive to overthrow the conquests of the anticapitalist revolutions.

Military Flop, Diplomatic Stand-Off

In sharp contrast to China's last military action against capitalist India in 1962, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was halted hy the Vietnamese, who inflicted hcavy casualties on the invading force. This effective resistance to the Chinese is even more striking in that Hanoi did not throw its full forces into battle. For the first week the PLA was held off solely by Vietnamese

Der Spiegel

Chinese troops in Cao Bang.

hordcr guards and local militia. And even later Vietnam held in reserve much of its regular army to defend Hanoi and Haiphong. Many commentators also wondered why the Vietnamese did not use their far superior air force. While they reportedly withdrew several main force units from Cambodia in order to bring them north, the Vietnamese avoided being drawn into a Chinese trap and thus frustrated Deng's efforts to administer a stinging military defeat.

Although China was militarily blocked, the invasion was not a total failure for Peking in the political/diplomatic sense. The *New York Times* man in Singapore wrote on March 11 that right-wing Southeast Asian politicians "could find reason for satisfaction in China's punitve action." More significantly, Peking pulled the northern polar bear's tail without getting swipcd by its powerful paw. In the first days of the fighting there was widespread speculation and fear that the Russians would retaliate in support of their Vietnamese ally. But the Kremlin's commitment to détente with the U.S. proved far stronger than its "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" with Vietnam. The Russian Stalinist burcaucracy, deeply nationalist and conservative, reacted in the same way to the Chinese invasion as it did to U.S. imperialism's massive bombing of Vietnam a decade and a half ago. Namely, it did as little as possible.

Even the American bourgeois press was surprised at how conciliatory to the U.S. was Brezhnev's speech of March 2. An official statement of the central committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party distrihuted March 4 denounced the Peking rulers for having "shamefully colluded with the imperialists and today's most reactionary forces" in their invasion of Vietnam. But although a February 27 *Pravda* editorial charged that the U.S. had "contributed to Peking's openly taking the warpath," in a major speech three days later Brezhnev had nothing but good to say ahout relations with Washington. The highlight of his speech was a celebration over an imminent SALT II disarmament agreement! Against the Kremlin's cynical claptrap about "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, the international Spartacist tendency called for "Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!" To the Soviet workers and peasants we proclaimed that not détente but only revolutionary internationalism could secure for them a socialist future.

Collusion with U.S. Imperialism

Peking's unsuccessful attempt to militarily humiliate Vietnam was designed both to assert itself as the dominant power in the region and to strike a blow at the Russians. Referrring to Vietnam as the "Cuba of Asia," Deng unleashed a diatribe of vituperation that could have put Lyndon Johnson, Dean Rusk and Henry Kissinger to shame:

> "We cannot tolerate the Cubans to go swashbuckling unchecked in Africa, the Middle East and other areas... nor can we tolerate the Cubans of the Orient to go swashbuckling unchecked in Laos, Cambodia or even China's border areas."
>
> —*New York Times*, 28 February

This common purpose was seen not only in rhetoric. On March 4 the *New York Times* reported that the Carter administration finally admitted it had advance knowledge of the Chinese invasion:

> "Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher said last week that the United States learned from Mr Teng during his visit of China's plans to attack Vietnam."

Revolutionaries oppose Peking's regional hig power ambitions, which have as their aim the subordination of Vietnam and the rest of Indochina and which date hack to the very heginnings of the Chinese Stalinist regime. But what poses the possibility of global military conflict and brings into force the Leninist-Trotskyist movement's principled position of unconditional defense of the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialist attack is China's collusion with the West. Despite a formal diplomatic even-handedness, the Carter administration made little attempt to disguise its support to China. Immediately after the invasion, even before the Soviets had said anything about it, Washington warned Moscow not to attack China. At the height of the fighting Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal went to Peking to officially open the American embassy and also to grant China most-favored-nation tariff preference (which the USSR does not enjoy).

U.S. imperialism is deeply involved in China's anti-Soviet policies, including its Vietnam adventure. Had the Soviets retaliated, this would have taken the war out of the regional framework and made global power relations decisive. We wrote in our article, "China Get Out!" (*WV* No. 226, 2 March):

> "Should the Soviet Union be drawn into the fighting in a direct way it would pit the Russian degenerated workers state against the Western imperialists, principally the U.S. through the intermediary of their Chinese ally. This would pose pointblank the urgent task of militarily defending the USSR and the gains of the October Revolution. In this conflict the Trotskyists know where they stand: shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet workers against the counterrevolutionary attack."

Fake Trotskyists Duck Defense of USSR

In contrast, various pseudo-Trotskyist opportunists tripped all over themselves on the China-Vietnam war, with positions ranging from see-no-evil, hear-no-evil denial of reality to a line closely paralleling the U.S. State Department and Deng Xiaoping. The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) took the know-nothing tack, with the new editor of *Intercontinental Press*, Mary-Alice Waters, claiming in her maiden (19 February) editorial that "*The danger is not a Chinese invasion of Vietnam, but the imperialist maneuvers that Peking is helping to cover up*" (her emphasis). She repeats the point several times and ends, "Our spotlight must be on the Thailand-Kampuchea border, not the Vietnam-China border." Oh, dear. Where is Joseph Hansen now that they need him?

The core of the SWP's "analysis" of the China-Vietnam war is its denial that the Soviet Union is in any way threatened. In a major line article, "Behind the Lies on Invasion of Vietnam" (*Militant*, 16 March), Gus Horowitz denies that the war is "a reflection of the Sino-Soviet or Sino-Vietnam disputes." Leaving aside the idiot "logic" demonstrating that since the source of the war drive is imperialism (right), therefore one cannot lay blame at the door of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy (wrong), we detect his real aim: to denounce the invasion as reactionary while avoiding any suggestion of being on the same side as the USSR.

Meanwhile, back at *Intercontinental Press* (12 March) we read a statement by the "majority" of the "United Secretari-

continued on page y

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 228 30 March 1979

Palestinians Shafted Again

Carter's Near East Peace Baloney

MARCH 26—Today marked the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in a ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House. President Carter called this the major achievement of his administration and said solemnly, "Peace has come." We say, "Baloney."

This treaty is a license for continued Israeli aggression against the surrounding Arab states. It "legalizes" the Zionist state's denial of the national rights of the Palestinians. And it calls for a major jump in the direct military involvement of U.S. imperialism in the Near East.

It does not mean peace for the Palestinians. It does mean a greater threat to the Soviet Union and its allies in the region. It is not a pact for peace but a spur to wider war.

The treaty is the culmination of the theatrical pilgrimage of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat to Jerusalem in November 1977; of the marathon 12-day Camp David summit between Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, Sadat and U.S. president Carter; and of Jimmy Carter's own desperate mid-March "shuttle diplomacy" between Cairo and Jerusalem. This was the "separate peace" which Sadat had vowed he would never sign, and it spelled nothing but more war and national oppression for both the Arab and Hebrew working masses.

For Egypt the accords provide complete return of the Israeli-occupied Sinai peninsula in two stages over three years. For Israel there is an end to the state of war, full diplomatic relations with Cairo and the right to purchase Sinai oil. Carter got a publicity coup and the basis for an anti-Soviet Near East alliance. But for the long-suffering Palestinians, despite all the talk of a "linkage" between the treaty and West Bank "autonomy," there was only the bitter prospect of continued subjugation under the Zionist boot.

Seeking to soften Arab hostility to the pact, Egyptian prime minister Khalil was reported as claiming that under its provisions Israel would withdraw to its pre-1967 borders and East Jerusalem would again come under Arab control. But the very next day Begin exposed this hoax, categorically stating in his opening speech to the Knesset (parliament) debate on the treaty:

> "Dr. Khalil, Israel will never return to the pre-1967 lines. Secondly, Dr. Khalil, mark my words, united Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel. It will never be divided again. Thirdly, Dr. Khalil, in Judea, Sumaria [Zionist designations of the area comprising the West Bank] and Gaza there will never be a Palestinian state."
>
> —*New York Times*, 21 March

"Autonomy," said the Israeli prime minister, applied not to "territories" but only to "the persons."

A "Pax Americana" the treaty was dubbed by Arab states of the "rejection front," and in this they were certainly correct. As the obsequious Sadat put it in trying to ingratiate himself with his new patron, "Jimmy Carter has done it. This show is his show." Not only was the Egyptian-Israeli "peace" treaty negotiated under U.S. auspices, but it presages a massive escalation of American military involvement in the Near East. Billions of dollars of military aid will flow to Egypt and Israel, and a permanent U.S. presence (bases and naval fleets) to protect the "oil lanes" is being proposed.

Streeky/Camera 5

Carter says "Peace has come." Not for the Palestinians.

The appetite for a direct U.S. military presence in the region has been a constant under the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations. Now, with the fall of the shah of Iran, one of the pillars of Washington's Near East policies, and his replacement by a fanatically Islamic and pro-Palestinian regime, the State Department and Pentagon are frantically seeking to put together a new anti-Soviet alliance. However, the fallout from Iran's Islamic revolution has been contradictory from the standpoint of U.S. imperialism's strategic options.

On the one hand, the spectre of Khomeini has hardened the Israeli ruling class against making any significant concessions on the grounds that "moderates" like Sadat to whom the concessions are made may not be around long. As Moshe Dayan put it, Iran shows that in his part of the world, a country that has been a "friend of Israel" can become a friend of Arafat very suddenly. Logically the uncoupling, even if temporary, of its important Iranian connection should make Washington even more committed to line up Egypt and Saudi Arabia on its side. Ergo more U.S. pressure on Israel for concessions. But the foreign policy of an imperialist ruling class never simply corresponds to its long-term strategic interests. And the right-wing "who lost Iran?" backlash domestically strengthens, at least for a while, the pro-Zionist lobby in the U.S.

U.S. Imperialist Jingoism Revives

Jimmy Carter desperately needed this treaty. His inability, after all the fanfare of Camp David, to wring some kind of agreement from Sadat and Begin had contributed to escalating criticism of his foreign policy from all shades of bourgeois political opinion as indecisive, incompetent and impotent. His ratings in public opinion polls plummeted as he managed to antagonize both the right wing and liberals within his own party, as well as conservative Republican neanderthals. This criticism turned into a barrage as the Carter administration stood helplessly on the sidelines while Washington's No. 1 gendarme guarding the strategically vital flow of oil from the Persian Gulf, the Iranian monarchy, was toppled.

Carter was supposed to be the small-town businessman and born-again Baptist Sunday school teacher who would remoralize America after Vietnam and Watergate, allowing the U.S. to resume an interventionist role as the leading, though no longer hegemonic, imperialist power. Instead he has been immersed in his own "peanutgate" financial scandals while covering for the antics of his bigoted alcoholic brother. Carter's attacks on social services, his fat raises for the Pentagon budget and his anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade only whetted the appetites of Republican Party reactionaries like Ronald Reagan, who compares Carter to Neville Chamberlain at Munich, and Tennessee senator Baker who claims

continued on page 10

Labor Must Break All Ties to AIFLD!

Stalinists Defend CIA Front at Bay Area Chile Meet

SAN FRANCISCO—The Ships Clerks Hall of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 34 was the setting March 24 for a "Trade Union Conference on Chile," one of those periodic get-togethers so beloved by the Communist Party (CP) as a sounding board for its class-collaborationist politics. At these "progressive" confabs the main enemy is always those who stand for uncompromising class struggle, as at the 1975 Bay Area Chile conference where the Stalinist organizers launched an unsuccessful thug attack on a militant warehouseman protesting the presence of a capitalist politician, Democratic Congressman Leo Ryan, at a labor meeting.

While it did not come to blows at this year's gathering, the CP and its sundry supporters were caught in an excruciating contradiction over whether to tail the "human rights" campaign of U.S. imperialism or call for breaking labor ties to the Yankee spy agencies. In the end the Stalinists chose Jimmy Carter, bureaucratically suppressing any motions denouncing the notorious CIA-backed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

While the conference was endorsed by a number of run-of-the-mill Bay Area trade-union bureaucrats grooming their "socially concerned" images such as Walter Johnson, president of Local 1100 of the Department Store Clerks, and Herb Mills, secretary of ILWU Local 10, the donkey work was accomplished by old-time Stalinist hacks like Archie Brown, retired longshoreman and well-known CP leader. With his decades of experience as errand boy for ex-ILWU leader Harry Bridges and the Democratic Party, Brown was naturally on stage as the conference's "official convenor."

The sparks began to fly from the moment the chairman routinely pushed to adopt the agenda, scheduled to open with an address by the "honorable Diane Feinstein, mayor of San Francisco." This prompted a protest from an Amalgamated Transit Workers Union delegate, Margaret Martinson, who reminded the delegates that Feinstein was a "vicious anti-labor strikebreaker" in the 1976 San Francisco city workers strike. Moving to bar Mayor Feinstein from the conference, Martinson warned against tying the American and San Francisco labor movements to the Democratic Party. Brown's cohorts nervously tried to squelch the motion as being "out of order," as Feinstein was already entering the hall. The chairman managed to wriggle out of this tight spot only by heavy-handedly ordering the agenda accepted without a vote, ignoring the protests of several longshore delegates.

But the conference's big fight began when delegate Jane Margolis, a militant recently elected to the executive board of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, rose to propose a workshop on the need for labor to break all ties with AIFLD, the State Department's Latin American "labor front" and brainchild of CWA founder Joe Beirne. Margolis, a member of the Militant Action Caucus which has fought for years to break the CWA's connection to the agency, distributed copies of a caucus resolution denouncing AIFLD which she had presented to the '78 CWA convention.
convention.

One would think Margolis' proposal for a workshop on the AIFLD at the Chile conference would be an open-and-shut case. So notorious is the agency that many Latin Americans bitterly refer to the American labor federation as the AFL-CIA. The AIFLD's sinister operations have included infiltrating CIA spies into labor organizations, destroying legitimate unions to replace them with yellow company unions, as well as playing a direct role in the overthrow of both the Goulart government of Brazil in 1964 and the Allende government of Chile in 1973, both of which were replaced by brutal military dictatorships. But in their cringing fear of angering the union tops, the CP supporters and fellow travelers did everything they could to kill Margolis' proposal.

Thus Stalinist hack Jack Weintraub, vice-president of Teamsters Local 85, argued against even a workshop (!) on the idiotic parochial grounds that since the AIFLD is connected to the AFL-CIO, it is "improper" for unions not affiliated to the AFL-CIO to tell the latter what to do about their "internal" affairs! Jim Imerzel, recently elected president of CWA Local 9410, chimed in behind Weintraub and was later rewarded by being named secretary of a continuations committee. Weintraub & Co. then rammed through a vote to defeat the proposed workshop on the AIFLD, an action which further alienated a number of independent trade-union delegates who were already enraged by the presence of Mayor Feinstein.

However hard it tried, the CP wasn't able to suppress the issue so easily. In a workshop on legislative action Jane Margolis put forward a motion calling for abolishing AIFLD. This drove Archie Brown into a frenzy, screaming "Table it, table it!" at the top of his voice. The CP looked so pathetic that Fred Hirsh, a Stalinist fellow traveler whose 1974 pamphlet exposed the AIFLD role in the Chilean coup, was sheepishly explaining that the delegates should not be so quick to abolish such CIA fronts, but to look instead for way to use them and "turn them around!"

What was behind this grotesque about-face by the CP and its "democratic" friends was revealed in the keynote speech by Mario Navarro Castro, general secretary of the Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile (CUT), the Chilean labor federation banned by Pinochet. According to Navarro, the much-touted AFL-CIO threat to boycott Chilean goods was abandoned this January when a deal was concluded between Pinochet and Peter Grace, president of the W. R. Grace Corporation as well as AIFLD chairman. Grace and George Meany apparently abandoned the boycott in exchange for promises from Pinochet for certain trade-union freedoms, such as the right to assemble, pay dues, bargain collectively, strike (as long as the strikes do not involve "third parties") and so on.

But, as Navarro bitterly explained, these promises are useless since all genuine trade unions have been smashed or driven underground, leaving only the junta-approved "unions" to enjoy these freedoms—most probably the AIFLD unions! However, Navarro refused, when approached, to intervene in the AIFLD dispute on the conference floor. It was apparent that the Stalinists do not want to openly condemn the AIFLD because it could upset George Meany and his "popular front" with Jimmy Carter, Peter Grace and Pinochet!

At the conference Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, members of the ILWU Local 10 executive board and publishers of the *Longshore Militant*, put forward a motion calling for a "permanent embargo on the transportation of military goods to Chile" and for a two-week boycott of all trade to Chile, to press demands for the release from prison of Chilean trade unionists and other victims of the Pinochet junta. Predictably, their motion was suppressed by the Stalinists in favor of yet another paper resolution for the open-ended "boycott on all goods to and from Chile," which by their own admission has already been sabotaged by the AIFLD! Ironically, in his speech Navarro, whose popular-front rhetoric generally matched that of the conference organizers, criticized the "total boycott" conception as being too vague, arguing that a successful boycott must be linked to concrete objectives.

In the ILWU itself the Stalinists have an unbroken all-talk, no-action record. While Local 10 has had a position since 1973 in favor of a boycott of Chilean goods, the only time the union tops actually boycotted military shipments to Pinochet was after it received the approval of Senator Edward Kennedy, who saw the boycott as a pressure tool to use on Carter. Now the Stalinists have gone one step further and turned themselves into apologists for the bloody AIFLD, all in the name of Jimmy Carter's "human rights." The CP's present tack is to call for the CIA to get out of the AIFLD, i.e., leaving intact this imperialist tool on whose board sit the heads of major U.S. corporations and which is financed by the U.S. government! While the treacherous Stalinists may delude themselves into thinking they can "use" the CIA, in fact the only aid they will get is when the CIA needs the CP to derail the workers struggles, in Chile or elsewhere. ■

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No. 228 30 March 1979

Letters

Jerusalem, Israel
12 March 1979

Dear Friends:

I liked very much the several pieces of analysis about the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, which you have published in your No. 226 (2 March) issue. I want to add, however, that this invasion may turn out after all to be only *a diversion*, and that the real imperialist attack may come quite soon in the Middle East in the form of an Israeli "preventative" attack on the eastern and northern fronts, with Sadat's neutrality secured, with or without a "treaty." The Israeli Labor Party, is *more* in favour of such an attack than Begin, but it has powerful allies inside the present government for such a policy, especially General Ezer Weizman and also General Ariel Sharon (who only differ whether to obtain a hidden or an open support from the USA for such a policy).

Sincerely yours,
Israel Shahak

WV Replies: A war between the U.S. and USSR may indeed be ignited in the Near East. But given the anti-Soviet objectives of imperialism, the U.S. has good reason to try to use the nationalist Chinese Stalinists as their cat's paw in Southeast Asia.

16 March 1979

Dear *WV*,

This is to call your attention to a contradictory formulation in the article "China Get Out!" (*WV* No. 226, 2 March):

> "And it is equally unclear whether the Vietnamese Stalinists have the capacity to create an essentially federated state in which the peoples and sub-peoples of Indochina can freely choose their national destiny."

As *WV* correctly says in the next paragraph

> "We do not place political confidence in the Vietnamese Stalinists to overcome the national question—on the contrary, we call for the working class to carry out a political revolution to oust the heirs of Ho Chi Minh and replace them with soviets. That is the only road to a genuine democratic socialist federation of Indochina."

WV was correct to suggest that a Hanoi-dominated Indochinese federation would not necessarily be so oppressive of the Cambodians that the majority of them would want an independent state. Despite the well-publicized discontent among non-Russians in the USSR, there is also evidence that many national minorities (Armenians, for example) favor being part of the present federated state, which brings to them very considerable economic advantages. However, like their Kremlin counterparts, the Hanoi Stalinists, nationalist bureaucrats that they are, will certainly *not* grant the Cambodian people the democratic *right* of national self-determination.

Comradely,
John Sharpe

Khomeini Continues Persian Domination

Kurds Revolt

For the Right of Kurdish Self-Determination

MARCH 27—For the last four days yet another popular challenge to the consolidation of the new "Islamic Republic" has been met with bullets as Kurdish rebels battled government troops in the streets of Sanandaj. More than 500 have been killed according to latest reports. The unstable Khomeini government and the rebels have agreed to a cease-fire and "negotiations," but the situation remains explosive. Despite the government's token concessions including a Kurdish governor, the Kurds continue to demand national "autonomy."

Thus after clashes with leftist guerrillas who refused to turn in their weapons when the mullahs toppled the shah and after women took to the streets to protest the attempt to impose the suffocating veil, now it is the turn of national minorities—a majority of the population of Iran—to resist Khomeini's reactionary rule.

Another sector of the Iranian population is being taught the meaning of Khomeini's Shi'ite Islamic Republic at the cost of their lives—systematic subjugation of women, anti-communist terror for the left and great Persian chauvinism for the national minorities: the rule of the ayatollahs and pious *bazaari* capitalists will be based on national oppression as much as was the Pahlavis' "peacock throne." From the Arabs of the southwestern province of Khuzistan to the Azerbaijanis of the Northwest and the Baluchis of Iran's poorest province in the East, the national demands are being suppressed by Khomeini's mullahs and their theocratic militias in league with remnants of the shah's army.

The most dramatic battle between the Kurdish partisans and Khomeini's forces took place in the provincial city of Sanandaj where the Kurds had taken into their own hands the task of disarming the shah's army. Clashes broke out between Kurdish nationalists, themselves Sunni Muslims, and Khomeini's regular troops. So the Shi'ite imam denounced the heretics and called upon his mullah militia to aid the police and army "to smash the bandits." When a local religious leader appointed by Khomeini then took charge of the arsenal and began transferring the weapons of Sanandaj to Shi'ite areas, the Kurds protested. Their protests were answered with rifle fire from the troops, and on Sunday, March 18, an enraged Kurdish population stormed Sanandaj's police headquarters and radio and television station and beseiged the local garrison of 2,000 men. The garrison's commander, Colonel Safar, was captured and marched to the radio station from which he broadcast an appeal to the garrison to surrender. The troops refused.

Khomeini came to their rescue with helicopter gunships, which strafed the streets of the city, killing several hundred Kurds. The local Kurdish forces were bolstered by additional men from throughout the region. The siege of the army base continued for several days as all attempts at a truce broke down. Negotiations only began with the arrival of Ayatollah Taleghani, dispatched by Khomeini, on March 21. The Kurds agreed to pull back in return for the release of nearly 200 hostages held by the garrison, and the various chieftains and mullahs began bargaining for a greater share of local government posts.

The Guevarist Fedayeen guerrillas played a significant role in the fighting in alliance with self-styled "Marxist-Leninist" groups such as the "Revolutionary Organization of Kurdish Workers." But the March 23 issue of *Le Monde* reports that these groupings have subordinated themselves to the traditional feudalist Kurdish leaders like Mohammed Ahmad Moftizadeh, a religious figure reportedly tied to the Barzani clan. These "moderate" holy men and tribal chiefs have offered to support Khomeini's Islamic Republic rather than a democratic secular regime in return for "autonomy."

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

Kurdish guerrillas battle Khomeini's Islamic army in Sanandaj.

Iran: Prison House of Oppressed Nations

As in tsarist Russia, where the Great Russian minority of 47 percent dominated a huge empire, so it is in Iran where only two fifths of the population is Persian. The Kurds are the fourth most numerous people in the Near East with some estimates as high as six million. They are an indigenous Aryan people who for thousands of years inhabited the mountainous regions separating the historical centers of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau. Tribal, pastoral and nomadic in the main, the Kurds have often fallen victim to the more centralized, economically advanced societies surrounding them. But their isolation has also prevented their integration and complete absorption into those societies. Today their nation is partitioned by five state powers.

Since Iran shares a 1,000-mile border with the Soviet Union, there is an overlap of nationalities between northern Iran and the Soviet Caucasus and Central Asia. These nationalities, especially the Azerbaijanis, have been the bridge by which the Russian Revolution spread its influence through the Near and Middle East. Before World War I many Iranian Azerbaijanis who went to work in the Baku oil fields were exposed to Marxist propaganda and returned to build a nucleus of Iranian social democracy, the *Markaz-e Gheibi*. The 1905 Russian Revolution was not without its echo in Iranain Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. Multi-class formations (*anjomans*) resembling soviets were established in Tabriz and Kirmanshah. Likewise, under the impact of October, revolutionary ferment swept Iran, including the so-called "Soviet Republic of Gilan" in the northern province of Iran, adjoining Azerbaijan to the soviets formed in Kirmanshah by the revolutionary Russian soldiers.

At the same time Iran's border with the Soviet Union has also been seen by the imperialists as the soft underbelly of Soviet power, a staging area for counterrevolutionary penetration. To prevent the extension of the October Revolution into Iran and to build a base against the Soviet Union, British imperialism backed the building of a strong, centralized state power by Reza Khan (father of the now-deposed shah). The British supported the coup of this son of a peasant, who rose to the rank of colonel in the tsar's cossack brigade stationed in Iran, against the old Persian Qajar dynasty. Thus while Kemal Atatürk compacted a Turkish nation-state out of the disintegrating Ottoman empire in struggle against imperialist partition schemes, Reza Shah, who is often falsely compared to Atatürk, by contrast restabilized an archaic multi-national empire with the imperialists' blessing.

The replacement of British imperialism by the U.S. as the dynasty's chief backer did not mean the slightest change in this structure. In the case of national minorities extending across national boundaries the Iranian state collaborated closely with its neighbors in suppressing nationalist guerrillas—for example aiding Pakistan's suppression of the Baluchis. With the collapse of the monarchy the national question is once again a touchstone of the Iranian revolution. *But it is precisely in the struggle against the Kurds that Khomeini is attempting to forge the new military force to impose both Islamic rule and continued Persian domination.*

The last major threat to the Persian central power occurred at the end of World War II when British imperialism and the USSR squared off in Iran. Under the tutelage of Soviet military occupation forces, "democratic republics" were established in Azerbaijan and Mahabad in Kurdistan. But when the Red Army pulled out, the Azerbaijani "republic" ignominiously collapsed. The Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy cynically abandoned it partly under the pressure of U.S. imperialism, but primarily because the Iranian government had promised an oil concession in

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Simonpietri/Sygma

Mustafa Barzani.

Afrique-Asie

Barzani holds council of war.

I.S.: Endless Cliques, Endless Splits

Good Riddance to Workers' Power

After a decade of the most wretched labor reformism performed as New Left hi-jinx, the International Socialists (I.S.) has done something every class-conscious worker can applaud: it has ceased publication of *Workers' Power* (*WP*).

WP's demise occurs in the context of demoralization and exacerbated cliquist hostilities which render the I.S extremely unstable. The latest clique feud in this congenitally clique-ridden organization rages over the usual subject: how best to serve the various labor out-bureaucrats who have been the I.S.'s constant preoccupation since it began union implantation. For the majority, Joel Geier wants to tail the so-called "reform movement." The "left" opposition is Steve Zeluck/Pete Camarata and their Political Solution Caucus (PSC) which wants to run equally fast behind the so-called "rank and file movement." So the clique sparks fly; the documents are written; and once again, there is no programmatic difference about "what we've learned in the trade unions." Both sides have learned that the "socialist" I.S. is an unnecessary burden to reformist union "work" and irrelevant to the I.S.'s real job—the manipulation of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), the I.S. creature upon which rests both sides' dwindling hope of broad reformist influence.

Bad Rubbish

Both sides were anxious to scrap the *WP* garbage organ, a "left" caricature of pulp journalism.

In the open letter which was sent to *WP* subscribers to announce its dissolution, the I.S. explained that the working class had failed to appreciate its press:

> "Workers' Power was quite consciously designed and planned to be a newspaper presenting news of struggle, and revolutionary socialist politics, to an audience which was becoming active in union or community struggles for the first time....
>
> "From 1975 until today, we have found that the possibilities for building rank and file movements in the unions ...have greatly increased. But the audience for an agitational revolutionary newspaper has not. As a result Workers' Power faced the risk of becoming a paper published in a political vacuum without any real contact or dialogue with the workers whose ideas we are trying to influence."

WP was a political vacuum, an insult to trade-union militants. It was indeed "quite consciously designed and planned" to be a fake mass paper, dedicated to the petty-bourgeois workerist proposition that philistinism is the only language the proletariat can understand.

WV Photo

Pete Camarata.

What made *WP* an "agitational revolutionary newspaper" in the mind of the I.S. was its cynical claim that it was winning workers to the I.S. by explaining that capitalism was evil and socialism good. Every Christmas, for instance, *WP* would take up the task of exposing for the neediest the fact that the rich were living extravagantly. One year a front-page headline exposed "What the Rich Are Buying this Xmas"; the $8.50 towels and fur coats could not escape the vigilant journalists of *WP*. And I.S.'s special brand of economism was given the "pedagogical" touch in articles like "Socialism: What's in it for you?" (12 September 1977).

Workers Power: Finally Got the News.

The *WP* idea of a "dialogue" with working-class militants was the most condescending movie reviews, TV "guides" and pop-culture commentary. It patiently explained, for instance, "The Politics of Blue Jeans." It treated the trivial seriously and trivialized the serious. True proletarian inspiration was evidently to be found in the TV series "All in the Family," as the 17 October 1977 *WP* headlined "Gay Rights: If Archie Bunker Sees the Light, Why Can't Anita?" And for the youth market *WP* glorified punk and reggae music as intrinsically "anti-establishment" and "the soul of revolution."

Who can forget *WP*'s behind-the-scenes exposés—like, the time the paper "set out to discover the real truth about Muzak"? Will *New York Times* resident gourmet Craig Claiborne find it in his stomach to forgive the I.S. populist-moralists for having attacked him for eating the world's most expensive free meal (won in a contest)? Perhaps the all-time low was reached with the campaign to help the I.S.'s Red Tide youth supporters collect 500 pairs of shoes for the Rhodesian nationalist ZANU guerrillas: "We say, if they're willing to take up arms and fight, we will provide shoes to walk with."

Changes...But Not for the Better

In dumping their newspaper, the I.S. evidences not a pang of shame. On the contrary, these patronizing cynics like the stupidity of *WP*. Instead of recognizing that there never was an audience for this junk, the I.S. has decided that *WP* was too left-wing for the workers, too explicit for its "reform movement" and "rank and file" work. Better to be free from all this talk of "socialism," even in primer terms.

So the open letter announces a new "broad-based labor newspaper based on the rank and file and union reform movements developing in the working class today. Such a paper would not be published by the IS or any other political group...." In short, *WP* was not backward enough. An internal document of the majority caucus spells out the character of the new "extremely exciting project": "The reform movement needs a publication of its own." "It will have to reflect different points of view within the reform movements." But there is one point of view that will be banned on principle: "while it will have a class point of view, it cannot be the advocate of socialism, for that would cut it off from too much of the union reform movement" (Labor Perspectives Convention Resolution, November 1978). The prototype of this paper is of course the TDU's *Convoy*, but another labor-liberal newsletter has recently appeared called *Labor Notes* with an I.S.er as editor and TDU's Pete Camarata on the editorial board. It embodies the politics of *WP* sans "blue jeans," sans "socialism," sans everything but the limpest trade-union reformism.

And what about "socialism"? That will be relegated to another new publication called *Changes*. While the I.S. is doing its best to build the "reform movement" (of out-bureaucrats) with a "workers' paper," it is also sniffing around for possibilities of social-democratic regroupment with people like NAM. So *Changes* is *WP* reformism out of its academic closet. If *WP* was a college boy's version of something for workers to read, *Changes* in its first issue promises to be these same cynics at work on a parody of a theoretical journal.

If anything, *Changes* is even more open and enthusiastic over the prospects of an all-American popular front in the form of a liberal Democratic Party/labor coalition floated in Detroit by UAW president Doug Fraser. In an article entitled "Labor, Liberals Lose Together at Democratic Mini-Con," *Changes* enthuses:

> "These days, it's not just radicals who are characterizing the Democrats as a party of big business. The new coalition, a sign of deeper political undercurrents, could be the beginnings of a rift in the [Democratic] party that could widen into a chasm."

In other words, if the labor movement applies enough pressure on the party of big business, then liberal Democrats like Edward Kennedy and Bella Abzug will *really* become "friends of labor."

Such a perspective is not fundamentally different from the DSOC scheme to form a "labor party" within the Democratic Party. Indeed, *Changes* all but openly advocates work within the Democratic Party as part of the liberal/labor coalition. In the "Letter from the Editor" which appears by way of a policy statement, *Changes* says:

> "As this [Democrat/bureaucrat] coalition is forced to organize pressure on the Carter administration, on its budget proposals or health care, or jobs, it will contribute to building a movement that goes beyond union and contract fights—a movement that can give working people a greater impact on events....
>
> "As the most conscious workers come to understand the limits of capitalism, through their own attempts to reform it, they become the key to building a workers' revolutionary party in this country."

The internal majority document on "Labor Perspectives" says that in the unions "calls for an immediate break with the DP are not possible...we do not propose to raise the labor party as an agitational slogan in the unions at this time" (of course, they do favor "education" for a labor party...). Indeed, the Democratic Party is the logical home for American social democrats, but whether or not the I.S. or a section of it enters the party of Jimmy Carter will depend on the posture of the liberal wing of the trade-union bureaucracy.

Is the TDU "Unlike You, Harry"?

Despite the madly shifting formats of I.S publications and the frenzied cliquist squabbling, the I.S. retains one "principle" of unity: the TDU. All wings of the organization wish to cling to its one live opportunist prospect. The present sharp clique fight is in one sense a fight over the treasure of Pete Camarata's personal reputation. And it is the Zeluck minority which has Camarata.

This fact is the key to understanding the otherwise unintelligible distinction made by the PSC clique between a "reform movement" of out-bureaucrats like Sadlowski and a "rank and file" movement.

Certainly no real programmatic difference can be discerned between the

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Venture into "Third Camp"

SWP Discovers Capitalism in Cambodia

ADAPTED FROM AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST NO. 61, MARCH 1979

The recent outbreak of shooting wars between rival Stalinist regimes in Southeast Asia has posed a serious test for would-be Marxists. Seizing upon Hanoi's lightning strike to topple the Pol Pot gang in Cambodia and the subsequent Chinese invasion of Vietnam, various bourgeois commentators (once again) proclaimed the death of proletarian internationalism. Of course, for those "communists" who simply act as loudspeakers for one or another ruling bureaucracy, the response was easy: like the RCA Victor mascot, they just bark to their master's voice. Lapdogs of the Kremlin bayed against the "U.S. puppets in Peking" while Maoist running dogs, taking their cue from Carter/Brzezinski, were yapping at Vietnamese "bandits."

Only Trotskyism, with its analysis of the counterrevolutionary nationalism of the Stalinists, could provide a revolutionary explanation of the fighting in Indochina. But once again the misnamed United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) proved unequal to the task. As on so many issues in the past (Portugal, Angola, Guevarist guerrillaism, Chinese "cultural revolution"), a survey of the USec press on the Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia revealed diametrically counterposed lines: the Spanish *Combate* claimed that Vietnam and its Kampuchean puppet were carrying out a "defense of the socialist achievements in Indochina," while the French *Rouge* demanded "Vietnamese Troops Must Leave Cambodia" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 12 February).

Most curious of all the responses in the USec to the explosive events in Indochina has been that of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its subsidiaries elsewhere. Jack Barnes & Co. accused Peking of "acting in the interests of American imperialism" by invading Vietnam, then opposed demonstrations outside the Chinese Mission to the UN as being directed at the "wrong address" (*Militant*, 9 March). On the other hand, it *backed* Hanoi's ouster of Pol Pot as a "necessary step" toward the overthrow of capitalism in Cambodia. Pol Pot's Democratic Kampuchea was "capitalist," according to the SWP? That's what they say, and their membership has been having more than a little difficulty defending this shift in line.

Thus, for example, the Australian SWP initially published an article by local leader Allen Myers condemning the Vietnamese overthrow of the Phnom Penh regime as "a major setback" and denouncing both regimes as "privileged bureaucracies committed to 'socialism in one country'" (*Direct Action*, 25 January). Two weeks later they reprinted without explanation an article by Fred Feldman of the American SWP supporting the invasion and referring to Pol Pot's Cambodia vaguely as a "bizarre authoritarianism based on the labor of a militarized peasantry." And then in its March 1 issue *Direct Action* announced—*four years* after the fall of Lon Nol—that "what [the Khmer Rouge] had established was not a workers state but a particularly brutal and oppressive capitalist government."

New York Times

Pol Pot's Cambodia: depopulated cities, forced collectivization. SWP says Stalinist atrocities equal capitalism.

Brutal and oppressive, yes—but capitalist? With the crushing of the venal Lon Nol puppet dictatorship in 1975, the victorious Stalinists not only suppressed what there was of a capitalist class in Cambodia, but also collectivized everything in sight and even eliminated currency! True, Pol Pot's paranoid bureaucratic irrationality created a regime which raved about the territorial claims of the ancient Khmer empire, extolled muscle power as an alternative to "foreign" machinery and murderously purged a whole layer of Khmer Rouge cadres trained in Vietnam. When the Hanoi army toppled him in January they were greeted more as liberators than as hated conquerors. But despite the atrocities of Pol Pot & Co., the overthrow of capitalist/landlord rule *was* a gain for the Cambodian masses. As Trotskyists we defend the gains won in the entire region as a result of the military defeat of U.S. imperialism, its native puppets and exploiters, while calling for the political revolution to oust all the Stalinist bureaucracies, replacing them with workers soviet rule.

Not for the SWP, however. In their long "theoretical" treatise explaining that post-1975 Cambodia was "capitalist," Fred Feldman and Steve Clark write:

> "If Pol Pot's Kampuchea was a workers state, even with grave bureaucratic distortions, then revolutionary socialists would have to defend the possibility that such a state can come into being, and in *no way whatsoever* mark a social and historical advance for the working class."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 26 February

Certainly, every socialist should find the murderous xenophobic and anti-working-class policies of Pol Pot deeply repugnant. Unlike many opportunists who uncritically tailed the Indochinese Stalinists, from the beginning we denounced the Khmer Rouge's brutal depopulation of the Cambodian cities (see "Indochina Deformed Revolution," *WV* No. 72, 4 July 1975). But to say that there is "nothing" for the working class to defend in Kampuchea is a direct attack on the Indochinese revolution. And to square this with its formal claim to Trotskyism, the SWP has to resort to endless theoretical and factual contortions.

To begin with there is the question of South Vietnam. The SWP argues that China's invasion of Vietnam was undertaken because of imperialist hostility to the overthrow of capitalism in the south *last year*:

> "After delaying for nearly three years, in the hope of reaching an accommodation with imperialist and native capitalist forces, the Vietnamese rulers moved decisively, beginning in March 1978, to sweep away capitalism throughout South Vietnam...."
>
> —*Militant*, 19 January

As Marxists we pointed out following the NLF/DRV victory of May 1975 that the capitalist state apparatus of the Saigon regime had been smashed and replaced by that of the North Vietnamese bureaucratically deformed workers state; that the Vietnamese bourgeoisie was in flight, its power as a class broken; and that the new regime would be forced, simply as a defensive measure, to establish a nationalized economy. The SWP, however, would have us believe that after the triumphal end to decades of fighting—a world event of historic proportions—a separate South Vietnamese state based on a capitalist economy still existed, and that three years later capitalism was quietly smashed by a bureaucratic flick of the wrist. This is a barely disguised "Trotskyoid" version of the Stalinist myths of "two-stage revolution" and "peaceful transition to socialism."

The claim that capitalism continues to exist in Cambodia is based on a string of factual distortions and inventions. Feldman and Clark claim that the nationalizations under Pol Pot "are in the same family with the extensive nationalizations by regimes in Egypt, Burma, Mozambique and Angola"—that they were "the actions of a new bourgeoisie gestating in the state apparatus." It is true that the nascent bourgeoisie of the ex-colonial countries has frequently resorted to more or less extensive nationalizations, to aid in primitive capitalist accumulation and as a source for private profit through corruption. But in none of these countries have *all* the means of production and distribution been taken over by the state. As for their claim that the Cambodian economy is still "under the thumb of imperialism," that is pretty difficult in a situation where trade with capitalist countries was effectively reduced to zero.

The SWP has a hard time explaining away the importance of the sweeping collectivization measures. The "formal abolition" of money is dismissed as "temporary" and "artificial." That is true, certainly, but it doesn't make it any more possible to run a capitalist economy without money. As for the agricultural communes, these are described as "qualitatively different from the agrarian policies accompanying any revolutionary social overturn anywhere in the world, even those carried out in a distorted and bureaucratic way." This is accompanied by a recital of the horrors of life under Pol Pot: abolition of all social services, 12-hour day, militarization of labor. We have ourselves repeatedly denounced the extreme degree of bureaucratic irrationality and brutality by the Khmer Rouge regime. But is this truly unprecedented?

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STEEL WORKERS

PARIS, MARCH 23

Today is the march on the capital in solidarity with Lorraine steel workers who have been fighting for more than three months against announced layoffs by the thousands in that hard hit industry and region. The national demonstration, called by the CGT labor federation, has been planned for weeks. The CGT bureaucracy wants to put itself at the head of the movement in order to keep it from getting out of hand. The angry steel workers from the North want to draw in the working class of the Paris region, key to any significant labor struggle in France. Will the march head off the explosive movement or be a launching pad for a vast strike action against the rigid anti-labor "rationalization" program of the Giscard/Barre government? The next few hours will tell.

Lorraine, at least, is on a war footing. Longwy, Denain, Valenciennes—all scenes of recent battles—are represented with big contingents. One hundred eighty buses, six special trains have brought them to five assembly points in the "red belt" of working-class suburbs crowning the capital region. From there they will converge on Place de la République, the Union Square of Paris. *France-Soir* reports, "Longwy: Only Children and Elderly Stayed Behind." But where is the Parisian proletariat? By the end of the march only 80,000-100,000 participants are counted, far less than the 500,000 to a million marchers which the unions and the left have brought out on other occasions. It's sabotage.

In addition to the Stalinist-dominated CGT, the march was

March on Paris

endorsed by the Lorraine branches of the social-democratic-led CFDT labor federation and even the clerical CFTC, a "union" created on the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* but which has a working-class base among the coal miners. Sections of the FEN, the unitary teachers union, are present and also delegations of steel workers from Germany and Belgium. Both the Communist Party (PCF) and Socialist Party (PS) have endorsed. But the national leaders of the CFDT and the right-social-democratic Force Ouvrière (FO) have denounced the demonstration as a PCF electoral maneuver. CFDT chief Edmond Maire called it "the march of the cantonal elections," which are being held Sunday. But that still doesn't explain the low turnout.

Steel workers demonstrate outside headquarters of Usinor trust in Paris in December. Couderel/L'Express

A simple fact: just under two thirds of the demonstrators are from the provinces. Just by itself, and certainly with the PCF/PS endorsements, the CGT could fill the streets of Paris. The explanation: even though it was their march, the CGT didn't call for a general strike of all sectors in the Paris region. At Renault-Billancourt, rightly considered the beacon of the French working class, *L'Humanité* reports that "the CGT and CFDT agreed to call for a work stoppage of two hours." So only a tiny minority of Billancourt's tens of thousands of workers are here. The largest Paris contingents are of striking workers: the stock exchange employees, out since February 27; workers of the Crédit du Nord bank, also on strike for several weeks.

The contingents from the North and and East are easily recognizable by their helmets and their fighting spirit. Their banners announce the presence of virtually all the factories and villages of the region. They have brought along small bands, noisemakers, etc., and an impressive number of red flags. Several times the demonstrators break into singing the *Internationale*. The usual slogans: "Giscard, if you stay we'll kick you in the ass!" "Everything for us, nothing for them!" There is also an impressive number of municipal officials with tricolor sashes indicating their role in the bourgeois state as well as the nationalism of the CGT campaign. On the signs you can read the PCF slogans: "Paris must not become a suburb of Bonn!" Along the march route we pass the offices of *L'Humanité*, literally covered with French flags and a banner hanging out: "Fight for our demands, our regions, our country!"

Faced with a massive outcry against the mounting unemployment and continuing inflation, the government has adopted the policy of the carrot and the stick. Today it is the stick. In addition to the usual display of tough CGT marshals to keep leftists from "contaminating" the rest of the marchers, the streets are lined with the CRS riot police and Gardes Mobiles stationed on every block, alternating on left and right sides, ready to break up the demonstration. Deploying such a massive number of cops against the marchers for the first time is an obvious government provocation. Three times in recent weeks the steel workers at Denain and Longwy have battled the cops in near-insurrectional conditions, attempting to storm police stations. Every contingent from the North breaks into jeers and booing whenever they run into the "forces of order."

All along the march the police attempt to provoke incidents, succeeding briefly at the Place de la République. In addition, there are a number of "autonomes," anarcho-spontanéists, who want to "spoil" the promenade-like atmosphere. At Place de l'Opéra, the destination point, there are no speeches, no mass rally, nothing but loudspeakers with the CGT brass telling everyone to go home peacefully. The cops use the "autonomes" as a pretext to break up half the demonstration, leaving the miners and steel workers hesitating between following the orders of the bureaucrats or going on with the march even if it means a major confrontation with the cops. Finally they roll up their banners, but with bitter feelings in their breasts and an angry question on their lips, why couldn't a demonstration this strong have repelled the police and achieved its aims.

The battles with the cops go on as night falls, with more than 100 shop windows broken and 60 riot police injured. The next day the Stalinists demand a government investigation to see who provoked the violence, blaming it in general on provocateurs. No doubt there were provocateurs, and the autonomes' action simply fed the lies of the bourgeois media and the Stalinists, who slander the militant actions at Denain and Longwy as the work of "outsiders." The answer was not to turn the march into a giant street battle, much as the demonstrators would burn with desire to teach the cops a lesson after their bloody attacks on earlier protests in the North. The fundamental obstacle to a successful demonstration of power which could put the government against the wall was the reformist leadership of the workers movement, Stalinist and social democratic alike.

Whether by calling a march without focus or by boycotting it, their common concern has been to prevent an explosion of working-class militancy. That is why the Parisian proletariat was not mobilized; that's why there was no mass rally at the end. "Let the workers blow off steam, then send them home." Trotskyist revolutionaries would seek to reach the demonstrators with the demand that a genuine "march on Paris" be built to muster forces for an unlimited general strike for expropriation of the steel trusts and against the capitalist government's austerity policies and layoffs—for full employment and protection against inflation by a sliding scale of wages and hours. It was necessary to combat popular-front illusions that this could be solved simply by putting the reformists and their bourgeois bloc partners in the ministerial chairs—for a "new 68" that goes all the way, workers to power! What the steel workers need now is not simple militancy—that they have plenty of already—but a perspective for victory ■

Cops battled demonstrators outside Gare de l'Est in Paris March 23. France-Soir

ins Stopped, Plants Occupied

S ROCK FRANCE

PARIS

The last several months have been marked by the eruption of workers' struggles and violent confrontation with the police throughout France. Although focusing on steel, where workers are facing the immediate prospect of tens of thousands of layoffs, the unrest covers a whole range of sectors of the working class, white collar and blue collar, both in Paris and the provinces. It has led to a number of spectacular actions, often in areas not previously known for working-class militancy, including battles with the CRS riot police, street barricades, plant occupations, kidnapping of management personnel, shutting down whole cities for a day, taking over television stations and, on at least four occasions, armed assaults on police stations. The press has been screaming "warnings," brandishing the spectre of May 1968, while the government threatens a crackdown and refuses to budge from its viciously anti-working-class program to "rationalize" the economy by letting all but the most profitable firms go under.

The most dramatic actions have occurred in three steel towns in the industrial basins of northern and northeastern France. They began last December when the leading French steel trust Usinor announced the layoff of 5,000 workers in Denain and another 500 in nearby Valenciennes. In the Lorraine steel region just south of Luxembourg an additional 5,900 job cuts were announced in the mills of Longwy. A protest demonstration was held there on December 19 attracting some 20,000 marchers; in addition, all commerce was shut down for 24 hours in an *opération ville morte* (dead city). On the windows of closed shops leaflets were posted in the form of funeral announcements proclaiming that Longwy would live or die with steel. On a giant slagheap, 400 feet high, outside town the workers perched an enormous SOS which is visible for miles around.

That was only the start. From then until the end of January there were a number of actions, including blocking roads into Longwy, lightning occupations of administrative offices, and similar guerrilla tactics. These were announced by a clandestine radio station, "Radio SOS Jobs," run by the local CFDT union. Then on January 27 some 1,200 workers at the Usinor mill in Denain escaped from the control of the bureaucrats and sacked the main accounting office, after which they clashed with the CRS riot police. Two days later several hundred workers at the Chiers mill at Longwy burst into a meeting of the managing committee and seized three leading company officials whom they held as hostages in the plant, demanding a stop to the layoffs. Before dawn a squad of local police attacked and snatched the managers, although a dozen cops were injured in the fight.

Trying to stay on top of things, the local unions call a demonstration to protest the cop brutality. But at the end it gets out of hand as several hundred workers and youth lay siege to the police headquarters of Longwy. For over an hour they bombard the commissariat with bolts and paving stones, while the police trapped inside defend themselves by shooting out tear gas grenades. Meanwhile, also on the 29th, workers at steel company offices in Metz invade the administrative offices and burn a large number of files. The workers dump 18 railway carloads of ore in the courtyard of the factory and a load of cement in front of the offices. They then go on strike, causing one blast furnace to be banked. Both at Metz and Longwy the CGT union federation accuses "riot specialists, outside elements and provocateurs" of causing the militant action.

Using their traditional tactics of "capturing" the leadership of a movement outside their control, the Stalinist and social-democratic union leaders call a one-day strike of the metallurgical sector for February 16. Demonstrating the workers' will to fight, the strike is 90 percent effective and extends also to other industries in the North and Lorraine. It is accompanied by big demonstrations, notably at Valenciennes; at Sédan another police station is attacked.

Der Spiegel

Steel workers outside building of employers' federation in Longwy.

Der Spiegel

Longwy steel workers take over bank in January.

The bureaucrats hope they have cooled things down, but once again Longwy takes the lead. On February 22 the steel workers take over a bank and the local television transmitter, demanding that the state network broadcast the truth about their situation instead of the usual lies. During the night they are brutally driven out by 150 police in squad cars; an hour later the workers, from the CFDT federation, regroup to counterattack, but on arriving at the transmitter they find it empty of cops and occupied by a group of workers from a neighboring factory.

Together they return to the center of Longwy to once again assault the police station. At 3 a.m. factory sirens blast calling the steel workers for a meeting. Hundreds arrive, bringing with them a bulldozer. To prevent reinforcements, all access roads into town are cut off. For two hours the commissariat is bombarded by molotov cocktails, and the next morning the outside walls of the station are found peppered with holes from carbine bullets. The PCF deputy and CGT representative try in vain to restrain the demonstrators, and finally manage to deflect the siege by calling for an assault on the local offices of the Union Patronal (management association). The building is totally sacked: furniture, files, everything thrown out the windows and burned on the spot, even the crystal chandeliers and a grand piano (*Le Monde*, 25 February).

Once again the Stalinist-led CGT accuses provocateurs of being responsible for what was in reality a mass revolt by the workers of Longwy. Once again they try to bring things back under control by calling a one- and two-hour work stoppage for the entire metalworking sector of industry. And once again it doesn't work. This time the scene shifts to the city of Denain, south of Belgium, a stronghold of the Communist Party (PCF) and the setting in which Emile Zola wrote his novel of a coal miners' strike, *Germinal*.

On March 7 a group of workers at the Usinor mill had left for the border to stop trains and trucks bringing in foreign steel (part of the PCF effort to turn steel workers' protests in the direction of national chauvinism). While standing around talking, the workers were suddenly attacked by CRS riot police. Then as they returned to Denain the union buses were stopped by the CRS in the middle of a forest, their windows broken and tear gas shot inside. When they finally arrived back in town, the workers called out the morning shift and surrounded the police station with several thousand protesters. Repeatedly PCF and CGT officials attempted to disperse the demonstrators, announcing in a leaflet that company executives had agreed to suspend the layoffs. According to *Le Monde* (9 March), workers tore up the leaflet, shouting, "It's not the time to talk but to act." *Le Matin* of the same date reported that when the bureaucrats tried to get the demonstrators to go back to the plant, one steel worker protested: "We won't let ourselves be maneuvered like in 1968."

Finally calm was restored in Denain and the bureaucrats received the bourgeoisie's congratulations. "[CGT leader Georges] Séguy was wildly applauded. He deserved it. He had recovered Denain by reassuring the populace, by assuring them they had won, by promising that everything would be taken care of and that moreover it was all planned out. Nothing of course was improved but everyone returned home quickly in the driving rain. A policeman murmured, 'Thank you, Mr. Séguy'" (*Le Figaro*, 10 March). Indeed, nothing was improved, for on March 14 the Usinor bosses announced the mill at Denain would be shut down.

These are spectacular actions, to be sure, but essentially guerrilla or "apache" tactics. While an impressive sign of the workers' militancy, they cannot substitute for mass mobilization and strike action throughout the industry. The local CFDT union, which has more or less broken with its national federation since the ranks refused to settle for promises of "industrial plans" and negotiations, is behind many of these commando actions. This "rebel" section nevertheless toes the CFDT (and CGT) line on the essential point: no national, unlimited strike in steel to stop the layoffs. And in this treachery they are supported not only by the PCF and the Socialist Party (PS), but also by most of the self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" centrist groupings.

The Steel Crisis and the Workers Movement

The crisis in French steel has been brewing for some time and is indicative of the not-so-rosy economic future offered to European workers by the capitalists' Common Market. Interestingly, the first step taken toward the eventual creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) was the European Coal and Steel Community, formed in the early 1950s, which eliminated tariffs on basic metallurgical products. Now the entire European steel industry is in a crisis of overproduction, leading to a wave of economic nationalism fanned in particular by the Stalinists. The government of President Giscard d'Estaing has proposed to answer this crisis with a retrenchment plan that would mean 20,000 layoffs in the industry in the next two years. By 1980 a total of 50,000 jobs in steel would have been eliminated in six years and the industry would employ only 118,000 in all of France.

The reformists do not question the government steel plan as such; for them it is a question of negotiating its application, presenting alternative industrial projects, etc. In response the government of Prime Minister Barre has concocted a scheme for "reconversion societies" to find temporary work for laid-off steel workers. One is tempted to recall the National Work-

continued on page 9

Cambodia...

(continued from page 5)

In order to make their case that Cambodia is some kind of unique, bizarre capitalist authoritarianism, Feldman and Clark whitewash the brutality of other Stalinist regimes. What about Stalin's forced collectivizations, often carried out at gunpoint and resulting in *millions* of deaths? In China during the 1958-60 Great Leap Forward the Central Committee had to pass a resolution *limiting* the workday to 12 hours. And after the peak of the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s, militarization was so extreme that the People's Liberation Army was placed in charge of *all* jurisdictions (communes, factories, neighborhoods). The article tries to claim that elsewhere "working-class mobilizations" were "decisive, even though subjected to bureaucratic direction and control," including in Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe in the late 1940s. This is simply a myth—the East European nationalizations were totally bureaucratic in their execution.

The SWP's "explanation" of its characterization of Pol Pot's Cambodia as capitalist is an outlandish collection of half-truths, tautologies and outright idiocies. But what is important is the methodology. At least in Vietnam it could point to the Chinese-dominated petty commerce that had not yet been nationalized; in Cambodia *no private enterprise whatsoever* existed under the Khmer Rouge. There were no profits, no capitalist accumulation, no competition, no money: some capitalism! With this schema, all Feldman and Clark would have to do is substitute new empirical data and examples to "prove" that the Russia of Stalin and his heirs was—"state capitalist."

Testing the "Third Camp" Waters

What's behind all these theoretical acrobatics over an event which took place four years ago? The answer: taking after bourgeois anti-communism. Obviously, to be against "Democratic Kampuchea" doesn't take much political guts these days. The Khmer Rouge regime was everybody's example of "violating human rights." Liberal Democratic senator George McGovern, an old SWP favorite from the anti-Vietnam War days, was the first major figure to urge U.S. intervention against Pol Pot, but not the only one. Recently even the conservative columnist William Safire, an ex-Nixon staffer, supported Vietnam against Cambodia, because "any puppet government would be better than the bloodbathers of Pol Pot" (*New York Times*, 26 February).

The SWP's analysis of the Indochinese revolution has always figured prominently in its long-term aspiration to become the party of U.S. social democracy. The antiwar movement of the 1960s provided the SWP with its first real opportunity to cozy up to a section of the American bourgeoisie, which hinged on demonstrating its "Third Camp" neutrality between imperialism and the deformed/degenerated workers states. In the 1960s the SWP denied that a social revolution was even taking place in Indochina (since if it were they would obviously be duty-bound to call for military victory of the Stalinist NLF, something its liberal allies could not stomach). The real issue, they said, was a democratic one—self-determination. With this theoretical figleaf, the SWP paved the way to a class-collaborationist bloc with a defeatist section of the U.S. bourgeoisie.

"Mass democracy" in Democratic Kampuchea. Reich/Paris Match

Now they are at it again—performing theoretical hocus-pocus in order to avoid any taint of connection with the despised Pol Pot regime. Feldman and Clark tell us:

> "But the nationalization of property is not by itself sufficient to establish a workers state. The intervention by the workers—the only force in modern society capable of establishing and maintaining a progressive economic structure—is needed."

Of course, this is the exact same argument used by proponents of the theory of "state capitalism" to claim that capitalism was not overthrown in China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc. As a long-time SWPer, now a supporter of the Spartacist League, noted at a March 9 SWP forum in the San Francisco Bay Area on China's invasion of Vietnam:

> "The description you gave could just as easily have been applied to Poland, Hungary or any other of the East European countries. The workers, you say, did not participate in the nationalizations in Cambodia. They also didn't participate in them in East Europe.... Your description of Cambodia is a classic, Shachtmanite, state-capitalist position."

With the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, the SWP had only to extend its fabrication one step further to provide a means of ducking the issue of defense of the Soviet Union, Vietnam's patron. According to the SWP, capitalist Cambodia spearheaded a "triple alliance" with the U.S. and China "which threatened the very existence of the Vietnamese workers state." China's invasion was designed to prevent Hanoi's new client regime from "establish[ing] a workers state in Kampuchea" (*Direct Action*, 22 February). Thus the SWP wished away the whole *anti-Soviet* character of the U.S./China alliance, barely mentioning even the possibility of Soviet intervention. Defending Vietnam is one thing; lining up with the militarily powerful USSR would be an unforgivable act of disloyalty to the U.S. ruling class.

Imitating social democrats and "Third Campers" of all stripes, the SWP points to the very real crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracies in order to refuse to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. To justify his abandonment of Soviet defensism in 1940, Max Shachtman denied the Marxist understanding that property forms are decisive in determining the class character of a state, insisting instead on the necessity for *political* control by the working class. The SWP has now lifted a page from Shachtman, arguing that Cambodia is not a workers state because "The Kampuchean working class had no stake whatsoever in the nationalization of property, carried out without its participation..." (*Intercontinental Press*, 26 February).

In recent years the SWP has been preparing the groundwork for a refusal to defend the Soviet degenerated workers state against U.S. imperialism: uncritically politically supporting pro-imperialist Soviet dissidents, calling for a pacifist policy of nuclear disarmament and asserting that in the nuclear age military defense of the USSR has become "meaningless." With a USSR-U.S. military confrontation looming just over the horizon in the China-Vietnam war, they have ignored the threat to Soviet Russia and begun dabbling in *openly* "Third Campist" theories. How long before the SWP "discovers" that, as in Cambodia, the workers in the Soviet Union also do not exercise political power and therefore the revolutionary legacy of October no longer warrants defense against imperialism?■

"Allah über Alles?"

You can really see why we call them fake-lefts when you watch all the opportunists falling over themselves trying to outdo each other in grovelling before the "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) spokesman Cindy Jaquith's nauseating defense of the *chador*, the head-to-foot veil which is a symbol of the feudal oppression of women, was bad enough. Only a week before tens of thousands of women were marching in Teheran against "holy man" Khomeini's orders to don the veil, Jaquith was defending it as a symbol of resistance to the shah!

Now from England we receive a report of another disgusting example. Two weeks ago, Brian Grogan, national secretary of the International Marxist Group (IMG—fraternally linked to the SWP), gave a talk in Birmingham about his recent trip to Iran. Like Jaquith's talks in the U.S., it was a combination radical travelogue and public relations spiel for Khomeini. His message was mass action in the streets. And naturally Grogan was marching along with them in the demonstration to greet the returning ayatollah, and chanting their chants. The enthusiasm was so great, he reported, that despite his "anti-religious prejudices," this self-styled Marxist soon found himself crying out, "Allah Akbar!" (God is Great!)

"That might shock some purists," said Grogan, looking directly at Spartacist League supporters in the room. But you see, he went on, the slogan was only religious in form. For weeks the shah's helicopter gunships had been flying overhead shooting at the masses. So in shouting "Allah Akbar" the people were saying, "We are great, you (the helicopters) are small." Sort of "the power of allah is greater than the man's technology," it seems.

Later, during the discussion period, a visiting American auto worker and supporter of the Spartacist tendency challenged Grogan to explain how chanting "Allah Akbar" was any more Marxist than carrying pictures of Khomeini, as the Fedayeen guerrillas have been doing. Without a moment's hesitation, Grogan pulled out his wallet and removed his own "Khomeini card" which he proudly displayed to the audience. No difference at all, you see, except that the Fedayeen are back in Iran where they are now facing the threats and blows of Khomeini's Islamic police and army.

Eduard Bernstein, the grandfather of such "socialist" opportunists, said "the movement is everything, the goal is nothing." The desire to be with the masses at all costs, the inability to swim against the stream and tell the truth to the working class, is invariably at the root of great betrayals. Grogan's remarks remind us of the following description by an erstwhile German socialist, Konrad Hänisch, describing his feelings after the SPD voted for war credits on 4 August 1914:

> "[on the one hand] this driving, burning desire to throw oneself into the powerful current of the general national tide, and, on the other, the terrible spiritual fear of ... surrendering oneself to the mood which roared about I shall never forget the day and the hour this terrible tension was resolved;.. until one could, for the first time in almost a quarter century, join with a full heart, a clean conscience and without a sense of treason in the sweeping stormy song, 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!'"
>
> —quoted in Carl Schorske, *German Social Democracy, 1905-1917*

Really felt good, didn't it Brian?

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France...

(continued from page 7)

shops of Louis Blanc—except that today the government is manufacturing more unemployment. The Stalinists of the PCF and CGT leadership, for their part, are doing their best to deflect the workers' anger onto the dangerous path of national chauvinism, turning the proletarians of one country against their class brothers and sisters elsewhere. Thus the French Stalinists have opposed Spanish entry into the EEC and campaign for the imposition of quotas on Italian wine imported into France. In the steel crisis it is the same story: at the December 19 demonstration at Longwy, the PCF banner read, "Lorraine Will Not Be the Vassal of West Germany."

The other main tack of the reformists is to detour the workers struggles into dead-end electoralism. Thus when thousands of layoffs at the Usinor mill in Thionville (near Longwy) were announced in the fall of 1977, the Stalinists and social democrats held a "solidarity" march in Paris, then sent the workers home with promises of relief if the popular-front Union of the Left won in the March 1978 legislative elections. The Union of the Left lost, and in any case the company proceeded to close the plant. Currently there is no doubt that the March 23 "march on Paris" was in part an electoral maneuver aimed at the cantonal elections, being held two days before the voting on the decisive second round. And in mid-March the reformist union leaders went along with the Gaullists' maneuver for a special session of the national assembly on the steel crisis.

What is the response of the "far left"? They eagerly go along with attempts to channel the struggle into an electoralist framework. Both the LCR and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert make the center of their propaganda the call for a PS-PCF government. Thus the OCI writes:

> "It's a question of expressing the will of the masses ... who ask the leaders of the PCF and PS: why do you call on this Assembly, whose majority represents a minority of the country, when what is necessary is to get rid of it and bring to power a government of your parties."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 14-21 March

But even a PCF-PS government in the parliamentary framework of bourgeois rule would not be able to solve the steel crisis, which is based in the cyclical crises of the capitalist economy. Only through expropriating the ruling class and thus laying the basis for a planned economy can there be a real answer to the mass unemployment threatening European steel workers.

Moreover, the "unity" of which the centrist pseudo-Trotskyists are so fond is by no means the unity of the workers movement against the bourgeoisie, but rather a call to establish the basis for a new popular front. The LCR sums up their policy in the following manner:

> "The two majority workers parties, the PS and the PCF, must stop their policy of division and, in spite of their disagreement, unite in struggle on the side of the workers and put their candidates in the government."
>
> —*Rouge*, 9-15 February

The "policy of division" which the Pabloists complain about refers to the split-up of the Union of the Left in the wake of its defeat in March 1978. Throughout that election campaign both the OCI and LCR lambasted the Stalinists and social democrats, particularly the PCF, for squabbling that threatened the electoral appeal of the popular front.

The *bourgeois* class character of this electoral alliance of reformist workers parties with a capitalist party (the Movement of Left Radicals) was passed over in silence. And since the break up of this class-collaborationist bloc, the central call of the LCR and OCI is for its reconstitution under the codeword of "unity" and the slogan of a PCF-PS government (the same slogan with which they called for votes to Union of the Left candidates in March 1978).

But instead two different popular fronts are now looming: the PCF is looking to the Gaullist RPR of Chirac to form a "union of the people of France" on the basis of the most nauseating anti-"boche" chauvinism (the Communist Party's chief slogan in the upcoming elections to the EEC "parliament" is "No to a German Europe!"); and important sectors of the PS leadership are giving an ear to Giscard's talk of a "center-left" coalition.

This popular-front electoralism is a dangerous diversion to the embattled

Der Spiegel

French steel town threatened with extinction.

steel workers, whose jobs are on the line. The response of the workers movement must begin with a strike of the entire steel industry, together with occupation of plants threatened by mass layoffs, demanding expropriation of the steel barons and the preservation of every job. But the economic crisis extends far beyond this one sector; layoffs and cutbacks in government employment are threatened everywhere. And the working class has responded with a wave of strikes and other job actions: rotating strikes in the post office, periodic shutdown of rail service, a television blackout, etc. The situation is ripe for the urgent demand of a general strike to achieve the steel workers' demands and institute a sliding scale of wages and hours, to protect all workers against unemployment and inflation.

Yes, the crisis is political, unlike the claims of the CFDT that the answer is pure-and-simple trade unionism plus negotiating a phony "plan" with Giscard's technocrats. The reactionary government which seeks to "rationalize" the economy by eliminating jobs must be ousted *by a revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat*, not a parliamentary combination of the reformist misleaders. The spectre of a "new 68" is indeed appropriate, only this time the working class must not let itself be maneuvered, as the steel worker in Denain put it, but must instead *take the power*. Strike committees must be elected in every enterprise and locality, and coordinated in a national strike committee. Such committees could be the embryos of dual power, the basis of a future workers government.

The answer must be internationalist. Anti-"bocheism," to paraphrase August Bebel's remark about anti-Semitism, is "the socialism of fools." The German proletariat is the powerhouse of the continent and key to the European socialist revolution. Furthermore, the French steel crisis comes at the same time as a German steel strike which also faced the question of layoffs and demanded a 35-hour workweek. (That strike was miserably sold out by the union tops.) The German and French steel workers must join their struggles against the threat of mass unemployment. Not the bosses' Common Market—Not the nationalist poison of the bureaucrats—But a socialist United States of Europe! ■

Kurds Revolt...

(continued from page 3)

northern Iran to the USSR. The Soviet army did not occupy Iranian Kurdistan, but the Mahabad regime soon shared the fate of its Azerbaijani analogue.

Because the program of Mahabad's Kurdistan Republic was kept strictly within a nationalist framework, i.e., simply self-government and the use of the Kurdish language, it relied entirely on the old feudal ruling elite. Qazi Mohammed was elected president over a council of tribal leaders. Even the meager reforms introduced in Azerbaijan frightened Qazi Mohammed and his supporters. They actually went to Teheran to propose an anti-Azerbaijan bloc to the shah and the British. When the shah moved to crush the Kurdish state, it relied for its defense solely on the Iraqi Kurdish feudal leader mullah Mustafa Barzani, who had been driven into Iran by the British and the Iraqi monarchy.

Given the balkanization and belated social development of the Kurdish nation, there has been a historic tendency to look for allies beyond its borders. Not only have many Kurds looked to the Soviet Union for help, but the Kurdish movement in Iraq had an evolution closely intertwined with that of the Iraqi Communist Party and its Kurdish section. When both the Iraqi CP and the USSR subordinated the Kurdish question in the interests of a diplomatic alliance between the Soviet Union and the bonapartist military regime of the Arab nationalist Ba'athists, this betrayal opened the door to Barzani's accommodation with the shah of Iran and the CIA. When the shah reached an understanding with the Ba'athist colonels all aid to the Kurds suddenly ceased, as they had served their purpose, and the aged tribal chieftain was completely discredited. Ironically Barzani died earlier this month in Washington, D.C., just as the Kurdish nation rose against the Iranian state.

Barzani's connection to the U.S. and his funding through the CIA have given the followers of the so-called "Arab revolution" an excuse to back off from the fundamental recognition of the right of independence for the Kurds. Thus while recognizing in the abstract the right of Kurdish self-determination, the Iranian fake-Trotskyist followers of Ernest Mandel indicated that it might be put into question if:

> "...with the rise of the Arab revolution, and in particular with the intensification of the class struggle in Iraq, U.S. imperialism tries to manipulate the Kurdish national movement under the leadership of Barzani to use it as a bastion of reaction against Arab revolution."
>
> —Azar Najmi, "Nationalism and National Struggles in the Middle East," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, December 1973

"Can the Arab Revolution Afford Another Garrison State in Kurdistan?" asks Najmi undoubtedly referring to Israel, whose Hebrew-speaking people are also denied the right of self-determination by the revisionists in the name of the "Arab revolution."

For Leninists recognition of the right of self-determination does not depend on whether or not the nationalists are getting their aid from "clean" sources. During World War II nationalists in Indonesia, Burma and India all received aid from Japanese imperialism. Did this mean that they did not have the right to independence from their colonial oppressors? The Stalinists, speaking in support of "democratic" imperialism said no. But for Trotskyists support for the right of self-determination does not depend on the foreign policy of the Kremlin. Receiving aid from the CIA does not disqualify a nation from its right to secede from an oppressor nation. With all their talk of imperialist manipulation those who denied the Kurdish right of self-determination were simply supporting Iraqi Arab nationalism against that of the Kurds.

The international Spartacist tendency recognizes the right of the nations of the Middle East to self-determination while battling politically against all forms of nationalism. We do not recognize the right of self-determination only for "good" nationalists. They are all the actual or potential exploiters and oppressors of their "own" workers and peasants. And unlike the SWP and others who preached the new dawn of Khomeini, we warned the oppressed nationalities of Iran of their fate under the clerical reactionary mullahs. But for the SWP and others the national question was answered when Khomeini denounced Israel and set up the PLO Arab nationalists in the Israeli embassy. Even many Kurds were fooled into believing that they might get a better deal under the mullahs than the shah. Now they know the truth.

It is understandable that the embattled Kurds of Iran look to Iranian leftist groupings like the Fedayeen for aid. But for all their militancy, the Fedayeen only offer a perspective of pressuring Khomeini. And the capitulation of the United Secretariat's Iranian section (in which Mandelites and SWP supporters are united on the basis of the SWP's parliamentary cretinism) before Khomeini is even more abysmal.

Khomeini has betrayed no one. He is pursuing the course he had forthrightly promised all along: the construction of a Persian chauvinist Muslim theocracy. Yet the call for proletarian revolution to overthrow the mullahs' dictatorship remains conspicuously absent from the pages of the press of the United Secretariat. The international Spartacist tendency remains unique in its intransigent opposition to Khomeini.

Proletarian revolutionists in Iran must fight every instance of national oppression, and must therefore militarily defend the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination, up to and including the right to separate if they so choose. But a political struggle must be waged not only against Persian nationalism but against Azerbaijani, Kurdish or Baluchi nationalism, fighting for the class independence of the toilers from their "own" exploiters.

The full achievement of the democratic tasks posed by the Kurdish national struggle can only take place within a framework that is profoundly *internationalist*—the multi-national dictatorship of the proletariat in a socialist federation of the Near and Middle East. Under the leadership of a genuine Trotskyist vanguard party, the strategic Iranian proletariat will play a crucial role in its establishment. For a workers revolution to overthrow Khomeini! For an Iranian workers and peasants government! ■

SALES BLITZ—WV No. 226—Final Totals

Area	Blitz Quota	Total Sold	Percentage
Berkeley/Oakland	450	670	149
Boston	250	331	132
Chicago	500	688	138
Cleveland	275	440	160
Detroit	600	1026	171
Los Angeles	400	580	145
New York City	450	587	130
San Francisco	425	724	170
Trotskyist League of Canada	——	332	——
TOTAL	3350	5378	161

Peace Baloney...

(continued from page 1)

"there is a growing view that America is a patsy and we never retaliate."

Answering his critics, Carter proclaimed in a February 20 speech at Georgia Tech: "Let me repeat, in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world we will stand by our friends." Secretary of Defense Harold Brown was even more blunt when he declared on the 26 February "Face the Nation" television program: "The United States is prepared to defend its vital interests with whatever means are appropriate, including military force when necessary, whether that's in the Middle East or elsewhere." The Egyptian/Israeli treaty fits into this perspective, but more was needed. So in recent weeks the administration has pulled out all the stops to provide a convincing show of force.

To demonstrate that the U.S. was not a "patsy," Carter chose the unlikely Arabian backwater of Yemen. Saudi-backed North Yemen was involved in a local war with forces attacking from the pro-Soviet People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (formerly the British colony of Aden) to the south. Seeing an opportunity to "resist Soviet expansion" on the cheap while doing a favor for his Saudi friends, Carter ordered the aircraft carrier Constellation up into the Arabian Sea and bypassed Congress to ship $360 million worth of military hardware to North Yemen on an emergency basis, along with 200-plus American military personnel in "training teams."

$5 Million Gets a "Peace" Treaty...

While U.S. "multinational" merchants of death are slapped on the wrist when they bribe foreign governments to win military contracts, the American government has no such scruples about bribing its clients in Cairo and Jerusalem to extract a treaty from them. When defense secretary Brown visited Cairo in February Sadat eagerly suggested that he replace the shah as the American policeman for the region. As a symbolic gesture he sent 200 Egyptian soldiers to replace Iranian troops recently withdrawn from the sultanate of Oman. In return, the Egyptian *rais* (leader) requested a little baksheesh, in the form of an enormous shopping list of weaponry, including 300 advanced F-16 fighters, 600 tanks, 2,000 armored personnel carriers, etc. Israeli officials made it clear that the price of any treaty in which they gave up the Sinai would be equally expensive.

With the new alignment in the Near East, both Egypt and Israel are strategic allies of the U.S., and their combined military firepower far surpasses the Soviet-supplied Syrians' and Iraqis. Since the 1973 war Israel alone has received $10 billion in arms deliveries from the U.S., more than six times the *total* American aid to the Zionist state from its birth in 1948 to 1967. Syria/Iraq, on the other hand, have received no more than half that amount from the Kremlin. So in contrast to the strategic balance in past Near East wars, today Israel substantially outguns the combined forces of the "rejection front" states and can even mobilize a larger army. No wonder the Syrians (who have 30,000 troops tied down in Lebanon) fear a Zionist attack in the wake of the Egyptian/Israeli "peace" treaty. Washington would like to tie this $5 billion package to a new anti-Soviet military alliance in the Near East, modeled on the long-defunct CENTO—the stillborn mid-1950s brainchild of John Foster Dulles.

UPI

On the phone with Begin: arranging the Pax Americana.

Triunfo

Get this, then we tell them we're for a democratic secular Palestine.

...But Will It Buy an Alliance?

From the very beginning of the current Near East "peace" gambit we have warned that "Separate Peace Means Wider War." An Egypt-Israeli treaty would considerably elevate the U.S. role as arbiter in the region and thus push both the Soviet Union and its allies into a precarious defensive position:

> "In such a polarized situation the U.S. and Soviet Union could become prisoners of their own client states. In a war between Israel and Syria, the Russians, cut off from the possibility of playing a role in a general Near East settlement, might see themselves forced to intervene ever more directly to prevent the defeat of their remaining allies if they are to avoid being frozen out of this strategic region altogether. But Washington will not tolerate direct Soviet intervention against Israel. Much more so than in the Arab-Israel wars of 1967 and 1973, a separate Israeli-Egyptian peace followed by a military showdown between Israel and Syria could become the spark setting off World War III."
>
> —"War Danger Behind Cairo Peace Talks," *WV* No. 186, 23 December 1977

With the fall of the shah this inherent logic of a separate peace under American auspices was heightened as Washington looked desperately for a new alliance to bolster its weakened position in the "arc of crisis." Carter hopes to consolidate a bloc of U.S. client states including Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, North Yemen and the Persian Gulf oil kingdoms, whose main target would be the Soviet Union.

Will it work? The signing of the Egypt/Israel treaty has considerably complicated Washington's relations with the Saudis and their clients, who are facing a unanimous Arab League mandate to slap an economic and military boycott on Egypt. The Saudis have noted that Iran's backing for Israel, even with massive American support, did not contribute to the longevity of the Pahlavi dynasty. Moreover, their fanatical Islamic fundamentalism feels more ideological kinship with Khomeini than with the shah, while Arafat, though presented as a "radical" in the Western press, has been bankrolled by Saudi Arabia and the oil sheikhs for years. If they needed additional reasons to give them cold feet about joining up with Carter's new anti-Soviet alliance the Saudis need only look at the history of its predecessor, CENTO. Popular opposition to the U.S.-engineered Baghdad Pact was one of the sparks which sent the Iraqi masses into the streets in 1958 and brought down King Faisal, seen as a puppet of the imperialists. With discontent continuing to build in the Egyptian working class, it is an open question whether Sadat will suffer a similar fate.

Palestinians Shafted Again

Purportedly the treaty is "linked" to a timetable for Palestinian "self-rule" in the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In reality, Sadat and Begin simply agreed to make a "good faith" effort to complete negotiations on "autonomy" within a year, with the U.S. acting as overseer and the Palestinians excluded (as usual) from the bargaining. In any case, "self-rule" is nothing but a hoax dreamed up by the former Irgun terrorist and mass murderer of Deir Yassin, Menachem Begin.

Begin's program is a thinly veiled call for forced population transfers of the Arab population out of the West Bank. All land not formally owned by Palestinians would be taken over by the Israeli state or handed out to Zionist settlers. The Israeli army would patrol the entire area and control an Arab police which would be confined to purely local affairs. This is what Begin means by "autonomy" of "persons" and not "territories." And to drive home the point that the Israel/Egypt peace meant continued murderous oppression of the Palestinians, as the final negotiations were going on, fanatical Zionist settlers went on a rampage through the West Bank town of Rumollah, shooting and beating up Arab students.

Carter's visit to Jerusalem and announcement of the "peace" treaty were greeted with mass Palestinian protests on the West Bank. Two Arab youth were murdered by the Israeli army in the town of Halhul and in response a general strike was declared in Rumollah. But it is not just the oppressed Palestinians who are in ferment. While the vague peace sentiment widespread among the Israeli population following the 1973 war has been largely captured by the Carter/Begin/Sadat gambit, the Israeli working class has been hard hit by an economic crisis without precedent in the history of the Zionist state. On the same day that the cabinet was debating the draft treaty, the Histadrut, Israel's corporatist labor federation, called a general strike against rising prices and the removal of state subsidies from basic foods. Out of a workforce of 1,250,000, one million workers walked off their jobs.

Although the strike's demands were entirely economic, the Hebrew-speaking workers of Israel face the same Zionist rulers as the West Bank Palestinians. But the Israeli workers are not going to fight beside their Arab class brothers to replace the Zionist theocratic state of Butcher Begin with an "Islamic Republic" headed by Ayatollah Khomeini's disciple Arafat and subsidized by Saudi charity. What is needed is an Arab-Hebrew revolutionary workers party which recognizes the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew peoples, which fights for Israel's unconditional and immediate withdrawal from the occupied territories and for the overthrow of both the Zionist state and the Islamic rulers, whether demagogic nationalist colonels or reactionary sheikhs. Together with other Trotskyist parties in the Arab states, they would fight as part of a reborn Fourth International to establish the only possible framework for a just and lasting peace in the region: a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Teamsters...

(continued from page 12)

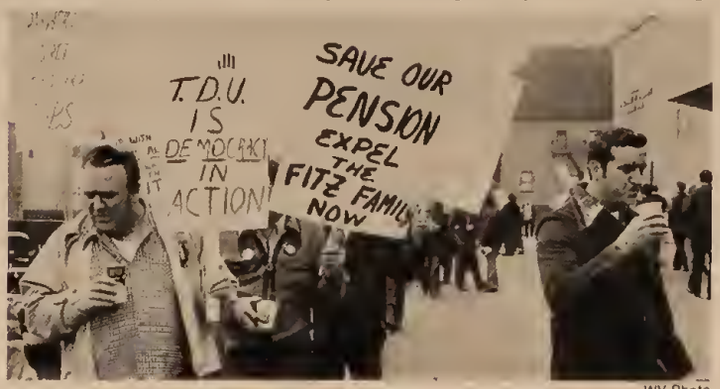
tionably be squandered if left to Fitzsimmons & Co. The ranks must present an organized forced capable of counterposing the will of the membership to the inevitable bureaucratic sellout. Mass meetings are essential in order to debate strategy and tactics and to respond to the immediate danger of strikebreaking injunctions. Membership decisions must be executed under the leadership of democratically elected strike committees which would have the authority to organize mass pickets at every terminal and warehouse. By coordinating efforts at a regional and national level, strike leaders could appeal to unionized rail, maritime and airline freight handlers when struck cargos are diverted to other transportation systems. In the event that injunctions or troops (as in Ohio in 1970) are ordered against the Teamsters, the entire labor movement must be prepared to answer with militant action.

TDU: Reformist Dead-End

The Fitzsimmons gang is corrupt and violent, but it sits atop a volcano of membership discontent. It is widely discredited among the militant rank and file, and could easily lose control of a strike. But there is no genuine alternative to replace it. The most prominent group of dissident IBT members, often lionized by the liberal capitalist media, is Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). The TDU program, however, is not qualitatively different from that of Fitzsimmons. It simply asks for "more." TDU's *Convoy* concedes, in fact, that the IBT bargainers have raised "some excellent proposals," only doubting that "Fitz" will fight for them. And while Fitzsimmons at least called for a 35 percent wage and benefit increase, TDU "think[s] money isn't a major issue this year" (*Convoy* No. 34, February 1979).

In fact, it is not surprising that TDU played down the issue of wages, because this is the question on which a confrontation with the government is likely.

In addition, such a strategy is bound to breed illusions in the bosses' government. At a time when a central antagonist of the Teamsters is that same government, such illusions quickly become fatal. And, in fact, during the entire contract period TDU has simply tail-ended Fitzsimmons and his strategy of seeking "exemptions" from the wage guidelines as an alternative to strike action, never unambiguously calling for a strike on April 1. Even when the bureaucracy itself went to the membership for strike authorization, the group's headlined response in *Convoy Contract Bulletin* No. 5 was simply, "It's Time to Put on Pressure"—asserting that Fitzsimmons could be pressured "to win a good contract."



WV Photo

Detroit TDU rally in 1977. "Reformers" call on bosses' government to clean up union.

Integral to the TDU program is its strategy of seeking to pressure the bourgeois state into siding with the working class. Thus the group has sponsored numerous lawsuits against the Teamster bureaucracy, while TDU co-leader Pete Camarata even testified at Congressional hearings on alleged abuse of the union's pension funds by IBT officials. Calling on the capitalist state to get rid of the corrupt Teamster bureaucracy is patently futile; indeed, the present Fitzsimmons regime originated in just such a government purge of the old Hoffa leadership!

Should there be a strike—and particularly if there are large wildcats—it is not unlikely that the ranks would look to TDU for leadership. The group has a high profile in the union, but has made no serious preparations to build a militant strike, and moreover has a history of kowtowing to the government. Thus this reformist outfit may well find itself back in the bind it was in when the Detroit Teamsters wildcatted against Fitzsimmons' national settlement in 1976. The Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDU's predecessor) was suddenly catapulted into a position of de facto leadership, only to cave in to a federal court order one day later and advocate a return to work with a promise from local IBT officials that there would be no victimizations. This ignominious collapse was palmed off as a TDU victory!

Even if the group were to grow substantially, the Teamsters union could no more advance behind the TDU banner than did the miners behind one-time "reformer" Arnold Miller. To win in April the Teamsters must forge a leadership which is committed to militant union action, forming elected strike committees, and a program including the following demands:

1) Break the guidelines—for a big increase in wages and pensions with full COLA protection! Slash the workweek without a pay cut—no forced overtime!
2) Down with company productivity schemes! For a full-time safety committee in every terminal with the power to stop work! For the right to refuse assignment on unsafe equipment! For the right to strike over grievances!
3) Organize the unorganized!
4) Defy government strikebreaking injunctions! No to arbitration! Government out of the IBT!
5) Dump the Democrats and Republicans! For a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government! ■

Workers' Power...

(continued from page 4)

I.S.-run TDU and the Sadlowski "reform movement." Both represent the "progressive" wing of business unionism. Camarata is notorious for trying to find new ways to bring the Teamsters into the courts and the government into the union. And his "leftist" patron Zeluck (whose own redbaiting "rank and file" work in the teachers' union embarrasses even the I.S.) is no leftist: in fact, he argues that it was a "sectarian error" for the I.S. to leave the United National Caucus of the UAW.

But for factional purposes, the minority is quick to seize on *WP*'s coverage of local Teamster elections in the fall/winter of 1977:

> "Here Pete C. was running for election as representative of TDU. Pete Karazogian was running with the classic 'out' reform group, Concerned Members. *WP* headlined: 'Vote for the Two Petes.' Its article did nothing to distinguish between the approach of the two groups...."

No doubt this was galling to comrade Camarata. But factional flattery to Camarata aside, there's not a dime's worth of difference between "the Two Petes" from the standpoint of program.

Even in clique fights there are moments of partial truth. Steve Zeluck playing the "left" oppositionist is a revolting impostor, but he does have plenty to say about the Gerlerite I.S.:

> "At the 1977 TDU Convention we invited Harry Patrick of the UMWA to be the keynote speaker and made him an honorary member of the TDU. We did this despite the fact that by this time the MFD [Miners for Democracy] had shown its true colors time and again. The MFD leaders in power since 1973, had tried again and again to smash wildcat strikes.... Moreover in the months before the TDU convention the UMWA leadership was trying to crush another mass wildcat and Patrick was going along with them. He even appeared on TV to urge miners to go back to work. Nonetheless, we put forward Patrick to the TDU convention. Whatever we intended this to mean, and whatever Patrick actually said, there was a strong message which was inevitably conveyed: 'Here's Harry Patrick. He's a progressive official. He and the MFD got elected and succeeded in cleaning up the UMWA. We want the TDU to become an organization like the MFD, to act like the MFD did'."
>
> —I.S. Internal Bulletin No. 10, 7 November 1978

According to another Zeluck document:

> "Even worse [than inviting Patrick] is the fact that one of our leading speakers, in effect, helped Patrick to conceal his line on the wildcats. *Our* speaker, referring to Fitzsimmons as one who is admired by the capitalists and politicians because 'he doesn't let the ranks run riot,' then added, 'unlike you, Harry.' This strongly implied that Harry had no objection to the ranks 'running riot,' which in turn implies that Harry supported, or at least tolerated the wildcats....
>
> "In short, a bureaucrat was allowed to use our platform and even, at the end, to be voted in as an honorary member of TDU, at the urging of *one of our leaders*." [original emphasis]
>
> —"The Politicization of the TDU," September 1977

And the I.S. consciously sought to avoid raising the issue of racial oppression at the TDU convention, pandering to assumed attitudes of racism among TDU members. Zeluck recounts that before the convention the I.S. decided not to raise the question of Bakke and affirmative action, and if it came up to table the issue to a steering committee:

> "What happened then was that we surrendered a chance to raise this vital politicizing issue. For, as things turned out, the resolution did in fact almost come up at the end of the convention, *at the initiative of one of our own black members*. But in the name of 'no time' it was tabled, with the evident encouragement of K. who was in the chair...." [original emphasis]

Then, it seems, the black I.S.ers—schooled in "caucus formation"—threatened to form a black caucus to get a Bakke resolution on the floor. Zeluck tells what happened next:

> "The imperative need for the Bakke resolution was amply demonstrated by the clear racist response of a top TDU leader. He objected to Blacks' right to a caucus and threatened to form a white caucus in response."

These stories are not disputed in the internal documents of the majority.

I.S. Got No Reason to Live

The social-democratic New Left workerists of the I.S. thought opportunism would bring them success. They tailed the union bureaucrats and hailed the Labor Department—of course all in the name of the "rank and file." They got nowhere:

> "We watched for signs of an emerging movement.... We thought we saw the beginnings as a mass rank and file upheaval in the early 70's, but it lost its momentum.... For the IS times were hard. Sticking it out in the working class cost the IS two splits and the loss of some talented cadre. For a period, the political perspectives of the IS seemed up in the air."
>
> —I.S. majority "Convention Resolution"

And they still are. The I.S. has no reason for independent political existence. What it wants to do in the unions, the "reform"/"rank and file" groups already do better. What it wants to do outside the unions is done better by the official social democrats, NAM, the SWP.

All that the I.S. can devise is more ways—like dumping *WP*—to hide in the unions, the better to serve the bureaucrats. Where to go from here? Let us offer our suggestion: You have taken a step in the right direction by scuttling that awful paper; wouldn't it be another favor to the working class to go all the way? ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Strike to Bust the Wage Freeze!

Teamsters: Get Carter!

On March 31 the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), the largest union in the U.S., will have an unequaled opportunity to defend the livelihoods of millions of American workers from the ravages of inflation by dealing a crushing blow to Jimmy Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines. For on midnight of that day the Master Freight Agreement, which sets the wages and working conditions for 300,000 Teamster truck drivers and warehouse workers across the country, will expire. The government's wage controls are already in plenty of trouble. Galloping inflation and soaring profits are rousing workers' anger and all that is needed is a good, solid shove to push them into action. And right now it's up to the Teamsters to do it.

Teamsters: they can stop the country overnight. Sauro/New York Times

While Carter has sought to depict his "voluntary" wage-price guidelines as a call for equal sacrifice from business and labor, this claim now has almost zero credibility among trade unionists. Recently the rate of inflation has consistently exceeded 10 percent, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics just announced that for February prices rose at an annual rate of 15.4 percent, over twice the 7 percent limit on wages! Only a few days previously the Department of Commerce reported that corporate profits had risen 26 percent in 1978. Even arch-conservative AFL-CIO chief George Meany felt compelled to accuse big business of "the grossest demonstration of price gouging since the opening days of the Korean War."

Meanwhile, the Carter administration has been anything but conciliatory to the Teamsters. White House "inflation fighter" Alfred Kahn, chairman of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, recently slammed the IBT demand for a 35 percent hike over three years as "an act of aggression against the American people." Moreover the government has insisted that a 58 cent cost-of-living increase which would have been due April 1, be counted against the yearly "guideline" on the new agreement. Should Carter continue to insist on imposing the 7 percent wage limit in the face of double-digit inflation, there is every likelihood of a massive confrontation with the IBT.

As Teamster locals met last weekend to vote overwhelmingly to give the International authorization to call a strike, the government was threatening everything from Taft-Hartley to economic sanctions. In particular, Kahn is brandishing government deregulation of the trucking industry as a club against IBT demands. This is a threat only because for IBT head Frank Fitzsimmons, the preservation of Teamster jobs, wages and working conditions is entrusted to federal agencies like the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has traditionally allowed the carriers to pass wage increases on to consumers. In reality, militant union organizing for IBT scale is the answer to the encroachments of non-union carriers and owner-operators on non-regulated freight routes.

Since the government took the lead in holding down Teamster wage demands, the industry spokesman, Trucking Management, Inc., opened up with a barrage of non-monetary "take away" proposals. *WV* has obtained a copy of the TMI bargaining demands, dated 14 December 1978, which includes: slashed wages for new hires (70 percent for 12 months, full pay only after two years); refusal to "dovetail" seniority rights when one company acquires another's trucking permits; changes in work rules to no longer require consent of union locals; complete elimination of separate ratification of supplemental agreements; and deletion of a commitment to continue multi-employer bargaining with the IBT. Other takeaways included requiring employees to pay their own health and welfare contributions for each day off; the right to fire employees for failure to report accidents and even traffic citations, and increased right to hire "casuals" permanently denied seniority.

On March 2, TMI added its wage proposal an insulting 85 cents per hour—well under Carter's guidelines—spread over three years! The union is calling for $1.75 in new wages over three years (plus 58 cents in COLA due April 1) as part of an overall package boosting wages and benefits by about 38 percent.

Both sides are likely to modify their demands somewhat, but the carriers demonstrated their actual intentions in the bitter, 18-week California grocery strike which was finally crushed in November. Thanks to bureaucratic treachery, that strike was a dress rehearsal for disaster...and the bosses know it. Tom Schumacker, director of the California Trucking Association, remarked, "Many of our people are saying 'By golly, the food company people hung in there, took an 18-week Teamster strike in one of the union's strongholds. We ought to do the same thing if we have to'."

Militant Ohio Teamsters wildcat in 1970. Same National Guard unit which tried to break their strike shot the Kent State students. Militant

IBT militants, too, must learn the lessons of this betrayal. In a struggle which saw a Teamster picket killed, a government raid and seizure of a striking local's records, and the mobilization of a 2,500-man scab army, IBT head Fitzsimmons made every effort to sabotage the strike. His initial denial of strike sanctions, his sellout proposals, withdrawal of pickets from crucial regional distribution centers and the refusal to strike the Safeway chain nationwide resulted in eventual defeat. *That* is Fitzsimmons' real program.

The lengthy negotiation period could have been used to rally the ranks for strike action. Instead IBT bargainers demanded secret talks while hinting of union willingness to extend the contract if a settlement is near on March 31. Then, after Fitzsimmons warned that federal interference would force the union to "negotiate from a strike position," he invited the government's top labor negotiator, mediator Wayne Horowitz, into the bargaining. Fitzsimmons has repeatedly pinned his hopes on wheedling special exemptions from the guidelines, and even when threatening to strike he has hinted at calling selective work stoppages at one or two carriers rather than a nationwide shutdown—supposedly in order to "circumvent" Taft-Hartley.

If Fitzsimmons does call a strike on April 1, he will do so reluctantly, to dissipate rank-and-file militancy. (In 1976 he okayed the first nationwide truck drivers' strike, then ordered two thirds of the striking drivers back to work even before a tentative agreement was reached.) Moreover, IBT car haulers and workers in the giant United Parcel Service chain will stay on the job when the freight haulers go out. The numerous separate freight contracts which the IBT bureaucracy tolerates benefit only the carriers. Teamster militants must demand that their leaders shut down the entire trucking industry and bargain for a single national contract. All out on April 1—no extensions! No selective strikes—for a nationwide shutdown!

For Militant Strike Committees

The enormous social power of a nationwide Teamster strike will unques-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 229 13 April 1979

No-Nuke Syndrome

As the potentially most dangerous accident in the history of U.S. commercial nuclear power cooled off last week on Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, the fallout of public reaction was still pretty hot. But, fortunately for area residents, the damage done was measured in the disruption of lives and pocketbooks and not in sickness and death as so many had assumed. By midweek Harrisburg had relaxed enough to make some jokes about the accident, including a T-shirt that read "I'm from Harrisburg and I glow in the dark."

For the anti-industrial eco-faddists, however, this accident was *it*. As far away as Germany they chanted "We all live in Pennsylvania!" And while more than 100,000 people prudently fled the area, the no-nuke demonstrators rushed in where nuclear engineers feared to tread. The press went wild, with New York City's "Killer Bees" *Post* leading the way with headlines like "NUKE CLOUD SPREADING" and "NUKE LEAK AT INDIAN POINT" (a reactor outside NYC that spilled a few cups of radioactive water, at below-reportable levels).

The reformist *Militant* produced its first extra edition in years, with a headline about "Carter's Timebomb" and calling for closing down every nuclear facility. And the very unradical, punk journal of Manhattan's loftdwellers, the *Soho News*, summed up the spirit in an article entitled "Why Not Panic?"

Elsewhere in the country Democratic presidential hopefuls sought to ride the wave of anti-nuke opinion. In California Governor Jerry Brown called for closing down the Rancho Seco reactor near Sacramento, then took off for Africa with singer Linda Ronstadt. On Capitol Hill Teddy Kennedy countered by holding hearings with "searching" questions to nuclear power experts.

The accident at Three Mile Island occupied headlines, fearful nightmares and Hollywood doomsday fantasies. The popular film *The China Syndrome* certainly can make claim to life-imitating-disaster entertainment. On the night of the hydrogen-buhble scare, a tense audience in a packed NYC movie theater shouted "wooo eeee" when an on-screen nuclear engineer explains that a meltdown could destroy an "area about the size of, say... Pennsylvania." But it was not all fantasy. Something did go seriously wrong at unit number two of Metropolitan Edison's pressurized-water fission reactor.

Pierce/Time

Three Mile Island: accident sets off anti-nuclear panic.

The accident they said couldn't happen almost happened. Three out of four fail-safe procedures failed, and one can only wonder why the fourth and *last* fail-safe procedure worked. "It works, it works," said the utility companies, seeming to mimic the nuclear engineer in *The China Syndrome*. But there was little solace to be drawn from these assurances. For too long the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and its heir, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), along with the utility bigwigs, had promised the American public that all chance of accident had been "designed out" of the reactors. A public told many times that they had "nothing to worry about" had plenty to be angry about. And the anti-nuclear power lobby grabbed the opportunity to call up doomsday visions based on the false notion that commercial reactors are bombs.

The hot debate on nuclear power is irrational on both sides. Proponents claim that there can be no accidents while the no-nuke alliances of clams, abalones, shads and other organizations similarly located on the evolutionary scale argue that nuclear power is intrinsically more unsafe than other methods of producing energy under capitalism. Of course nuclear energy is far from completely safe and is fraught with unsolved problems. Who besides the AEC/NRC and the atomic industry publicists say otherwise? Not only the problems of waste disposal and accidents, but even the medical effects of long-term exposure to small doses of ionizing radiation are in dispute among doctors and research scientists.

But the alternatives under capitalism are just as, if not more, unsafe. Coal-burning power plants emit as much background radiation as nuclear reactors (coal contains radium and uranium). The possibility of dam accidents or liquefied natural gas explosions, for instance, can pose even greater potential destruction than the meltdown that could result from the worst possible reactor accident. But who wants to pick his poison from capitalism's deadly shelf? Is it better to build a dam or a nuclear reactor over the San Andreas Fault? We will not choose. Marxist revolutionaries are not in the business of technological reformism.

The Three Mile Island plant should be shut down. We demand it, just as we would demand that a particularly hazardous coal mine be closed. If the nuclear accident proves to be a design error of the Babcock & Wilcox reactor, then we will demand all of these reactors

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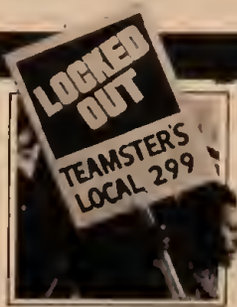
No Vote for Strikebreaking British Labour Government



Victory to the Teamsters!

Why They Supported Islamic Reaction

Smash Thatcher's "Austerity" on the Picket Lines

No Votes For Strikebreaking Labour Government!

LONDON, April 7—The five-year reign of James Callaghan's Labour government is over, ended by a one-vote margin of defeat in a parliamentary motion of no-confidence on March 28. This is the first time that a British government has been driven out of office by losing a vote in the House of Commons since Ramsay MacDonald's Labour cabinet fell in 1924. And, judging by recent opinion polls which show Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party in a strong lead, Labour's chances of returning to the government benches at Westminster after the May 3 election seem slim indeed.

And no wonder! After five years of wage control, skyrocketing unemployment and deteriorating social services, the British working class is decidedly less than enthusiastic at the idea of returning to power a government which is openly committed to driving down living standards even further. In order to enforce its anti-working-class wage controls, the administration of Callaghan and Benn resorted to open *strikebreaking*, mobilising the capitalist army to scab on strikes by ambulance drivers, firemen, Northern Ireland petrol drivers and Glasgow garbagemen. If many workers seem likely to cast votes for Labour anyway, this is simply because they see no other alternative to the right-wing, union-bashing Tories.

UPI

Jim "I cross picket lines" Callaghan

Cookson/Socialist Challenge

Margaret "I bust unions" Thatcher.

The immediate impetus for the government's downfall was a dispute over devolution, Labour's fraudulent and essentially inconsequential proposal for regional assemblies in Scotland and Wales. But what really lay behind Thatcher's decision to go for Labour's jugular in the Commons was the bourgeoisie's desire for an election to put a new, fresh administration into office. The Labour government was clearly a spent force, its energies used up by years of serving its capitalist paymasters. The *Financial Times* (28 March), leading mouthpiece for financial interests in the City of London, moaned that Prime Minister Callaghan's squalid horsetrading with various minor parties to keep a parliamentary majority was "no way to run a country."

But for years the bourgeoisie was happy with the way Labour ran the country—by slashing wages and busting strikes. Its "special relationship" with the trade-union bureaucracy led to a series of Social Contract pacts for wage control, which kept pay rises low while inflation soared. Whenever workers tried to beat the Cabinet/bureaucrat/boss alliance, as did the firemen in the winter of 1977-78, the government unleashed its troops and cops to smash their strikes.

Labour served British imperialism loyally in other areas as well. It stepped up the British armed presence in Northern Ireland: dispatching the notoriously brutal Special Air Service undercover squad to South Armagh in 1976, sanctioning the use of torture on suspected IRA prisoners in Castlereagh Barracks and withdrawing political status from Republican prisoners in the hellholes of Long Kesh concentration camp. It invoked (and annually renews) the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act. It has been responsible for tightened racist immigration quotas and increased harassment of non-white residents.

Winter Pay Explosion

However during the past few months Labour's chief argument for bourgeois support—its ability to keep the unions in line—has been sounding more and more hollow. A major winter strike wave spearheaded by the lorry [truck] drivers and public sector workers buried Phase Four of wage controls and threatened to bring the whole country to a grinding halt. With other key sectors, like the miners, having submitted their own large pay claims, the situation was ripe for a general strike to smash the capitalist government's austerity schemes, recoup living standards for the entire working class, and protect them against inflation and unemployment through a sliding scale of wages and hours.

In the end, the cabinet managed to pull together one last agreement with the union bureaucrats—the "Concordat," signed on Valentine's Day—and ride out the wave of industrial militancy with a minimum of concessions. Now the Labour and union leaders are using the election campaign to quell any lingering militancy, under the watchword of "unity against the Tories."

The day after the election was announced, the Trades Union Congress chiefs wheeled out their election machine, "Trade Unionists for a Labour Victory." Leaders of the post office union, which had been staging industrial action for a 24 percent wage increase, announced they were accepting an offer worth only half as much on the explicit basis that continued strikes would damage Labour's electoral prospects. Leaders of the striking public sector workers manoeuvred their ranks into accepting a 9 percent rise using exactly the same argument. And the day after the government fell the National Union of Mineworkers bureaucrats gleefully announced that they too had succeeded in ramming a 9 percent deal down their members' throats.

Overall, the winter pay explosion has ended in a stand-off between the unions and the government. But even now not all industrial action has been brought to a halt, much to the chagrin of Labour and union bureaucrats alike. Four hundred thousand civil servants are still staging sporadic strike action, the teachers are threatening to do the same and skilled toolmakers at British Leyland are poised for an all-out strike which would shut down the company's car plants early next week.

In an important and encouraging development, sections of the union movement are also beginning to question openly and even reject the bureaucrats' calls to stand behind Labour in the coming election. Shop stewards for several thousand workers at the Dunlop tyre factory near Liverpool which is threatened with closure came out for abstention in a recent local by-election unless the Labour government intervened to save their jobs. And several militant regions of the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) have tabled motions for their next union conference which demand an end to support for Labour unless it stops its attacks on the working class.

The Dunlop and NUPE workers are right: there is no basis for supporting Labour, however critically, if its fundamental policies are *openly* the same as the Tories'. Critical electoral support to Labour can be a useful tactic for Marxists in the fight to build a revolutionary vanguard party. In the February and October 1974 elections, for example, the Spartacist tendency gave critical support to Labour both in order to draw a rudimentary class line between the workers movement and the direct representatives of capital, and as a means toward splitting the Labour Party between the pro-capitalist leaders and the workers who wish to pursue the class struggle. At that time, a vote for Labour was a means toward destroying illusions in the social democrats by putting them in power, where they could only betray.

Five years later, things are very different. A vote for a Labour government which is openly campaigning on its wage-cutting, strikebreaking record in office is neither a deformed expression of class opposition to the bourgeoisie nor a way of exposing the Labour leaders before the masses. Calling on the British workers to once again place the discredited Labour Party tops in office can only help create new illusions among a working class which today scarcely looks to the likes of James Callaghan to defend its interests. In the current elections, Marxists must say: No vote to the Labour traitors, no more than to the bourgeois parties!

Der Spiegel

Callaghan mobilized troops as scabs to break ambulance drivers' strike.

Callaghan's "Left" Apologists

Yet almost to a man, Britain's pseudo-Trotskyist left is gearing up

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Stop the Scabbing–No to the Interim Agreements!

Victory to the Teamsters!

APRIL 10—On Sunday, April 1 International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) president Frank Fitzsimmons announced a "nationwide" freight strike—the first major test of the Carter administration's faltering wage "guidelines." Yet the Teamster bureaucracy has done everything in its power to avoid a showdown with the bosses and their government.

Instead of a solid nationwide shutdown, Fitzsimmons ordered a "selective strike" of only 73 companies, out of the nearly 11,000 which are parties to the Master Freight Agreement (MFA). Although the targets included a number of the largest over-the-road freight carriers, Fitzsimmons made it plain that the selective strikes were designed "quite frankly to avoid a Taft-Hartley injunction by the federal government." The IBT chief added that he "will follow the government orders" if a strikebreaking injunction is issued. The work stoppage, in fact, attained its present scope only when the *bosses*—through their major bargaining arm, Trucking Management Inc. (TMI)—answered the limited strike with a lockout of their member companies.

Even before the strike was called, the bosses—with the okay of the government—had presented a contract offer clearly in excess of Carter's 7 percent annual wage limit. But with inflation now rampaging at almost 15 percent, this was hardly a victory for Teamsters. Both the package offered by TMI and the measly 25 extra cents that Fitzsimmons is asking for are far below what would just keep Teamsters even with the rise in cost of living—and are substantially inferior to the 1976 settlement. While Fitzsimmons and Carter continue their cynical masquerade of dickering over what is "consistent" with the "modified" guidelines, it is clear that none of the real demands essential to IBT drivers and warehousemen—a big wage boost, *full* cost-of-living protection to combat double-digit inflation, a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, and an end to forced overtime and other vicious company speedup "productivity" deals—can be won without a militant confrontation with the bosses and the Carter government. And that is what Fitzsimmons seeks to avoid.

Instead, his disgusting attempts to curry favor with Carter have only served to sow confusion and demoralization in the Teamster ranks. Some key transport centers, such as Chicago, were not struck at all—and the only trucking currently halted there is due to the lockout! Fitzsimmons himself boasts that the movement of food, heating oil, gasoline, automobiles, chemical and medical supplies, as well as package delivery, are unaffected by the walkout. Asked what freight *would* be affected by the strike, the IBT leader replied cynically: "Straw hats, glasses, shoes, auto parts, alligator coats" (*Long Beach Independent*, 3 April). Only the automobile industry, which is dependent upon daily shipment of parts, is seriously threatened.

Teamsters at picket sites across the country complained to *WV* that they simply did not know who was on strike, who was locked out, and who was covered by one of Fitzsimmons' many interim agreements. In many instances they had not even been informed before the walkout whether to report to work! One Cleveland worker summed up the disgust of a number of militants: "This ain't no god-damned strike. This is the furthest thing I've seen from a strike."

Sacks/Newsweek

Locked out in Detroit: Teamsters must smash the guidelines with a solid national strike.

The only substantial resistance to Fitzsimmons' bureaucratic sabotage has occurred in Ohio's Mahoning Valley. In mass meetings of several hundred workers in both Canton and Youngstown, angry Teamsters voted overwhelmingly to shut down trucking operations which IBT tops had exempted from strike action. Warnings by local officials and business agents to end the "illegal" walkout have been ignored, and the ranks further pledged to continue the strike if the companies attempt reprisals. Interestingly, the catalyst for this militant action, affecting several thousand drivers in both steel and general freight operations, has been largely the steel haulers—underscoring the rottenness of such groups as FASH, which seek to split the steel truckers away from the Teamsters.

However, for the most part, resistance to Fitzsimmons' defeatist strategy has been localized and sporadic, due to the absence of an organized opposition within the IBT equipped with a militant program and the guts to fight for it. In particular, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), claiming a membership of several thousand, has totally taken a dive. TDU lined up, in fact, foursquare behind Fitzsimmons' strike strategy, calling in its 28 March *Convoy Contract Bulletin* for "an effective selective strike."

Having no fundamental programmatic differences with Fitzsimmons, in local after local TDU restricted its advice to "keep the pressure on our officials." At a meeting in Detroit on April 1, one TDUer literally begged of Local 299 president Bob Lins: "Can't we strike a whole city, all of it, please Bob?" And at a Majority Contract Coalition meeting in Los Angeles on April 8, TDU national co-chairperson Doug Allen voted *against* a motion calling for a nationwide strike. "I am on the national steering committee," Allen said. "I do not feel that the national steering committee will take the action you want."

Perhaps what best exemplified TDU's groveling to both the government and the Teamster bureaucracy was its April 3 rally in Detroit. There, TDU unveiled what it intended to do in case of Taft-Hartley. Militant defiance? No way. The answer, according to TDU lawyer Ellis Boal, would be ... to file a legal brief in support of the Teamsters! Such gutlessness is only the logical outcome of TDU's strategy of reliance on the government, fostered through years of taking IBT officials to court. Not surprisingly, militant Teamsters have only been alienated by such performances, and most TDU meetings have flopped or been cancelled.

The enormous potential social power of the Teamsters has already been evidenced by the government's quick retreat from its initial guidelines even at

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TDU Scabs for "Unity"

As simple business unionists who don't set their sights any higher than getting into office, Teamsters for a Democratic Union has always had a hard time recognizing the existence of a class line in society. Thus for years the TDU has been running to the *capitalist state* against the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy of the IBT. This despicable backstabbing hit a new low last fall when TDUers actually *scabbed* on Teamster grocery workers during the bitter northern California Safeway strike that went down to defeat after 18 weeks. The admission came from former TDU national steering committee member Dave Perry, speaking to the Labor Law Committee of the National Lawyers Guild in San Francisco December 7.

When Teamster pickets appeared at Safeway's San Leandro milk plant, local IBT officials instructed the workforce—which included several TDUers—to go to work. "So what else could we do?" whined Perry. Though claiming he was not proud of the act, Perry said that since everyone else was entering the plant, TDU didn't want to "break the unity" of the workers. Anyway, the strikers "just sat around drinking beer" and didn't try to keep anyone out. So according to this perverse "logic," the strikers are responsible for the "united" scabbing!

More recently, Tom Peck of the TDU spoke at the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California concerning the supermarket strike. When a Spartacus Youth League member accused the TDU of strikebreaking, this "militant" justified the scabbing by claiming that the IBT bureaucracy erected the picket lines in order to entrap militants. No TDU members, of course, were snared in the net. Like "brother" Perry, Peck justified the San Leandro picket line crossing in the name of "unity" with the scab workforce.

The February issue of *Grapevine*, "voice of the So. Cal. Teamsters for a Democratic Union," examined the reasons for the defeat of the Safeway strike. In addition to armed guards, goons, a massive anti-union media campaign and official IBT sabotage, *Grapevine* added, "the employers now feel strong enough to run scabs through the picket lines." They ought to know. The article concludes with an exhortation to recover the traditions "which built the unions in the 1930s." Fine. When the American working class recovers (and surpasses) the fighting spirit which created the CIO, scabs like the San Leandro TDUers will end up in the gutter instead of crowing about their exploits in seminars on how to sue the unions.

Whatever Happened to Jimmy Hoffa?

Just as the Teamsters began to shut down U.S. trucking, the *Philadelphia Bulletin* announced that an ex-mob hitman has come forward with a grisly new account of the murder of his one-time cellmate—former IBT president Jimmy Hoffa. A federal informant claimed that Hoffa was bludgeoned to death in Detroit by a six-foot four inch, 240-pound killer known as "Monster Man." Reportedly, the body was transported to New Jersey where it was cut into small pieces and packed into 55-gallon drums before being dumped in a Florida swamp.

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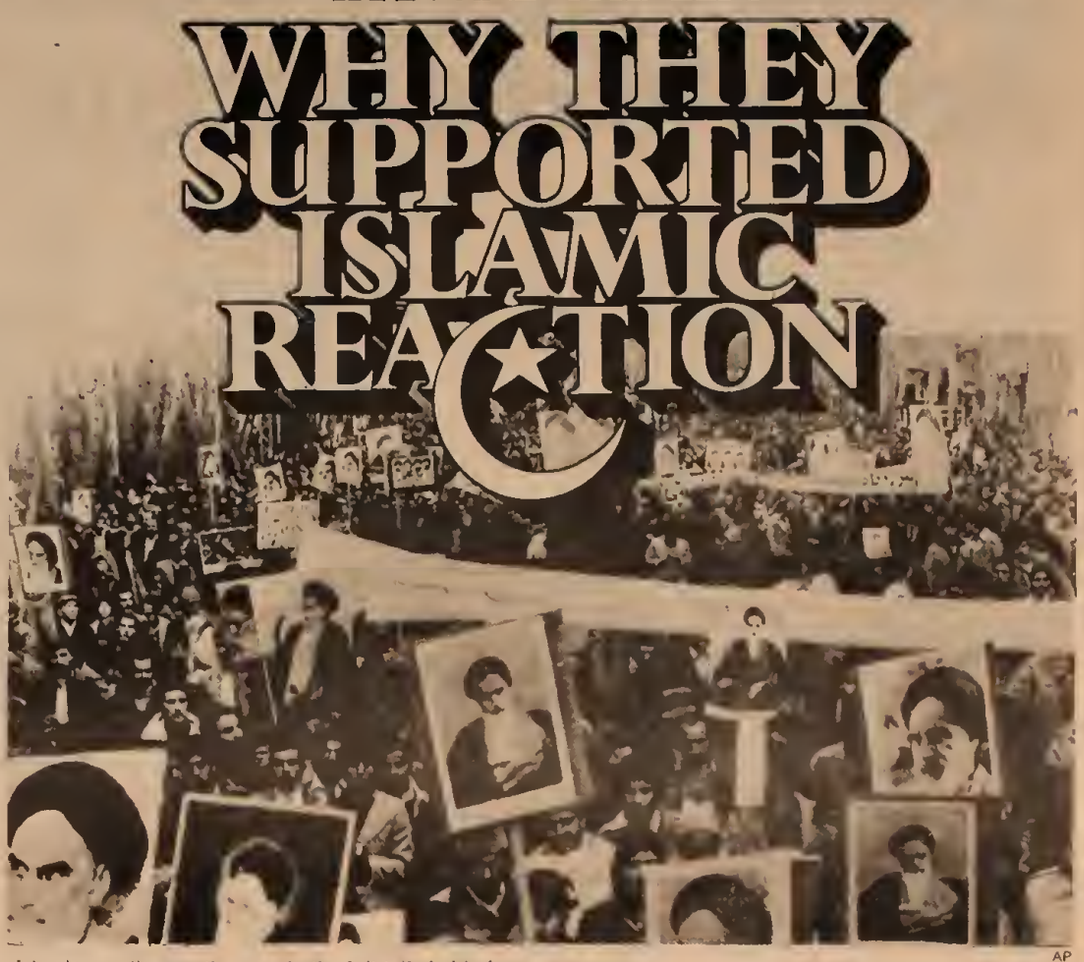
IRAN AND THE LEFT

WHY THEY SUPPORTED ISLAMIC REACTION



Islamic reaction on the march; the left tails behind. AP

In one sense it is now very easy to polemicize against those leftists, especially ostensible Trotskyists, who supported the Islamic opposition to the shah. We said Khomeini in power would seek to reimpose the veil, restore barbaric punishments (flogging, amputation), suppress the national minorities and crush the left and workers movement as ruthlessly as did the shah. Imperialist propaganda, they shouted, Khomeini is leading a great progressive struggle! Thus one self-proclaimed Trotskyist group in Britain charged.

> "The Spartacists make a series of charges against the Mullah-led opposition as a result of which they characterise the movement as one of 'clerical reaction' A number of these charges amount to uncritical retailing of the chauvinist rubbish which filled the American press throughout the Autumn. The Mullahs they claim wish to restore Iran to the 7th century A.D.... They wish to introduce savage Islamic law punishments; stoning, public hanging and whipping etc. They wish to enforce the wearing of the veil and the removal of the rights given to women by the Shah...."
>
> —*Workers Power*, February 1979

Well?

Now every piece of news out of Iran proves that the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was obviously, indisputably, 100 percent right. The streets of Teheran are filled with the anguished cries of those, from middle-class liberal women to Guevarist guerrillas, who claim they were taken in by Khomeini's revolution. Tragically, the voice of the revolutionists who warned of the reactionary clericalist aims of the mullahs was drowned in the clamor of opportunists singing the praises of the "anti-imperialist" ayatollah. It is the Iranian masses who will pay the price.

Unfortunately, our main opponents here and in Europe are so cynical and so removed from the immediate consequences of their support to the mullahs' revolution that they will not repudiate their position. They will obfuscate or perhaps deny that they supported Khomeini, or concoct elaborate stagist theories to justify it. However, some subjectively revolutionary elements may just be shocked enough by the sight of Khomeini's marshals shooting down women protesting the veil to reconsider their solidarity with the mullahs' opposition to the shah. But unless such leftists break with the *anti-Marxist methodology* which led them to support Islamic reaction in Iran, they will end up supporting the Khomeinis of Egypt or India or Indonesia tomorrow.

To polemicize against the methodological arguments of the pro-Khomeini left groups is not so easy, for they didn't raise any. That Khomeini led the masses in the streets is presented as the beginning and end of all argument. Confronting Spartacists at a March 4 forum in New York, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Barry Sheppard shouted:

> "Revolutionists were with Khomeini and this revolution, were with the masses in the streets against the monarchy. Only counterrevolutionaries would stand aside from that fight...."

"If it's popular, chase it" seems to be the motto of these inveterate tailists, whose instincts are closer to lemmings than to Leninism. Such "arguments" do not allow or deserve a serious political reply.

A partial—very partial—exception to the theoretical nullity of the pro-Khomeini "Marxists" is the small British centrist Workers Power group. Its polemics against us on Iran put forth a few arguments which go beyond unabashed tailism of the masses, although in their case as well this is the fundamental motivation. This perhaps bespeaks less of Workers Power's political seriousness than of its unenviable position in the spectrum of British ostensible Trotskyism. As a small, nationally limited centrist formation, Workers Power finds the British section of the iSt a formidable competitor on its left. Unless it can discredit the Spartacist League/Britain as hopeless ultraleft sectarians, Workers Power cannot expect to attract leftward-moving elements from the Pabloist International Marxist Group, the workerist/reformist Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, etc. Still, the not terribly coherent polemics by Workers Power provide a useful foil in attacking those ostensibly Trotskyist groups who supported the mullahs against the shah.

In a critical commentary on Bukharin's writings, Antonio Gramsci insisted that Marxist polemicists must refute the strongest and not the weakest arguments of their opponents. In trying to carry out Gramsci's injunction, we are forced to give our reformist and centrist opponents' positions on Iran a theoretical coherence which they do not in reality possess.

British centrists alibi the mullahs.

THE ISLAMIC OPPOSITION: A REACTIONARY MASS MOVEMENT

In the last weeks before the fall of the shah's bloody regime, all the forces of opposition to the monarchy in Iranian society, including the organized proletariat and the left, had rallied behind Khomeini. But the core of Khomeini's movement was the mullahs (the 180,000-strong Shi'ite Muslim clergy) and the *bazaaris*, the traditional merchant class being ground down by the modernization of the country. This traditional social class is doomed by economic progress, and so is naturally prone to reactionary ideology and its political expressions.

For opportunists it is unthinkable that there could be a reactionary mass mobilization against a reactionary regime. Yet history does offer examples of reactionary mass movements. Adolf Hitler organized an indubitably mass movement which toppled the Weimar Republic. In the U.S. in the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan was a dynamic growing organization capable of mobilizing tens of thousands of activists in the streets.

The experience of German fascism has had too shattering an impact on the memory of the left for our reformist/centrist opponents to deny the possibility of reactionary mass movements based on the petty bourgeoisie. But not, they argue, in backward, semi-colonial countries like Iran. Workers Power polemicizes against us:

> "Iran is in Lenin's terms a *semi-colony*. The masses, despite all their illusions, are struggling against this imperialism. If the USFI [the revisionist United Secretariat of the Fourth International] draw from this conclusion that [the] working class can simply tail the mullahs. If they refuse to pose the central need for working class independence and leadership then the Spartacists turn this on its head. The mullahs are simply reactionary—*identical* to reactionary petit bourgeois movements in *Imperialist* countries like the Poujadists in France." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Opportunists and Sectarians on Iran," *Workers Power*, February 1979

According to our reformist/centrist opponents, imperialist domination sanctifies the petty-bourgeois masses of the oppressed, backward countries making them immune to reactionary mobilizations. The petty merchants and lumpenproletarians of Germany or France may sometimes do bad things, but not so their Iranian or Indian counterparts. We grant that Weimar Germany was a very different kind of society from the shah's Iran. But early twentieth-century tsarist Russia was not. As an extreme instance of combined and uneven development, no country in the contemporary world so resembles the Russia which produced the Bolshevik Revolution as does Iran.

One of the central doctrinal elements of Bolshevism was that the proletariat was the *only* consistently democratic

class in tsarist Russia. The petty-bourgeois masses, including the peasantry, could potentially be drawn to anti-democratic, anti-working class movements. This was one of the important differences within the Iskra group of 1900-03, a difference which foreshadowed the later Bolshevik-Menshevik split. Lenin strongly objected to Plekhanov's assertion in the draft party program that the proletariat was in actual political life the petty bourgeoisie's "foremost representative." He insisted:

> "The struggle is growing sharper among the small producers too, of course. But their 'struggle' is *very often* directed *against* the proletariat, for in many respects the very position of the small producers *sharply contraposes* their interests to those of the proletariat. Generally speaking, the proletariat is *not at all* the petty bourgeoisie's 'foremost representative'.... It happens very often...that the anti-Semite and the big landowner, the nationalist and the Narodnik, the social-reformer and the 'critic of Marxism' are the foremost representatives of the *present-day* small producer who has not yet deserted 'his own standpoint'." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Notes on Plekhanov's Second Draft Programme" (February-March 1902)

Lenin's insistence that the Russian petty-bourgeois masses could be rallied to reactionary as well as revolutionary democratic movements was no mere theoretical speculation, but found living expression in the Black Hundreds. Addressing a meeting of the Communist International in 1923, Zinoviev likened the Black Hundreds to German Nazism:

> "There was in our country once a strong, utterly reactionary movement which we called the Black Hundred. It was really Russian fascism which used social demagogy very cleverly. The 'Black Hundred' movement arose from among the monarchists and supported the monarchy. It had a chapter in almost every village, every city. All the little people, the watchmen, servants, etc., went with them. This movement also used religious conflicts for its purposes. In a way, it was a *popular* movement, for it knew how to secure allegiance of broad social strata, which it gathered under its cloak of demagogic pursuit of Jews. It was a big movement which attracted not only the large landowners, not only the aristocracy, but also thousands of petty bourgeois, and was much more a *mass party* than the Milyukov [liberal monarchist Cadet] party." [our emphasis]
>
> —reproduced in Helmut Gruber, *International Communism in the Era of Lenin: A Documentary History* (1967)

It is true that the Black Hundreds supported the autocracy to the end, while the German and Italian fascists fought to take state power into their hands. However, it was historically possible for the Black Hundred movement to have broken with the tsar and fought for power in its own name, using nationalist-populist demagogy. Had such a development occurred in pre-1917 Russia, no doubt at least a section of the Mensheviks would have sought unity with Black Hundreds (as their contemporary counterparts have done with Khomeini) in the "struggle against the autocracy."

One doesn't have to look as far back as the Black Hundred movement of tsarist Russia to find a reactionary mass movement, analogous to Khomeini's, in a backward, semi-colonial country. Look at Indonesia in 1965. The political reaction which overthrew the bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno and annihilated the Communist Party (then the largest in the world not holding state power) was not simply a military coup. The murder of *half a million* Communists and leftist workers and peasants (as well as many Hindus) was mainly carried out by petty-bourgeois Islamic fanatics led by the mullahs.

AN "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION?

Since it is not so easy to portray Khomeini as a bourgeois democrat (he would be considered a reactionary by Henry VIII or Peter the Great), the favored leftist adjective is "anti-imperialist." This all-embracing term is the code word for class collaborationism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We are presented with the view that the entire people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, except for a handful of traitors and foreign agents (like the shah), have been revolutionized by imperialist domination. In this view the petty-bourgeois masses are always progressive while a section of the bourgeoisie is also progressive (i.e., "anti-imperialist"). Verily imperialist domination ennobles all social classes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The idea of all-class unity against imperialism finds its expression, for example, in the fictitious notion of "the Arab Revolution." Here we have a "revolution" embracing an entire people, extending over decades and countries, a "revolution" which is directed *not* at overturning the existing Arab governments and ruling classes, but externally against the U.S. and Israel.

As Leninists, we fully recognize that the advanced capitalist countries, centrally the U.S., dominate, oppress and exploit backward countries like Iran. This fundamental historic fact imposes a particular program, strategy and tactics on proletarian revolutionaries in the colonial world. In these countries the struggle for democratic rights and against feudal reaction is inextricably bound up with the struggle against foreign domination. Popular movements against domestic reaction and imperialist domination are often led by bourgeois nationalists.

The particular problems of proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics in backward countries were first posed at the Second Congress of the Communist International in July-August 1920. Here it was recognized that the communist vanguard should at times support and seek alliances with "revolutionary bourgeois-nationalist movements." But the *condition* laid down for such support was a very strong one. In his report on the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions, Lenin insists:

> "There has been a certain *rapprochment* between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often—perhaps even in most cases—the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes. This was irrefutably proved in the commission, and we decided that the only correct attitude was to take this distinction into account and, in nearly all cases, substitute the term 'national-revolutionary' for the term 'bourgeois-democratic'. The significance of this change is that we, as Communists, should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies *only* when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents *do not hinder our work* of educating and organising in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited. *If these conditions do not exist*, the Communists in these countries *must combat* the reformist bourgeoisie...." [our emphasis]

Can support to Khomeini against the shah be justified with reference to the Comintern's position on bourgeois national liberation movements? To begin with the Khomeiniite opposition was *not* a revolutionary bourgeois-nationalist movement. As a matter of fact, in 1920 the Comintern did deal with the kind of movement which has just conquered power in Iran, but not exactly in the spirit of possible support and cooperation with it. Here is what Lenin had to say about movements like Khomeini's:

> "With regard to the more backward states and nations, in which feudal or patriarchal and patriarchal-peasant relations predominate, it is particularly important to bear in mind:...
> "third, the need to *combat* Pan-Islamism and similar trends, which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the position of the khans, landowners, mullahs, etc...." [our emphasis]
>
> —"Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions" (June 1920)

AP

Fedayeen spokesman at Teheran University rally asked for role in Bazargan government.

Furthermore, Khomeini never even pretended that he would "not hinder" communists from organizing and educating the exploited. If Iranian leftists believed they would enjoy democratic freedoms under an "Islamic Republic," they duped themselves. Khomeini was always clear that he hated communism even more than he hated the shah. In a widely publicized interview in *Le Monde* (6 May 1978), the ayatollah stated:

> "We will not collaborate with Marxists, even in order to overthrow the shah. I have given specific instructions to my followers not to do this. We are opposed to their ideology and we know that they always stab us in the back. If they came to power, they would establish a dictatorial regime contrary to the spirit of Islam."

A glance at the basic Comintern documents on the colonial question is enough to convict as opportunists those self-styled "Leninists" who supported the Islamic opposition—and those in Iran as suicidal opportunists. But this does not resolve the general question of support to bourgeois-nationalist movements in the colonial world. In 1920 proletarian revolutionary (communist) parties in backward countries were new on the scene. Mass bourgeois-nationalist movements were also a relatively recent development. It is therefore understandable and in a sense correct that Lenin's Comintern posed the relationship between the communist vanguard and the bourgeois-nationalist movement in an algebraic manner.

continued on page 6

Keler/Sygma

Guerrillas at Teheran University.

Islamic Reaction....

(continued from page 5)

Particularly the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, when the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang butchered their Communist would-be allies, and *all* subsequent experience show that the colonial bourgeoisie will never "not hinder" revolutionaries from organizing and educating the exploited masses. It was the Chinese revolution which caused Trotsky to generalize the theory of the permanent revolution from tsarist Russia to all backward countries in the imperialist epoch. Trotsky recognized that the Stalin-Bukharin China policy was simply the old Menshevik two-stage revolution transposed to the colonies. As he wrote in his 1927 polemic, "The Chinese Revolution and the Theses of Comrade Stalin":

> "The old Menshevik tactic of 1905 to 1917...is now transferred to China by the Martinov [ideologue for Stalin/Bukharin] school.... The arguments are the same, letter for letter, as they were twenty years ago. Only, where formerly the *autocracy* stood, the word *imperialism* has been substituted for it in the text.... The struggle against foreign imperialism is as much a class struggle as the struggle against autocracy. That it cannot be exorcised by the idea of the national united front, is far too eloquently proved by the bloody April events [Chiang Kai-shek's Shanghai massacre], a direct consequence of the policy of the bloc of four classes." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Problems of the Chinese Revolution*

Imperialism is in its very essence the subordination of the weak propertied classes in the backward countries to the powerful bourgeoisie of the metropolitan centers. As Trotsky put it:

> "Imperialism is a highly powerful force in the internal relationships of China. The main source of this force is not the warships in the waters of the Yangtse Kiang—they are only auxiliaries—but the economic and political bond between foreign capital and the native bourgeoisie."
>
> —*Ibid.*

There is *no* anti-imperialist bourgeoisie and therefore can be no anti-imperialist bourgeois-democratic revolution as such. In the imperialist epoch the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, including national liberation, can be realized only through proletarian socialist revolution.

UNITED FRONTS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

For Leninists, a united front is a specific, *episodic* agreement for common *action*: "March separately, strike together" was the way the early Comintern expressed the united front as a slogan. This was sharply distinguished by Trotsky from a political bloc for propaganda. Moreover, united-front tactics cover a broad range and are not all interchangeable. Thus there is a fundamental distinction between military support to bourgeois-nationalist forces (e.g., for the Algerian FLN against the French army and *colon* terrorists) and political (e.g., electoral) support. The tactic of critical electoral support or even entry can sometimes be applied to social-democratic (e.g., British Labour) or Stalinist (e.g., French Communist) parties based on the organized working class. Such a tactic, used to expose the reformist misleaders, can be justified as representing at least a first step toward the political independence of the workers, by drawing a class line against the bourgeois parties. But revolutionaries never give such political support to bourgeois formations, however radical or "socialist" their rhetoric or extensive their popular support. In contrast to reformist labor-based parties, bourgeois-nationalist movements (e.g., Chinese Kuomintang, Algerian FLN, Argentine Peronism) are not just misleaders but class enemies—they can turn on and *destroy* their working-class support without themselves committing political suicide.

There are, to be sure, specific *partial* struggles against imperialist domination (e.g., for political independence) which are "progressive and are often led by bourgeois nationalists. Bourgeois-nationalist regimes sometimes carry out measures against foreign capital (e.g., Cárdenas' nationalization of Mexico's oilfields in 1937, Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal) which revolutionaries will support and if necessary defend. An Egyptian revolutionary vanguard, for example, would have given Nasser military support against the 1956 Anglo/French/Israeli invasion in retaliation for nationalizing the Suez Canal.

The legitimacy of such united-front tactics depends entirely on the progressive content of what is concretely being fought for and not at all on the "anti-imperialist" posture of the bourgeois forces involved. In fact, in defending *genuine* national rights against imperialist attack, we are willing to make common cause even with extreme reactionaries. Haile Selassie, for example, was a feudal autocrat. Yet revolutionary Marxists gave him military support in defending Ethiopia against conquest by Mussolini's Italy. Another example: Chiang Kai-shek in the 1930s was a reactionary butcher compared to whom the Iranian Pahlavis come off like saintly humanitarians. Furthermore, Kuomintang China was at least as closely tied to U.S. imperialism as was the shah's Iran. Yet when Japan launched a war of conquest against China in 1937, Trotsky exhorted his Chinese followers to participate actively in the national resistance to imperialist Japan despite Chiang's leadership.

For opportunists, on the other hand, united fronts in the ex-colonial countries are based on the supposed progressive ("anti-imperialist") character of the bourgeois forces they are tailing after. Thus, Khomeini's movement was presented as "anti-imperialist," and conversely the shah was portrayed *not* as a representative of the *Iranian* bourgeoisie but as a direct agent of U.S. imperialism, sort of a high-class CIA operative. Polemicizing against us, *Workers Power* writes: "The Spartacists position would in practice rule out an anti-imperialist united front against the Shah in Iran" ("Rights and Wrongs of the Spartacists," *Workers Power*, January 1979).

Even if Khomeini were a bourgeois nationalist espousing a democratic program (which he decidedly is not), we would reject what *Workers Power* means by an "anti-imperialist united front." This slogan was first raised at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922, where it was associated with agitation for "temporary agreements" with bourgeois nationalists in the struggle against imperialist domination. Even at that time it was used to justify capitulation to the bourgeois nationalists. In the debate over the "Theses on the Eastern Question" where the slogan was first raised in the Comintern, a Chinese delegate argued:

> "On the assumption that the anti-imperialist united front is necessary to get rid of imperialism in China, our party has decided to form a national front with the national revolutionary party of the Kuomintang.... If we do not enter this party we shall remain isolated, preaching a communism which is, it is true, a great and sublime ideal, but which the masses do not follow."
>
> —quoted in Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International 1919-1943, Documents, Vol. 1*

Within the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party Trotsky had opposed the entry into the Kuomintang from the outset. The tragic Shanghai massacre of April 1927 was the bloody consequence of this entry. And those who call for political support to the Islamic opposition betray the same capitulationist impulses that led to the KMT entry—only worse, for at least the party of Chiang Kai-shek was "progressive" relative to the warlords. It wanted to unbind the feet, cut off the pigtails, etc. Not so the mullahs, who want to reimpose the veil.

Stalin had all the arguments rationalizing political subordination to the "anti-imperialist" Chiang Kai-shek. Chinese communists paid the price: Shanghai massacre, 1927.

There can be specific united-front actions of an anti-imperialist character between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois nationalists, such as a march on a colonial military base. Naturally communists would join in a pro-independence mass uprising, advocating that it go farther than its bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leaders wish in breaking with imperialism. But what the pseudo-Trotskyist revisionists wish to do with the slogan of an "anti-imperialist united front" is exactly what Stalin-Dimitrov did with the slogan of a "united front against fascism" at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935: use it as a codeword for a political bloc with a section of the exploiters, actual and aspiring. The essentially Stalinist concept of "the anti-imperialist united front" amounts to supporting those bourgeois groups which stand for (or claim to stand for) a less pro-Western *foreign policy* than their main opponents. In practice "the anti-imperialist united front" means supporting Indira Gandhi against Janata in India, Ethiopia's Colonel Mengistu against everyone, etc.

The reactionary, anti-democratic content of the "anti-imperialist united front" is well illustrated in Peru. On a scale of "anti-imperialism" Peru's General Velasco Alvarado out-distanced Ayatollah Khomeini by light years. The Velasco junta (1968-75) carried out an extensive land reform and nationalized several of the country's major industries, including the big U.S.-owned copper and oil (Texaco) companies. It reestablished diplomatic relations with Cuba and developed close ties to the Soviet bloc, which is quite unusual for a country located in U.S. imperialism's backyard.

The logic of "the anti-imperialist united front" called for support to Velasco's 1968 coup against the right-center parliamentary government of Belaunde Terry, and support to the junta in power against the pro-Washington bourgeois opposition parties (the CIA-connected, right-wing pseudo-populist APRA and the conservative Popular Christian Party). Naturally the pro-Moscow Stalinists supported the "progressive" generals in just this way. The revisionist "Trotskyist" international bloc of Guillermo Lora and Pierre Lambert—the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International—also offered its hand to the Velasco junta for an "anti-imperialist united front." Because of its support to the oppressive, though "anti-imperialist," military bonapartist regime, the pro-Moscow Communist Party is today justly discredited among the Peruvian toiling masses. And Khomeini's Islamic Revolutionary Committee promises to make the Peruvian junta look like a bunch of bleeding-heart liberal do-gooders by comparison.

A REVOLUTIONARY POLICY IN IRAN

Our reformist centrist opponents assert that the 1st slogan "Down with the shah!, Down with the mullahs!" meant political abstentionism in this period of revolutionary turmoil. This is their bottom-line argument. While the masses were toppling the shah, they fulminate and in part believe that Spartacists advocated that Iranian revolutionaries stay home and perhaps study *Capital*. For opportunists, of course, political activism is always synonymous with tailing the mass movement. Not so for revolutionaries. We have in reality put forward an *active and interventionist political line* at every stage in the Iranian crisis, from the mass Islamic demonstrations last summer through the strike wave which paralyzed the economy late this year to the beginnings today of leftist and democratic protests against Khomeini's first steps in erecting his Islamic Republic.

The main action of the Islamic opposition consisted of a series of mass demonstrations under the slogans "God Is Great" and "Long Live Khomeini." The program of these demonstrations, which was utterly transparent, was to *replace* the shah's autocracy with a theocratic state under Khomeini. Participation in these demonstrations could be *nothing other* than support to the rule of the mullahs, that is, support to the kind of regime which now holds power.

Shameless reformists like the American SWP simply resort to "black is white" subterfuges, arguing that the veil is a "symbol of resistance to the shah" (dixit Cindy Jaquith) rather than an expression of *purdah*, the Muslim traditionalist seclusion of women; that to the masses an Islamic Republic meant a workers and peasants republic (according to Barry Sheppard); or that "allah akbar" (god is great) *really* meant the people were stronger than the shah's army (Brian Grogan's contribution). Where the reformists simply lie, centrist tailists like Workers Power resort to pseudo-orthodox confusionism:

> "Whilst we in no way hide that the positive goals of mullahs are not and cannot be those of the working class we do argue that Trotskyists must participate in the actions against the Shah and the Generals."
>
> "Opportunists and Sectarians on Iran," *Workers Power*, February 1979

Ha! Any left group which attempted to

participate in the "Long Live Khomeini" demonstrations with slogans opposed to an Islamic Republic would have received a swift lesson in Koranic justice.

Workers Power argues that participation in the Khomeinite demonstrations amounted to "a de facto anti-imperialist military united front"(ibid.). But these demonstrations were *not* civil war, in which victory for the shah's army would mean *obliteration* of the popular forces, and thus a policy of revolutionary defensism on the side of the mullah-led forces would necessarily be posed. The demonstrations were essentially a pressure tactic for the Islamization of the existing state apparatus. The Khomeini leadership was clearly looking forward to a coup against the shah by a Persian equivalent of Pakistan's "soldier of Islam," General Zia. The demonstrations for an Islamic Republic were just that.

Our principled opposition to participating in the Khomeinite demonstrations was not an option for political quietism. Depending on its resources and the concrete military situation, a Trotskyist organization in Iran would have used the opening created by the eruption of a mass Islamic opposition, and the occasional hesitancy of the shah's repressive apparatus, to agitate for revolutionary-democratic demands and its full class-struggle program. A Trotskyist vanguard would also have sought to break the ranks of the leftist groups, centrally the Fedayeen, from Khomeini by proposing to these organizations a series of united-front actions against the shah independent of the mullahs' movement and politically opposed to it.

The shah was brought down not only by the "Long Live Khomeini" demonstrations, the reformists/centrists will here argue, but also by the workers' strikes, especially in the economically decisive oilfields. True. But whereas our tailist opponents *amalgamated* the reactionary petty-bourgeois protests and the proletarian strike wave into a single classless "anti-shah" movment, we drew a fundamental line between them. The strikes were certainly blows aimed at the monarchy, although initially they had a very considerable economic component. Significantly, the key oil workers' strike did *not* call for an Islamic Republic, even though undoubtedly the workers supported the Khomeinite opposition to some extent.

A revolutionary party in Iran would, of course, have vigorously supported and done everything in its power to strengthen and extend the strikes, while demanding that the workers give *no support* to the Islamic opposition. As we wrote a month before the shah fled:

> "The strike battles now being waged by the Iranian workers could be the basis of the independent mobilization of the proletariat as a competitor for power with Khomeini, not as cannon fodder for the mullahs. In the imperialist epoch, the democratic tasks of freeing oppressed nationalities, agrarian revolution, and breaking down imperialist domination can be carried out only under the leadership of the Iranian proletariat. But these urgent democratic demands require the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship for their success, not the dissolution of the working class into the petty-bourgeois masses."
>
> —"Down with the Shah! Don't Bow to Khomeini!" *WV* No. 221, 15 December 1978

Once the shah fled, popular fury turned against the police and especially the hated SAVAK; they were hunted down and killed by angry mobs. The Islamic leadership opposed these spontaneous reprisals against the shah's torturers because they were seeking a rapprochement with at least a section of the generals and also feared "chaos in the streets." A revolutionary party in Iran would not only have participated in the attacks on SAVAK, but sought to organize them on a united-front basis through popular tribunals. As we wrote in January:

> "Thus the mullahs correctly see the popular mobilizations against SAVAK as counterposed to building up their jurisdiction and keeping up good relations with the officer corps. People's tribunals to punish the SAVAK torturers could be the beginning of revolutionary dual power, directed against both the religious hierarchy and officer corps."
>
> —"Shah Flees," *WV* No. 223, 19 January

During the Bakhtiar interval, especially after Khomeini returned from exile, it was quite possible that the generals might have attempted to drown the mass opposition in blood. This was the shah's last message to his senior officers. As we wrote just after the mullahs' victory:

> "Had such a confrontation erupted into civil war, Marxists would have militarily supported the popular forces rallied by the mullahs against an intact officer caste, even as our intransigent *political* opposition to the reactionary-led movement sought to polarize the masses along class lines and rally the workers and lower strata of the petty-bourgeois masses around a proletarian pole."
>
> —"Mullahs Win," *WV* No. 225, 16 February

Such a revolutionary-defensist policy would be justified and necessary *not* because Khomeini is more progressive or anti-imperialist than the shah. As in any war the decisive question was the line-up of class forces and the consequences of the victory of one side or another. If the generals won such a civil war, they would have crushed not only the Islamic fanatics but also the advanced elements of the Iranian proletariat and the organized left.

In the period of the Spanish Civil War Trotsky explained to those ultra-leftists who argued that since Marxists would not give political support to the Popular Front of Negrin in the elections, therefore to give it military support against Franco was "degeneration into the swamp of 'lesser evil' Popular Front politics...":

> "Let's take an example: two ships with armaments and munitions...—one for Franco and the other for Negrin. What should be the attitude of the workers?... "We are not neutral. We will let the ship with the munitions for the Negrin government pass. We have no illusions: from these bullets, only nine of every ten would go against the fascists, at least one against our comrades. But out of those marked for Franco, ten out of every ten would go to our comrades.... Of course, if an armed insurrection began in Spain, we would try to direct the ship with munitions into the hands of the rebellious workers. But when we are not that strong, we choose the lesser evil.
>
> "The civil war between Negrin and Franco does not signify the same thing as the electoral combination competition of Hindenburg and Hitler. If Hindenburg had entered into an open *military* fight against Hitler, then Hindenburg would have a 'lesser evil'.... But Hindenburg was not the 'lesser evil'—he did not go into open warfare against Hitler...."
>
> —"Answer to Questions on the Spanish Situation (A Concise Summary)," September 1937

Trotsky here repeatedly emphasized the decisive difference between a civil war and the pressure tactics of bourgeois democracy (elections, etc.). By trying to pretend that mullah-led anti-shah demonstrations are equivalent to civil war, Workers Power is simply masking their *political support* to Khomeini and his Islamic Republic.

Khomeini Locks Up Left Supporters

FREE THE FEDAYEEN!

In recent days the Western press has been full of stories about the execution of former Iranian premier Hoveida, for years the right-hand man of the bloody butcher shah Pahlavi. While the media hypocritically prate about "human rights" for this participant in torture, assassination and mass murder, they have passed over in silence the arrest last week by the Bazargan government of 70 members of the militant left-wing People's Fedayeen guerrillas. The Fedayeen had allied themselves with rebellious Turkoman tribesmen in the northeastern frontier region, and were rounded up as the "revolutionary" army succeeded in crushing the revolt at a cost of several hundred dead.

Like the Kurds who rose up a couple of weeks earlier, the Turkomans were demanding regional autonomy and return of lands seized by court favorites during the shah's reign. However, the UPI reported on 4 April that Bazargan had reneged on earlier pledges which led to a ceasefire in Kurdistan, and is now denouncing "autonomy in [the] guise of separatism which threatens national unity." At the same time, according to the Stalinist *Daily World* (6 April), Ayatollah Khomeini's hand-picked prime minister blamed "Trotskyites and Maoists...aided by remnants of the satanic regime of the shah" for "provoking" the struggles of the national minorities. Naturally the Kremlin flunkies chimed in on this slanderous amalgam, adding in time-honored fashion the charge of "CIA agents."

The arrests of the Fedayeen are the latest in a series of attacks on the left by

70 LEFTISTS ARRESTED BY BAZARGAN

the anti-communist Islamic regime. Last month women demonstrating against the ayatollah's injunction that they wear the head-to-toe *chador* (veil) were assaulted by Muslim fanatics armed with knives and stones and fired upon by Khomeini-loyal troops. Earlier the Shi'ite "holy man" had ordered the guerrilla groups to give up their arms, which they refused to do. And when the Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) attempted to hold a public meeting in Teheran on March 2, armed Islamic marshals dispatched by the Komiteh collaborated with knife-wielding Maoist Khomeini supporters whose violent disruption caused the cancellation of the meeting.

The Fedayeen earned the mullahs' wrath particularly by calling for a boycott of Khomeini's phony plebiscite on an "Islamic Republic," something the would-be Trotskyist HKS lacked the political courage to do. Ironically, only three weeks ago the guerrilla group had called for ending the women's demonstrations on the grounds that they would weaken the Bazargan government (*Le Monde*, 14 March). But the attack was utterly predictable. As we wrote in *WV* No. 223 (19 January):

> "Ayatollah Khomeini...has made the policies of his proposed Islamic republic perfectly clear.... The legal enslavement of women would be reinforced. The *chador*...would be mandatory.... The rights of minority religions will also come under attack.... Khomeini's appetite to suppress the left has been made clear time and again."

But this did not stop virtually the entire Iranian "far left" from tailing after clerical reaction.

The basis now exists for a united-front defense of the left in Iran against the attacks of the new theocratic rulers. Free the Fedayeen militants! Full democratic freedoms for all working-class and secular-democratic organizations! Stop the attacks on democratic rights of women! For the right of self-determination for national minorities! ■

Islamic marshals strongarm leftists at Teheran University.

Chauvel-Keler/Sygma

AFTER KHOMEINI, US?

It has become commonplace among the pseudo-Trotskyist groups to liken Khomeini's role to that of Alexander Kerensky between the February and October revolutions in Russia. Barry Sheppard of the American SWP said at the previously cited NYC forum, "To say 'Down with the Shah. Down with the Mullahs' is the same thing as saying in Russia in 1914, 'Down with the Tsar. Down with Kerensky'." Likewise the British partner, the Mandelite International Marxist Group, states: "If anything he [Khomeini] bears a closer resemblance to Kerensky, though analogies by their nature are never exact" ("Iran's February Revolution," *Socialist Challenge*, 15 February). This parti-

continued on page 10

No-Nuke Syndrome...

(continued from page 1)

be shut down until the problems are corrected. But to demand that nuclear power must be stopped on the basis of this accident is analogous to demanding that the entire coal industry be shut down because one mine had a near-collapse.

While we strongly support the introduction of new technology, including nuclear technology, we do not take responsibility for the hazardous mess capitalism makes of it. As we said in our earlier article, "Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement":

> "There are very real problems of safety connected with nuclear reactors. As throughout industry, we demand union control of working conditions and, where there are specific hazards, actions to shut down dangerous facilities. But beyond this we have no particular interest in determining how the bourgeoisie meets its energy needs. Those who assume that 'wide public discussion' within the framework of capitalist rule will satisfactorily resolve this question are guilty of sowing the worst utopian/reactionary/pacifist illusions."
> —*WV* No. 146, 25 February 1977

The System Works?

The near-disaster at Three Mile Island began about 4 a.m. on March 28 when, as NRC official Edson Case put it, "Somebody was screwing around with some of the equipment in the feedwater system" (*Newsweek*, 9 April). The feedwater pumps used in the cooling system shut down. At this point a series of backup safety systems should have prevented heat and pressure from reaching dangerous levels inside the reactor core. But auxiliary feedwater pumps never turned on because someone had forgotten to close two crucial valves after a test procedure two weeks before. A hundred thousand gallons of radioactive water flooded the basement of the reactor containment building when a relief valve failed to close.

A catastrophic accident was prevented only because boron control rods automatically shut down the chain reaction in the reactor core and an emergency cooling system kicked in. But control-room operators relying on malfunctioning gauges shut down the emergency cooling system! A sump pump in the basement automatically pumped radioactive steam and water into a building not designed to contain radioactivity, where some of it shot up a stack and spread out over the countryside.

Although the crucial failures all took place in less than five minutes, a state of emergency was not declared for more than *three hours*. By that time four workers had received overdoses of gamma radiation, and the threat of a disastrous explosion or meltdown had been raised by the unanticipated formation of a bubble of explosive hydrogen in the reactor vessel. Had technicians been unable to draw off the gas, an explosion or melting of the reactor core could have scattered deadly radiation for miles around. In the worst possible case, if people were not evacuated, thousands could have been killed.

Despite the assorted "maximum credible accident" studies which calculated the possibility as 50,000,000-to-1, a serious accident happened. This should not be surprising. The Catch-22 of the endless "risk analysis" studies is that some simple mistake cannot be accounted for. For instance, even very smart physicists can apparently forget that, under conditions of irradiation and enormous heat, water molecules will break up and produce hydrogen and oxygen gas. Inevitably at the key moment gauges are not going to work and technicians will surely push the wrong button and leave valves in the wrong position.

There is no such thing as a no-risk energy source. Thus the question is not whether accidents will happen, but how to reduce their frequency and limit their consequences. It is not so much a question of a special technology, but the irrationality of the capitalist economy which makes all industry in the U.S., including the nuclear industry, hazardous.

Present technological capacity is simply not fully used to make nuclear or any other industry safer. Why, for instance, are reactors plopped down in the middle of major population centers? They should obviously be built at a distance and downwind from the cities. But that would mean more expense for siting, construction and transmission lines. And why not test an actual meltdown in the desert to see how to protect against it? Perhaps the water table (which blows the hot radioactive material back up to the surface) can be dropped. Or an enormous underground concrete silo could be constructed as part of the containment guarding against the most destructive effects of a meltdown. In any case these and other obvious safety precautions judged from the corporate boardrooms are thrown out the window in the name of "cost effectiveness." To pose rational solutions based on the use of present technological capacity supposes a rational economy.

In fact every corner than can be cut is cut, both for materials and personnel. Who is to blame for "human error" that derives from being overworked and overtired? It is reported that the workers at the Three Mile Island reactor were forced to work for 40 consecutive days, with shifts sometimes stretching to 12 hours! Also, the company instituted a speed-up drive and disciplined workers for following prescribed safety regulations in carrying out repairs and inspections.

Under capitalism, even an operation as technologically sophisticated as a nuclear reactor is run by the bosses the same as a sweat shop. In fact the more that is learned about the Three Mile Island accident, the more it looks like any other capitalist operation. Thus almost exactly one year before the March 28 mishap the very same type of automatic relief valve malfunctioned in the very same way, draining cooling water from the reactor core. Pressure gauges similar to those which misled operators last month malfunctioned at that time also. Twice within the space of four days last November, valve and pump problems in the feedwater system forced the reactor to shut down automatically—just as they did in the recent accident.

On December 16, two weeks before the plant was licensed to begin commercial operations, one of the main feedwater pumps failed and the reactor was shut down for six days. One day before the December 30 deadline the NRC's own inspector approved the opening of the plant despite his note that certain components of the plant's equipment "could not be ascertained to meet acceptance criteria" (*Wall Street Journal*, 9 April), including the functioning of the pressurizer relief valve. The December 30 opening date saved MetEd thousands of dollars in taxes by allowing it to charge rate increases it would not otherwise be eligible for. Naturally, neither the NRC nor MetEd has any comment to make on pre-accident problems at Three Mile Island.

Kristof/National Geographic

Reactor core test

The tragic truth is that in the U.S. the social values and the irrationality of capitalism are "engineered" into even the most sophisticated technology. The "Gus Grissom theorem" retains its full force in matters of public health and safety. The astronaut, who later died in a rocket accident, observed that he was frightened every time he went up and reflected that all the machinery upon which his life depended was built by the lowest bidder. A corollary of this theorem is that capitalism never makes it as good, or runs it as well, as technology would allow.

Nuclear Hypocrisy and Watergate Moralism

It is post-Watergate liberal cynicism that gives the present panic over nuclear power its special flavor of bourgeois hypocrisy. It is not a sober concern for safety, but rather an irrational moralism that moves the clamshells and their friends. Thus the underlying theme of the anti-nuclear power film, *The China Syndrome*, is not much different from that of the Watergate movie, *All the President's Men*. In both cases the crusading liberal press is responsible for reforming a wronged America through public exposure. Behind the campaign to expose the lies and cover-ups (some real, some cooked-up) is the effort to clean up capitalism for the bourgeoisie, to get a better "oversight" of the FBI, or, in the case of nuclear power, a more favorable "regulatory climate."

The anti-nukers have certainly taken advantage of the post-Watergate public disbelief in official authority, which, given the records of the AEC and the NRC, is easy enough. The "no-accident" oversell resulted in what the *New York Times* called a "credibility meltdown." But it didn't just happen. The Carter government was not believed before this, and his "blue ribbon committee" to investigate the accident is not likely to be believed either.

The Watergate experience is defining in this period. Liberals see their job as generating a cycle of exposure and reform. But for working class revolutionaries it comes as no surprise that the utility monopolies have shown a callous disregard for safety, that the various government regulatory agencies act as PR outfits for the utilities and so forth. That is standard practice for capitalism. If anything, the nuclear industry seems better monitored than most, with less cover-ups than other major industries. Yet the liberals in the anti-nuke camp are scandalized by the actions of the utilities and the government, just as they were to discover that their government had engaged in "dirty tricks" at the Watergate—not just its usual "disruption" and victimization of the left, labor, and black militants, but against the respectable members of the Democratic Party.

Similarly with the anti-nuke protests. It is one thing to have the conventionally accepted mutilation and death of the working class in traditionally hazardous jobs, but quite another to talk about the random, sensational possibility of an accident that can hurt "everyone." The no-nuke movement is part of a middle-class ecological concern that the disastrous conditions with which workers have had to live for generations might spread to the suburbs. Their arrogant moralism hypocritically conceals an indifference to the health and safety of the working class." Get rid of nuclear power," they demand. Do they also suppose the U.S. will get rid of electricity?

Since the smoke first covered Manchester, England, the working class has been dying of industrial accidents and poisoning of all kinds. But what does it matter to the anti-nukers that every year thousands die from work in the coal mines? Although there has not yet been even a single death attributable to a commercial nuclear reactor, it is that possible accident which has captured their attention. After all, radioactive winds might blow into their neighborhoods, perhaps even onto a college campus.

The truth is that the mines are murderous for the miners, for the communities which surround the mines and for those who transport the coal. Not only have mine accidents caused the death of some 100,000 people, but lung diseases disable and kill. The silica particles in the coal dust cause silicosis and the coal dust itself causes pneumoconiosis or "black lung." Life will be better for the entire working class when there is as much worry about black lung as there is concern now for meltdown.

To speak of black lung is not to imagine some remote possibility to be subjected to "risk analysis." A full 46 percent of U.S. coal miners contract black lung (*Harrison's Principles of Internal Medicine*, 1976). More than 3,000 die from it every year, according to the *Journal* of the United Mineworkers. And the technology exists to make the mines considerably safer with ventilation and adequate equipment. But it is too "expensive" for mine operators. What is the miner "worth" who every day is covered by coal dust? It gets in his hair, clothes and skin. It coats the rims of his eyes and gets between his teeth. It is swallowed. So much dust is sucked up that he spits up coal dust until the day he dies—a death that comes

painfully after years of increasing shortness of breath and then suffocation. Why should this be preferred to radiation?

Cover-ups are not peculiar to the nuclear industry. For years it was argued that black lung was not harmful, and the medical profession even lent its services to the claim that it was beneficial! Asbestos damage was also covered up in a 40-year corporate/government conspiracy to suppress the findings on the effects of working with asbestos. It wasn't until 1974 that a lawsuit successfully pried the findings loose from the companies. According to the United Auto Workers journal, *Solidarity*, "a very conservative estimate is that 11 million workers have been exposed to asbestos since the start of World War II—nearly half in the shipyards. Of the four million workers who have been heavily exposed, more than a third are expected to die of cancer. The death toll among U.S. workers exposed to asbestos will probably average 67,000 a year."

Of course this creeping death is not sensational enough for the anti-nukers to bother with. But for us the life of a middle-class housewife in a Harrisburg suburb is not worth more than the life of a coal miner, a textile worker with brown lung from cotton dust, an auto worker stricken with asbestosis. Such irrational moralism is the stuff of the eco-laddists.

Hiroshima Was No Accident

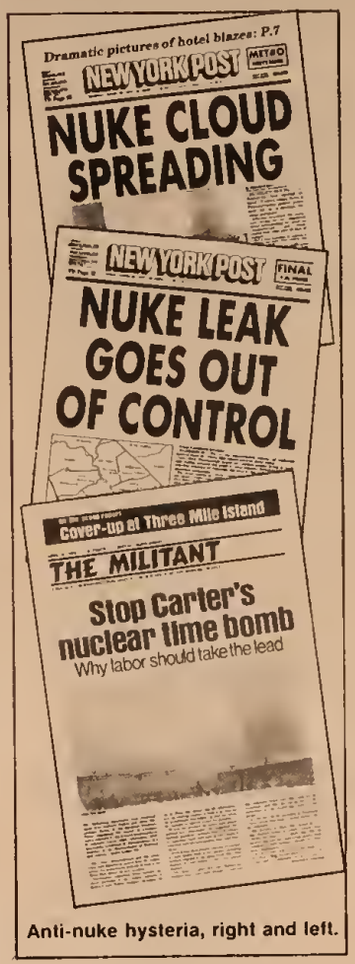
The no-nuke moralists conceal more than their class bias with their reactionary-utopian demands for a non-nuclear capitalist America. Even in pacifist guise they apologize for the U.S. imperialist war machine.

Although the anti-nukes trade on the deeply felt fears of Hiroshima devastation, the battleground of the war over nuclear power is the commercial plant; and the main enemy is *the accident*. The military uses of nuclear power are rarely raised by either side. Yet more than *90 percent* of all nuclear wastes derive from military uses. The anti-nukers know well that the U.S. is not going to dump its nuclear arsenal; nor do the main components of this political current have any appetite for the U.S. to do so. After all they would not want "their country" to be "defenseless."

The greatest danger is not posed by accidental nuclear emissions, but by the arsenal of nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialists, especially the U.S. general staff. The only ruling class that ever used nuclear weapons against a civilian population is now in control of weapons that make the bomb that leveled Hiroshima seem tame. And Hiroshima was no accident. Would they destroy Kyoto or Hiroshima? The "doves" won out. They decided to atom bomb "only" the city of Hiroshima, just as they had decided to bring a devastating firestorm to Dresden and years later would terror bomb Vietnam with "conventional" weapons. Even a maximal nuclear accident involving a commercial reactor is qualitatively far less destructive than H-bombs exploding over major cities.

The clamor over nuclear energy *as a technology* is part of a bourgeois ideology which leads attention away from the main danger: imperialist militarism. Thus since the end of the war, popular culture has been deluged with "fail-safe" stories in which the world is *accidentally* thrown into nuclear holocaust. The idea that the imperialists would consciously *decide* to use the weapons they avidly produce is off limits.

Thus French existential philosopher Jacques Maritain offered sophisticated contributions to the theme of a new "atomic age," in which the fact of potential human annihilation provided a new ethical basis for "the future of mankind." In contemplating social death, civilization was confronted with the existential condition for a new humanism. In the U.S. it was the image of *Dr. Strangelove*, in which a mechanical misfunction and mad scientist combine to produce human annihilation. And the accidental instrument is the simple, patriotic common man—Slim Pickens—who rides the runaway



Anti-nuke hysteria, right and left.

H-bomb to the nuclear holocaust in total innocence.

For the Stalinists this mystification of nuclear technology has been an excuse for détente illusions. As Khrushchev "Remembers" it, nuclear weapons and the "unthinkable" prospect of nuclear war make "détente" necessary—that is, a new argument for the old practice of global accommodation with imperialism. It is on the ground of nuclear mythology that liberal pacifism and Stalinist class collaboration peacefully co-exist.

Remembering that the USSR has a rather large commitment to nuclear energy, the U.S. Communist Party (CP) has taken a *pro*-nuclear stand, along with the Meanyite labor bureaucracy. Taking responsibility for the bourgeoisie's hazardous use of nuclear power, the CP gives its argument a pacifist-détente twist. In a letter to *People's World* (13 March 1979), Victor Perlo correctly notes how the middle-class anti-nuke sentiment diverts attention from the military threat, pointing out that the Rockefeller oil interests are comfortable funding various anti-nuke groups. But he suggests that if only the movement were for SALT and "disarmament," everything would be okay.

When it comes to the dangerous pacifist notion of disarmament, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) will not be outdone by the CP. In fact the SWP is so anxious to be in the liberal anti-nuke movement that it is happy to dunip the defense of the Soviet Union to do it. It is nuclear weapons which make general disarmament necessary says the SWP. The Soviet Union should "take the initiative." And why? Because with nuclear weapons the world can be blown up many times over. This is the refrain of bourgeois liberal pacifism and has nothing in common with Trotskyism. How welcome would these "best builders" of the anti-nuke movement be among the clamshells and other ecological molluscs if they had anything resembling a Trotskyist position on the Russian question as it applies to nuclear weaponry? Here is what the Spartacist League has to say on the subject:

> "...we resolutely defend the necessity of nuclear weapons technology (including whatever attendant testing programs may be necessary) for the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam and the other deformed workers states. The answer to the dangers of nuclear war is not to be found in imperialist/social pacifist 'non-proliferation' treaties or test bans, but in the destruction of capitalism by the revolutionary action of the international proletariat."
>
> —"Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement," *WV* No. 146, 25 February 1977

So, life is complex. It is not so easy to do strict cost-accounting on human lives—adding up the risks and subtracting from the benefits—outside the framework of the real political world. For instance, it is reported that there was more radioactivity dropped on Pennsylvania by the latest Chinese nuclear bomb test than escaped from the Three Mile reactor accident. As Trotskyists we support such tests and we ask: what could be more dangerous for the international working class, for the future of the whole world, than to allow the U.S. to have a monopoly on nuclear weapons? The mad bombers of Hiroshima, Dresden and Vietnam would extract oceans of blood in nuclear blackmail, and then who knows what else they would do if they thought they could profitably "nuke" their way to worldwide U.S. imperialist domination.

A Nuke in Your Future?

The accident at Three Mile Island is generally described as a disaster for the nuclear power industry. Moreover, with soaring costs and legal and legislative obstacles, most forecasts were gloomy even before the cooling system failed on MetEd's reactor. But all it would take to turn this around is another substantial price hike by the oil producers' cartel, OPEC. Despite the current public perception of the nuclear industry and government regulators as a gang of profiteers and liars, no one should jump to the conclusion that the future of atomic power is in question. The U.S. now relies on commercial reactors for 12.5 percent of its energy, and Carter recently reaffirmed federal commitments: "We can't abandon it now." And the U.S. actually has some alternatives, with domestically produced fossil fuels. What other industrial countries like France or Japan—who lack the abundant natural resources of the U.S.—are supposed to do is of blithe unconcern to the "no-nukes" protesters. Perhaps they would prefer these countries to instead launch a new imperialist war for a "fair share" of the world's fossil fuels.

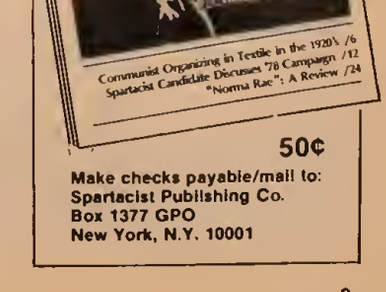
What the anti-nuclear panic has done for Jimmy Carter is to provide another argument for raising oil prices ("decontrol") on domestic production. This policy of increased economic autarky (increase in coal-produced energy, decreasing dependence on foreign petroleum) is part and parcel of his program for rearming U.S. imperialism to throw its weight around in a post-Vietnam world. Carter's "energy crisis" message last week spelled out his idea of conservation: make it more expensive. In the patriotic cause of "energy independence" from Arabian oil sheiks, American working people are told they must "sacrifice" in order that the oil trusts can reap billions of dollars in additional profits. The austerity program is announced in haughty tones of imperial disdain: "Try walking," suggested Rosalyn Carter at an ecology conference she traveled to on a White House jet.

The energy trusts and the capitalist government want to make the working class pay for the "energy crisis." First they phony the figures (world oil production is not down), then redirect the supply to create artificial shortages and extort legislation to make it more profitable to produce in the U.S. MetEd even wants to pass the costs of the shutdown of Three Mile Island on to the general population by substantial rate increases! We demand that the corporations pay the damages and that the greedy energy trusts be expropriated without compensation!

Carter's austerity program meshes with the conservationist fetishes of the ecology faddists. But those who claim to stand for protection of the environment should give some thought to the *human* costs of increased reliance on fossil fuel. How many miners will die in accidents and from lung diseases to appease these energy preferences? How many urban lungs clogged with the soot from burning coal and oil; what long-term environmental effects of pouring ever more massive amounts of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere? The petty bourgeoisie is appalled by the social deterioration around them, the reckless pollution of the planet, the mendacity of the government. But they are unable to distinguish between capitalism and technology as the culprit.

The anti-nuclear movements encompass individuals alienated from bourgeois society who mistakenly see themselves as radicals, along with eco-faddists who view "health foods" or natural childbirth as a political statement, dreaming utopian and ultimately reactionary dreams of a world without electricity. The zero-growth Malthusians and eco-conservatives generally say instead of nuclear power, less power, and they long for a pre-industrial society. But the energy problems of the U.S. cannot be solved under capitalism—there is no horse-and-buggy solution. Meanwhile the impressive technology of nuclear energy is in the hands of the rapacious rulers of an irrational social system capable of turning abruptly from "peacetime" pursuit of capitalist profitability (at the expense of elementary considerations of safety) to the armageddon of World War III.

Marxists stand on the side of technological progress. While refusing to take responsibility for the capitalists' energy choices, we are decidedly against those who would arrest the development of the productive forces essential to the future of mankind. The anti-nuke protesters who seek the "greening of America" display a profoundly racist disregard for the populations of the economically backward countries, which can emerge from poverty only through a tremendous *increase* in industrial production. And all the while they close their eyes to the very real dangers of imperialist war, the stark choice between socialism and barbarism. Under the symbols of "flower power," the no-nukes crowd opts for barbarism. ■



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Teamsters...

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the threat of a strike. Numerous sections of the American working class look to the powerful Teamsters to spearhead the battle to smash the government/employer alliance. The Machinists striking United Airlines timed their walkout for higher pay to the Teamster strike, and even the weak-kneed Jerry Wurf is talking of reopening the AFSCME contract with New York State negotiated within Carter's tattered "guidelines." But a definitive victory over the anti-labor wage controls can be achieved only by a genuinely class-struggle leadership, which unlike such fakers as the TDU stands for militant policies and for uncompromising opposition to the trade-union bureaucracy's alliance with the strikebreaking Democratic Party and the government. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 7)

cular analogy is not merely not exact, but is so off-the-wall it is hard to deal with in a politically meaningful way. Analogies between the Russian February revolution and what has happened in Iran would be valid only if the tsar had been overthrown by a movement led by Metropolitan Likhon of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Kerensky was an accidental figure thrown up by the revolution. He was insignificant before February 1917. It was precisely Kerensky's lack of political definition and strong party ties which made him an acceptable "leader" to the bourgeois liberal Cadets, the petty-bourgeois populist Social Revolutionaries and labor-reformist Mensheviks. Khomeini was anything but an accidental figure in the overthrow of the shah. He was the established leader of the dominant religious sect. He went into opposition to the shah precisely over the monarchy's superficial attempt at Westernization (the 1963 "White Revolution"), especially over the land reform, which damaged the economic interests of the mosque, and legal rights for women.

There is, however, an ulterior political logic in the fake-Trotskyists' fixation with the nonsensical Khomeini-Kerensky analogy. Everyone knows Kerensky was but a transitory figure, easily overthrown by the Bolsheviks after a few months in power. In making the Khomeini-Kerensky analogy our revisionist "Trotskyist" opponents are expressing their belief—or at any rate hope—that (soon) "After Khomeini, us." Here we come perhaps to the underlying reason why leftists supported a manifestly reactionary religious movement in Iran. It was a cynical maneuver to support the mullahs against the shah, on the assumption that the "inevitable radicalization" ("the objective dynamic") of the revolution would bring the left to power. Much of the left's effort to prettify this backward-looking religious fanatic as some kind of radical democrat was undoubtedly a hypocritical gesture to ingratiate themselves with Khomeini's Iranian followers.

Perhaps the most sophisticated defense for supporting the mullahs against the shah is an amalgam of cynicism and objectivism. It runs something like this: granted Khomeini is a religious reactionary; if he comes to power and consolidates his rule, this might even be more reactionary than the shah, at least in its domestic policies. But a reactionary Islamic Republic in Iran today is very unlikely. In order to overthrow the shah, Khomeini had to unleash popular forces which he cannot control and which will prevent him from carrying out his program. In the political chaos which must follow the shah's fall, the left will gain over Khomeini. Although leftist support to Khomeini is an opportunist policy, there is a certain methodological similarity here to the ultra-left Third Period Stalinist position expressed as, "After Hitler, us."

The German Stalinists had all the arguments worked out: Hitler stood at the head of an unstable coalition of big capital and ruined petty bourgeois, which would soon explode; he could never deliver on his demagogic social program. But with the combined strength of a fanatical mass following and the armed forces Hitler built his Third Reich over the broken bones of the organized workers movement. The cynical policy of supporting Khomeini against the shah, figuring he can then be overthrown on the morrow of his victory, is like playing Russian roulette with five bullets in the chamber. Khomeini now has in his hands, though not yet securely, the resources of state power. He will certainly command the loyalty of the still-intact officer caste in any showdown with the left or workers movement. Furthermore, Khomeini enjoys enormous popular authority, especially among the backward, rural masses, not only as the imam of the faithful but as the conquerer of the hated shah.

As revolutionaries, we are never fatalistic about the victory of counter-revolution. When Hitler was appointed chancellor in early 1933, Trotsky called on the German working class to insurrect against him. Likewise in Iran today we call for a united-front defense of the workers movement, the left and secular democratic forces against the imminent terror of Islamic reaction:

> "From the Fedayeen to the women in the streets, every non-Islamic sector of society is under the gun of the Muslim fanatics. The Fedayeen's protection of the women's protests in Teheran is an encouraging sign that the basis for a united-front defense of the left, proletarian and secular democratic forces exists.
>
> "Revolutionaries in Iran would agitate for the formation of workers militias based on factory committees and trade-union organizations as the backbone of such a united front against the mullahs' rule!"
>
> —"No to the Veil!" *WV* No. 227, 16 March

But we recognize that the political and military advantages now lie with the Islamic Revolutionary Committee and not with the suicidal opportunists of the Iranian left and the tragically misled working class. Khomeini is not engaging in empty bombast when he threatens:

> "If the united leadership is not accepted by all groups I shall regard this as an uprising against the Islamic revolution, and I warn these bandits and unlawful elements that we were able to destroy the shah and his evil regime, and we are strong enough to deal with them."
>
> —*New York Times*, 20 February

And how did Khomeini acquire the strength to destroy the shah? It was provided not only by the mosque's traditional petty-bourgeois base, the *bazaaris* and similar social strata. It was also the support of the Iranian left (the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh Party and eclectic Stalinoid Fedayeen) which gave Khomeini the weapons he will now turn against them. And the foreign leftist cheerleaders for the mullahs in the streets—the Jack Barnes, Ernest Mandels and Gerry Healys—they too bear responsibility for the gathering reactionary terror in Iran. Every unveiled woman who is beaten, every petty malefactor who is flogged, every worker militant who is tortured by an Islamic SAVAK will be right to curse all of those who helped bring to power their new tormentor. ■

Britain...

(continued from page 2)

once again to turn out the vote for Callaghan and his henchmen. The fake-lefts' basic unanimity on this question was summed up by the lead headlines of two different left-wing newspapers which came out just after the Commons defeat. The 31 March *Socialist Worker*, paper of Tony Cliff's workerist-economist Socialist Workers Party, warned "Defend our Unions—Keep the Tories Out!"; while the April *Socialist Organiser*, sponsored by the Workers Action and Chartist groups, had "Defend the Unions—Keep the Tories Out!" Behind these near-identical banners lies a giant con-game: that somehow, in contrast to the Tories, Labour has been "defending the unions" these past five years.

Faced with a situation where even small but militant sections of the union movement are coming out against votes to Labour, the opportunists are beginning to feel somewhat uncomfortable. But they still can't bring themselves to say "no" to Callaghan. Thus the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the United Secretariat, recently felt compelled to print a front-page polemic against the Dunlop and NUPE workers for their threats to withdraw support from Labour:

> "To call for an abstention on Labour will only aid the party of big business—the Tories. When workers cast their votes for the Labour Party, they are voting for a party of their class—whatever its policies."
>
> —*Socialist Challenge*, 5 April

Always vote Labour, "whatever its policies"? How about when it is prosecuting an imperialist war in alliance with the capitalist parties, or suppressing a proletarian revolution in blood? No! There are times when Marxists must say to the workers that Labour has shown in action that it provides no alternative to the Tories, that it is *against* the working class. Today is such a time. But in their haste to avoid isolation, the opportunists of the IMG have found themselves upholding a position to the *right* of thousands of militant workers.

Revolutionaries would tell workers who are fed up with Labour's betrayals that they are right to refuse to vote for Labour. But the alternative to social-democratic betrayal is not apolitical syndicalism. Revolutionaries would argue to workers like those at Dunlop and in NUPE that the union movement should run candidates *against* Labour, on a full class-struggle programme. And any working-class candidate seeking electoral support from the union movement should be forced to demonstrate that he has supported the struggles of the class in *action* before workers consider giving him even the most critical support.

Three ostensibly revolutionary organisations are standing candidates in these elections, but none meet even these minimal criteria for critical support. The Communist Party's campaign is simply part of its attempt to cement an alliance with the Labour "lefts"—and why should revolutionaries counsel the workers to vote for a second-rate reformism when they can have the real thing? The Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party is also running candidates. But unlike in 1974, when we urged critical support to their candidates on the basis that they represented a flawed left opposition to Labourism, today a vote for the WRP would simply be a vote for Colonel Qaddafi and Healy's despicable slander campaign against American SWP leaders Hansen and Novack.

Finally the Socialist Unity campaign, a vehicle of the International Marxist Group and its appetite for a Menshevik unity of the "far left," has put up some candidates, though they insist only in "safe" Labour seats. This, together with their attack on the Dunlop workers for proposing to abstain, their vague and inadequate election programme, and the fact that they, like the Communist Party and the WRP, insist on a vote for Labour indicates that they in no way offer an alternative to the Labour Party meriting critical support.

The task of revolutionaries is to split the mass base of the Labour Party from its treacherous tops, not pander to their present social-democratic illusions. Alone on the British left, the Spartacist tendency has upheld a position of conditional opposition to Labour ever since the vicious Social Contract attacks began to evoke strong resentment and opposition in the working class in late 1976. The Spartacist League/Britain is continuing to fight for this position in the current election campaign, saying to British workers: Remember Labour's betrayals, both on May 3 and thereafter. For whoever wins, Thatcher or Callaghan, the British capitalist class will demand more and deeper attacks on the rights and living standards of workers and the oppressed in its drive to restore lost profits.

Labour has conclusively demonstrated that it provides no way out of the decay of British capitalism; the working class acutely needs a new leadership to defend its past gains and take its struggles forward to socialist revolution. The capitalist rot which is eating away at British society will only be stopped when the working class, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, rises up to construct a workers government that will turn the stuffy parliamentary chambers of Westminster Palace into a historical monument. ■

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Mullah Thugs...

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bourgeois revolutions meant something.

"When the Bolsheviks worked among women of the Soviet East and talked about 'martyrs fallen on the women's liberation front,' they weren't talking about a woman whose male-chauvinist husband wouldn't do the dishes. That's a different kind of problem. They were talking about women whose husbands slit their throats because they took off the veil.

"The bourgeois revolution meant that the cleaning woman in Hitler's bunker had more rights than a woman in Iran today—because she was viewed as a human being! So when Khomeini says 'No' to the West, he is also saying 'No' to the basic achievements of the French Revolution. He is saying 'No' to equality before the law; 'No' to the separation of church and state; 'No' to the whole progressive shift from a feudal social order to a bourgeois-democratic state.

"I can't tell you how peculiar it feels to stand up here defending the gains of the Revolution of 1789. But that is the position we are now in regarding almost the entire left."

Reissner pointed out something else that Kate Millett doesn't understand: that in the modern epoch neither Khomeini, "who is politically to the right of Peter the Great," nor the autocratic shah nor even bourgeois liberals in the backward countries are capable of granting equal rights to women or any other oppressed sector of society. She explained:

"The woman question in countries like Iran continues to demonstrate the truth of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. Equal rights for women is a basic democratic right, but the oppression of women is grounded in the property system itself. All the so-called revolutions in the 'Third World' countries which have stopped short of overturning capitalism have been unable to provide even elementary democratic rights for women.

"A good example of this is Algeria. The manifesto of the Algerian revolution promised equality for women, and women played an active role in the FLN and the struggle for independence.... Now, 16 years after the FLN victory, the inferior status of women is codified in Algerian law. The veil is still worn in Algeria, a symbol of the continuing oppression of women.... The mere participation of women in a movement is not decisive for their liberation. Program is decisive. The Spartacist League has the program of the Bolshevik party, which was the only party to have led a successful working-class revolution."

Wayne State: "If Khomeini Is Going to Cut My Head..."

Six months ago, as anti-shah protests were rocking Iran, the Spartacus Youth League held a Midwest forum series around our slogan "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs!" This enraged assorted Maoist and pro-Albanian Stalinist wings of the disintegrated Iranian Student Association (ISA), who joined the Khomeiniite Organization of Iranian Muslim Students (OIMS) in trying to block our meetings in Ann Arbor and East Lansing, Michigan. At Michigan State the disruption in the hallway drew in the East Lansing police, and the SL chose to disband the forum rather than giving the cops an excuse to arrest the Iranian students, who risked deportation to the shah's torture chambers.

As a result of the previous experience of provocation, the participants in the April 4-5 SL forums at Wayne State University (Detroit) and University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) were protected by an effective defense squad of trade unionists. All those entering the meeting room were frisked for weapons. At Wayne State the forum drew some 80 Iranians, including some Maoists from the *Resistance* newspaper supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Bob Avakian, but mainly young Muslims from the OIMS. The diverse Khomeini supporters objected to the elementary security precautions and clamored in the hallway throughout the presentation period, blocking the entrances to the room, chanting to drown out the speaker, pounding on the doors and calling on the building manager to demand that the SL stop its security check.

In the ensuing discussion period the SL invited the crowd gathered menacingly outside the door to come in and participate, provided they abided by democratic procedures. For the next hour, despite periodic outbursts from the Khomeiniites, the Iranian students were part of the most democratic political debate they have seen in the U.S., and certainly far freer than in Teheran where Islamic marshals roam about silencing anyone deemed to have blasphemed the ayatollah. The mullah apologists could not come up with serious political arguments, however, and spent their time regurgitating a litany of lies and slanders, screaming "CIA" and "SAVAK agent" at the SL.

The most ludicrous moment came when one of the "Marxist-Leninist" acolytes of the ayatollah proclaimed:

"If Khomeini is going to cut my head, he may think it is right to do it. That's for the sake of the revolution. He would never order that unless I was a CIA agent, or maybe a Trotskyist or belong to some other reactionary group.... If he orders that, I will be the one to take the sword and do it!"

After six Iranian speakers and six supporters of the Spartacist League, the partisans of the "Islamic Revolution" had had enough of workers democracy. As an auto worker from Detroit's River Rouge factory was pointing out that Mao had supported the butcher shah, the Maoist ISA group began to chant "Long Live Khomeini!" in order to drown out the speaker. As they then stomped out of the room the chant changed to "Down with Trotskyism!" And upon leaving, one Muslim fanatic said ominously that this was the last time they were going to sit through this forum or let the SL speak.

Ann Arbor: "You Can't Say Khomeini Isn't Democratic. We'll Stop Your Meeting!"

The April 6 forum at the Student Union of the University of Michigan saw an escalation of the Khomeini thugs' disruption—and an effective defense of our meeting by the united-front defense squad. This time 60 to 70 OIMS students showed up, and none of the ISAers were in evidence. Immediately upon arrival they began to block the hallway, refusing to let others in. They refused to submit to searching, threatened to push their way into the hall and demanded that campus security and the Ann Arbor police be called in. For people who have lived in fear of SAVAK torturers, one would expect the Iranian students to think twice about calling in the cops, who could easily end up arresting *them*. But so intent were they on disruption that they did not hesitate at this criminally irresponsible provocation. When the cops came, the Muslims demanded that the SLers be arrested. The police frisked several of the marshals, but eventually left the meeting room.

For the rest of the forum order was maintained by the defense guard of several dozen trade unionists and SL supporters, as well as several members of the small Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Ann Arbor. The same Koran-waving fanatic who had spoken at Wayne State at first sat in the front row and immediately began to heckle the speaker. When the marshals removed this disrupter bodily from the room, 30 or so of his cohorts rushed toward the speakers podium. However, they too were quickly subdued and thrown out of the hall. The remaining 40 Muslim students were easily persuaded that it was wiser to sit back down in their seats. A short time later another disrupter began to taunt the speaker with repeated outbursts of "CIA agent, SAVAK agent," and then "prostitute" and "slut." He was carried out by his arms and legs despite frenzied cries of "I will not go!"

During the discussion period the Khomeiniites again spent their time hurling slanders at the Spartacist League, denouncing the SL as FBI agents, excoriating us for taking facts from the bourgeois press, etc. Although every Iranian who raised his hand to speak was called on, a dozen in all, the Muslim students incredibly charged that the defense squad had interfered with their "democratic rights" (to disrupt?). Reissner responded: "The Spartacist League has been around for a long time... and even our most bitter opponents know that they can come to our forums and speak openly. We are proud of that record. You have no credibility. None."

Of the 20 or so Iranian women in the audience, all wearing scarves, several chose to speak, denouncing Western communists for daring to criticize "Third World" leaders. One woman raged: "Who gave you the right to talk about the Iranian people.... You told me that the demonstrations of women against the veil were true Marxism. Do you know who was behind them? The CIA! I have documents.... A lady in the demonstrations was wearing a shirt from Playboy—you call that true Marxism?" Another steamed: "You have bodyguards, you are like the SAVAK.... You are like hungry wolves around us. You want to kill our freedom, our victory." Throughout the discussions the Muslim students outside in the corridor kept chanting "Long Live Khomeini!" frequently drowning out their own speakers.

A black auto worker sought to make himself heard over the din: "Yes, we're not Iranians," he admitted. "But we are communists and internationalists, and we fight for the right of self-determination for the national minorities in Iran. You people [the Khomeini supporters] are the ones who want to ignore the question of national rights in Iran.... You are the chauvinists!" A second auto worker took the floor to talk about democracy:

"The supporters of Khomeini come here and say 'you can't say Khomeini is not democratic.' 'We're going to stop your meeting to show you that Khomeini is democratic' [laughter]....

"You say no one can take the freedom away from the women, but who are the women in Teheran demonstrating against? Khomeini! You sisters in the audience—in Khomeini's words you're naked because you are not wearing the *chador*. In the city of Qom you could be stoned to death on the street! You probably could not sit in such a meeting without threats from fanatical Muslim students, many of whom are just like your brothers out there wrecking these meetings."

Finally a steel worker rose to answer the question of "what right" had he to talk about the situation of the Iranian masses:

"You talk about democratic rights. If I got up in such a meeting in Iran, they'd shoot me, because I would be there to organize trade unions among steel workers and oil workers.... The oil workers and steel workers of Iran are my class brothers and sisters, and I have every right to get up here and defend them, and no one is going to stop me from defending them.

"Not one of you has gotten up here and said, 'We are for the right of the Iranian working class to organize in trade unions,' the most elementary democratic right which American workers paid in blood to win.... I haven't heard one word about the rights of the Kurds.

"We have the right to fight for the program of workers power in Iran. It's the only solution, because we are fighting against the potential decimation of the Iranian working class, which Khomeini will carry out."

A Lesson in Workers Democracy

At the end of the discussion period, the Iranian Muslim students again marched out chanting. But rather than let the meeting disperse in orderly fashion, they remained in the hallway hounding and screaming at members of the audience who emerged. When a group of SYLers went to collect their belongings from lockers on another floor they were accosted, spit on and trapped in an elevator. Finally the rest of the audience marched out in military formation. Even then the Khomeini goons followed them into the parking lot, hoping to waylay some of the participants as they got into their cars.

As the clerical reactionaries came screaming into the lot, the defense team which had been at the end of the column suddenly turned on the attackers and charged. Several of the cowardly Khomeiniite hoodlums immediately hit the pavement; others ran into parked cars, while some tripped over their own brothers trying to flee. The goons were quickly routed. But even after the thugs were dispersed, cars leaving the parking lot were struck by rocks and bricks thrown by the Khomeini lovers.

The following day the campus newspaper *Michigan Daily* printed an article accusing the SYL of striking an Iranian student. In response the Spartacus Youth League wrote a letter protesting the attack on its forum by the Muslim fanatics of the OIMS and so-called leftists of the ISA. The letter stated:

"The Khomeini lovers of the OIMS/ISA in attempting to disrupt our forum gave a taste of the kind of 'democracy' being set up in Khomeini's 'Islamic Republic.'...

"There has been a pattern to these disruptions of SYL-sponsored forums on Iran. Five times in the past six months there have been attempts by the same little band of OIMS/ISA fanatics to prevent such forums. And who are these people, these self-appointed defenders of Islam and Khomeini? They are in no sense leftists or progressives or even bourgeois liberals. They are the sons and daughters of the Iranian upper-crust who stand to gain from Khomeini's rule."

It is doubtful that these supporters of Islamic reaction will be swayed by letters to the editor, however necessary to set the record straight. But there is no doubt that by the end of the evening of April 5, one thing was made clear in Ann Arbor: if you are a Stalinist goon or Muslim clericalist intent on disruption, don't fool with the Spartacist League. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

SL Routs Mullah Thugs

As Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini seeks to refashion Iranian society along the precepts of the Koran, the question of democratic rights for women suddenly looms as a major battlefield between champions of social progress and disciples of a theocratic state whose face is turned toward the seventh century. As Islamic marshals fire upon women marching in the streets of Teheran in defiance of the ayatollah's orders to wear the veil; as Muslim fanatics heave rocks at the demonstrators, cursing them as "SAVAK agents" and "Pahlavi dolls," many liberals and leftists who at first cheered the mullah-led religious opposition to the bloody shah are shocked to see the reactionary content of the "Islamic Republic" starkly revealed. Now the issue is posed directly in the U.S. as Muslim and Maoist thugs launch violent attacks on communist meetings to the chant "Long Live Khomeini!"

Having predicted that the mullahs in power would be no victory for women, the Spartacist League seized on the controversy over women's rights in Iran with a tour by D.L. Reissner, editor of *Women and Revolution*, speaking on the topic "No to the Veil!" At two of her Midwest meetings, in Detroit on April 4 and in Ann Arbor the following night, Muslim zealots and Maoist dupes of the Shi'ite "imam" did everything they could to break up the SL forums. Despite their best efforts, they were unable to prevent the meetings from taking place. Instead the SL allowed the Khomeini lovers to amply present their views while defending its own right to hold meetings and dealing a sharp lesson in workers democracy to the Islamic and Stalinist thugs.

The Spartacist League will continue in the future to defend its meetings against such goon attacks. As in the past, our political opponents who abide by democratic procedure are welcome to attend our public meetings and speak during the discussion period. But we caution the Khomeini thugs that if they try to disrupt our meetings they will be met with an implacable defense of democratic rights by American trade unionists who have fought scabs and cops to build their unions and are not about to let a sorry collection of Stalinists and clerical reactionaries stand in their way.

Trade unionists defend workers democracy at Spartacist forum, Ann Arbor, April 5. WV Photo

What Kate Millett Doesn't Understand

The demonstrations of Iranian women protesting the veil were front-page news in the U.S., in part because American feminist Kate Millett had gone to Teheran at the request of the organizers of the protests. Millett denounced Khomeini as a "male chauvinist" and told reporters, "I was afraid." She certainly had good reason to fear, for after a series of threats Millett was seized by armed militiamen of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee and summarily expelled from the country. In New York a solidarity demonstration was called by a number of her "sisters" in the feminist establishment, including former CIA paid informer Gloria Steinem, former Jimmy Carter aide Bella Abzug and Betty Friedan, who used to hobnob with Princess Ashraf, the drug-dealing sister of the shah.

At the March 24 SL forum in New York, Reissner stressed that only proletarian communists, not the bourgeois feminists, have the social power and class interest to defend the rights of the oppressed. While defending Millett's right to be in Iran against the gunpoint censorship of the mullahs, Reissner pointed to the patent absurdity of the feminists' program in a country which has not even had a bourgeois revolution:

> "In the view of the feminists, men oppress women, they always have and always will; there is no sense of history. There is no appreciation that the

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

NO TO THE VEIL!

For Workers Revolution to Defeat Islamic Reaction!

FATIMA KHALIL,

A Near Eastern communist woman militant of Muslim origin, will draw on her own experience as a student activist and trade-unionist organizer and chart the revolutionary strategy which will lead the Iranian masses to the liberation of the communist future.

BOSTON
U Mass Boston
Thursday, April 12
For more information call (617) 492-3928
Harvard
Thursday, April 12
For more information call (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO
Tuesday, April 17
For more information call (312) 427-0003

DETROIT
Wayne State University
Thursday, April 19
For more information call (313) 868-9095

University of Michigan at Ann Arbor
Friday, April 20
For more information call (313) 663-9012

BAY AREA
San Francisco State University
Tuesday, May 1
For more information call (415) 863-6963
University of California at Berkeley
Friday, April 27
For more information call (415) 835-1535
University of California at Santa Cruz
Wednesday, May 2
For more information call (408) 462-4037

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Saturday, April 28
For more information call (213) 662-1564

NEW YORK
Saturday, May 5
For more information call (212) 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 230 ☆☆☆ x-523 27 April 1979

Workers Must Rule Iran!

Down With All the Ayatollahs!

APRIL 23—The false sense of national unity following the victory of the Shi'ite clergy over hutcher shah Pahlavi has quickly dissipated. As the first decrees of the new theocratic regime issued from the lips of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, they were met with protests by tens of thousands of women and bloodily suppressed revolts by the Kurdish and Turkoman minorities. The fanatical Muslim strongman had hoped to impose "harmony" with a 98 percent vote for an "Islamic Republic" at the end of March. But last week his rule faced a new challenge as 50,000 students and workers rallied at Teheran University against the puritanical vigilantism and vicious attacks on the left conducted by the komitehs—clerical-run neighborhood committees and their militias which are the backbone of the Khomeini regime.

Four days earlier the komitehs had even arrested the two sons and the daughter-in-law of the popular "liberal" religious leader Ayatollah Taleghani. Taleghani responded to the arrests by withdrawing from Teheran and warning against a return of "dictatorship and despotism." He thus became a rallying point for a number of disparate forces increasingly critical of Khomeini's autocratic rule. But the latest idol of the Iranian left proved just as treacherous as their previous idol. On Friday Taleghani broadcast a contrite submission to Khomeini, endorsing the activities of the komitehs and their Islamic marshals.

So far Khomeini has been unable to decisively crush the left and national minorities. But on April 19 he once again called on his Muslim shock troops to get "the weapons out of the hands of all those groups who create trouble and violence." That this is no idle threat has been repeatedly demonstrated by a number of ominous incidents over the past several weeks. The Bazargan government has arrested 70 leftist Fedayeen guerrillas. On April 6 two thousand armed Muslim fanatics at the University of Teheran demanded their immediate execution. Newspaper salesmen of the pseudo-Trotskyist HKS (Socialist Workers Party—affiliated to the American SWP) have been arrested or beaten in Teheran, Abadan and Tabriz. And on April 21 Muslim gangs stormed the Fedayeen office at Abadan, injuring some 30 people.

The "Red Mullah"—Another Reactionary

The bourgeois politicians of the National Front such as Prime Minister Bazargan and Foreign Minister Sanjabi have been increasingly irked by what they call "the other government inside the Government," as it has become clear that real power rests with the secret Revolutionary Council of mullahs. During the Khomeini/Taleghani rift Sanjabi tried to pressure Khomeini by resigning his post in protest against the komitehs' actions.

The Mojahedeen guerrillas, whose Muslim populism resembles that of Taleghani, also enthusiastically supported the so-called "Red Mullah." They hailed Taleghani as Iran's *qazi* (chief judge), placed their men under his command and demanded that he be made commander over all komiteh militia forces. Together with the National Front they demanded that Khomeini reveal the identities of the members of the Revolutionary Council, seeking a "reformed," more accessible theocratic state.

Taleghani's opposition also intersected the discontent among the unemployed. Before his withdrawal from the capital, a large delegation of the unemployed had appealed to Taleghani over the head of the Minister of Labor. With one out of two factories in Iran shut down there may be as many as four million Iranians out of work. Thousands of jobless occupied the Ministry of Justice in Teheran, narrowly avoiding a clash with the militia, while there were protests in Khorramshahr and Isfahan where at least one demonstrator was killed. The government's "solution" has been the wholesale expulsion of thousands of Pakistani, Indian and Afghani workers.

Although the pro-Taleghani demonstrations had illustrated the growth of anti-Khomeini sentiment, the protesters' hopes were dashed after their hero returned from a meeting with Khomeini in the holy city of Qom. Taleghani agreed to reopen his Teheran office and appeared on television to shamelacedly announce, "the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini is not only accepted by me but the world has accepted it."

In reality there was nothing leftist about this "Red Mullah," who is in full agreement with Khomeini's Koranic fundamentalism. For example, Taleghani declared that even if a democratically elected parliament voted to allow women the right to abortion, "it will be overruled by Islamic tenets." Despite his much-touted "tolerance" of the left Taleghani has no desire to become the spearhead for any kind of democratic, secular opposition to his cherished Islamic Republic. As Khomeini haughtily observed, "These people who raise the issue with noise and shouts, was it really for Mr. Taleghani? The one who does not believe in God—hah!—he

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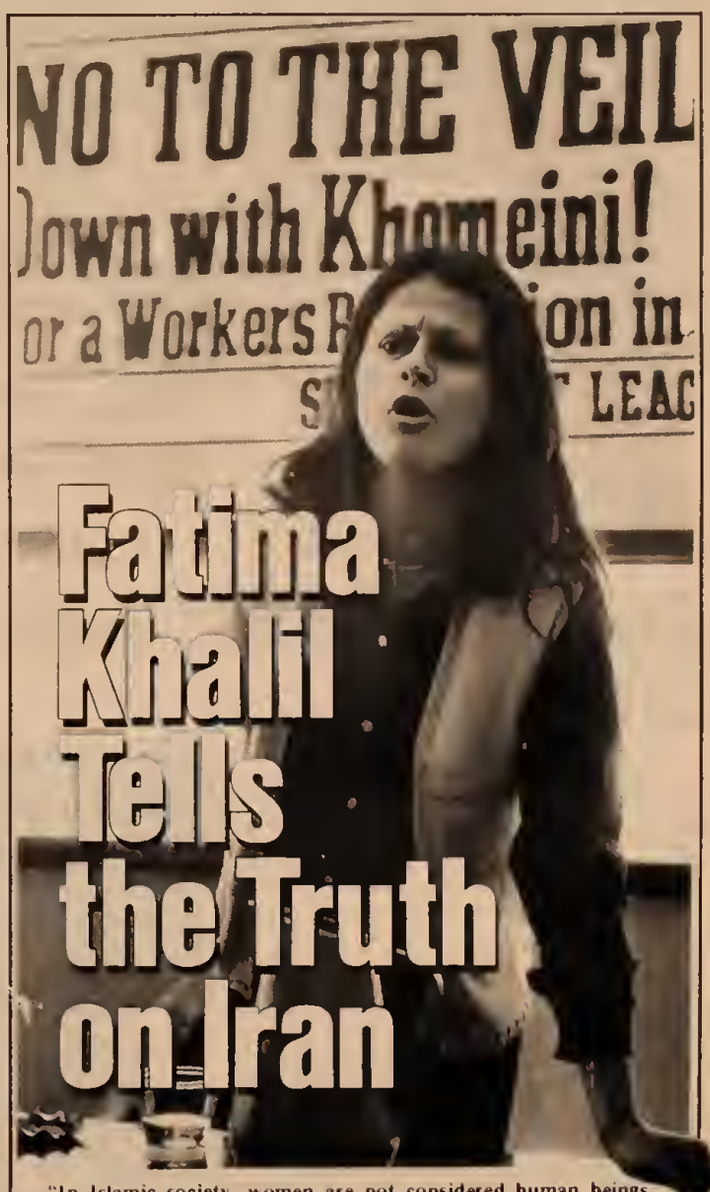

"In Islamic society, women are not considered human beings. I remember when I was a young girl and went to class to study the Kuran. I was told that if I did not cover my head, I would go to hell and every strand of my hair would turn into long snakes.... It is no accident that when Khomeini took power he immediately outlawed abortion and imposed the *chador*. What he is trying to do is control the masses under the 'Islamic spirit.' The veil is a symbol of women's oppression under Islam and an instrument of that control."

Fatima Khalil, a Near Eastern communist woman of Muslim origin, is currently in the U.S. to sound a cry of alarm over the threat to the Iranian masses under Ayatollah Khomeini's new Islamic order. In a coast-to-coast tour sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, she is speaking in ten cities in a little over three weeks.

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Healyites: Kill a Commie for Qaddafi

In May of last year, 21 members of the Iraqi Communist Party (CP) were executed on charges of forming cells within the army. This juridical murder was part of a major crackdown on the mass party of the Iraqi proletariat by the bourgeois-nationalist Ba'athist regime. According to Iraqi CP leaders, some 15,000 party members are now sitting in jail. Though the pro-Moscow Stalinists still seek friendly relations with the Baghdad butchers, they are obliged to go through the motions of protesting the persecution of their Iraqi comrades. So the British CP press, the *Morning Star*, has run a few articles exposing anti-communist terror in Iraq.

In response the following recently appeared in a certain British paper:

> "At the obvious instigation of the Kremlin, the Communist Party of Great Britain has become the centre of an immense slander offensive against the bastion of the Arab Revolution—the Republic of Iraq and its revolutionary vanguard, the Arab Ba'athist Socialist Party....
> "It is true that 21 CP members were executed early last year for illegally forming cells in the armed forces. The purpose of these cells was to fight against the government. There are no prizes for the answer to what would happen to Ba'athists who set up cells in the Soviet army. They would be ruthlessly purged!"

Is this perhaps a letter from the Iraqi press attaché to the London *Times* or *Guardian*? No, incredibly, this shameless defense of white terror comes from an article entitled "A Conspiracy Exposed" in the *News Line* (2 February), organ of the fake-Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Gerry Healy and Michael Banda. The Healyite syphilis within the ostensible Trotskyist movement has now become so putrescent that it can openly support the murder of working-class militants by a capitalist government.

The Healy/Banda tendency has long had an extremely unsavory flavor. It combines idiot organizational sectarianism with the wildest gyrations of gross political opportunism to create an aura of extreme instability. Its penchant for elaborate conspiracy theories and its well-known readiness to employ physical gangsterism against left-wing opponents denote more than a trace of paranoia. But in the past couple of years the Healyites have added another element to their political banditry: they have become the British press agents for Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, the fanatical dictator of Libya. It is evidently in that capacity that they have now become shameless apologists for white terror in Iraq.

This atrocity has produced visible revulsion within the WRP periphery. The 8 March *News Line* prints a protest letter by one J.A., who identifies himself as a trade unionist, along with the editors' lengthy reply. J.A. writes in a tone of shocked disbelief:

> "Are readers of the News Line to conclude that you actually support the murder of members of the Communist Party of Iraq?
> "I thought that it was a principle among Trotskyists that they should defend workers against all attacks from the state in a capitalist country. How is the British working class to have any confidence in your organisation when you show such indifference to the murder of workers abroad at the hands of their state."

And here is the Healyites' "theoretical" justification:

> "From an historical point of view, the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party of Iraq has played a hundredfold more progressive role in the Middle East than Stalinism."

The *News Line* goes on to list the supposed crimes of Stalinism against Arab nationalism, among them having "led President Nasser around by the nose."

So according to the Healyites, *bourgeois* nationalism in the Near East (and why only there?) is historically more progressive than the nationalism of the Soviet bureaucracy, a government based on a degenerated form of *proletarian* class rule. This kind of "anti-Stalinism" places them in the company of Adolf Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek and Iraq's Kassem, who likewise condemned the Kremlin supporters as enemies of the "national revolution." For Trotskyists, Stalinist foreign policy is counterrevolutionary precisely in its support to bourgeois-nationalist regimes for the sake of Russian diplomatic maneuvering. But the Healyites now condemn the Stalinists for betraying bourgeois nationalism through their support to the Soviet bureaucracy!

The enormity of the Healy/Banda tendency's crime over Iraq goes far beyond typical opportunist

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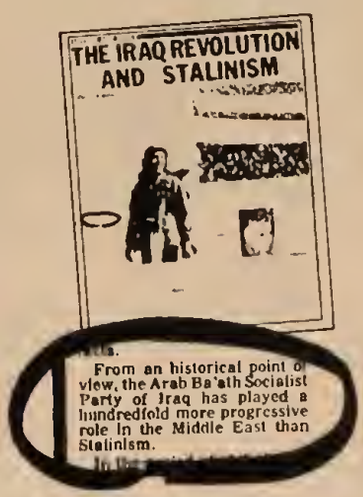
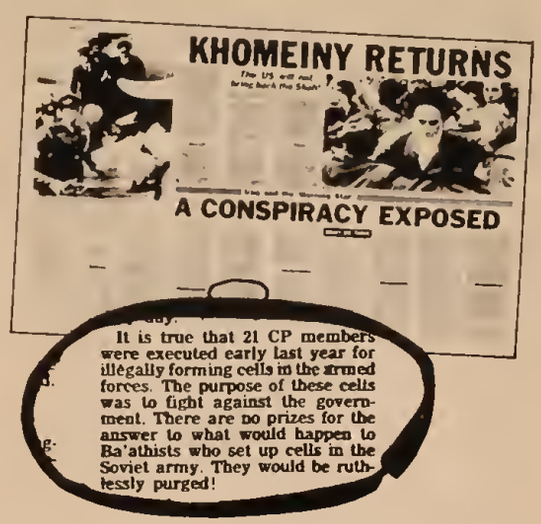


News Line, 8 March



News Line, 2 February

Australian SWP Bans Trotskyism

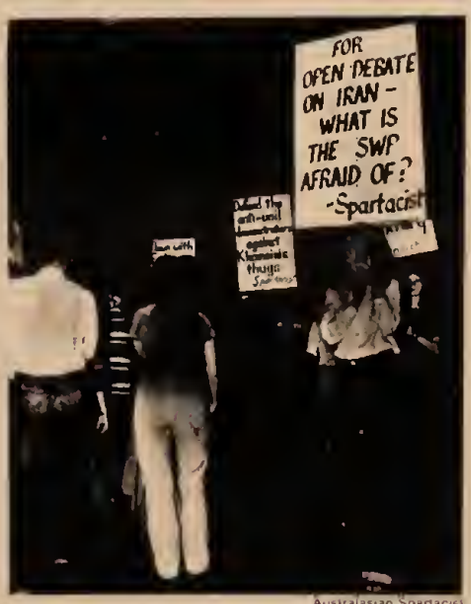
For almost six months the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) maintained an unacknowledged ban on members of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) attending its so-called "public" events. So prior to a series of SWP forums last month on Iran, the SL/ANZ made a public written demand for an explicit statement of the SWP's policy.

For the fake-Trotskyist SWP the choice was clear: either publicly debate their despicable support for Khomeini's clerical reaction in the face of revolutionary criticism from the SL/ANZ, or else openly establish a policy of political censorship. The reply came when our comrades arrived at the SWP's Sydney headquarters to attend the March 16 forum and found the entrance barred by SWPers distributing a mimeoed statement slandering the SL/ANZ as "disruptors." In Melbourne, they even called the cops to remove our comrades who were leafleting in front of their forum.

So what is the evidence used to justify such serious violations of workers democracy—excluding the SL/ANZ from supposedly public meetings and calling the cops on another tendency in the workers movement? Harking back to a 1977 forum jointly sponsored by the SWP and its former rival, the Communist League, the SWP complains that the SL/ANZ spoke not about the ostensible forum topic, "the People's Economic Program,"

> "but about the impending fusion of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist League. We don't think you have the right to try to disrupt the meeting in this way.... This is the method of Spartacist disruption."

As a matter of fact this forum, at which our comrades were so ill-mannered as to talk about the SWP/CL fusion, happened to be the kick-off for joint public



Australasian Spartacist

Sidney, Australia: Spartacist League pickets SWP exclusionism.

work between the two groups as part of their "fusion process." But for the SWP the future of their organization is an unmentionable topic.

However, at least the SWP frankly admits what it really means with its slanderous charge of "disruption." The SL, it announces, will be excluded from "public" SWP events because it doesn't maintain "an elementary respect for the topic of the meeting." They even try to pass off this blatant political censorship as a defense of some fictitious principle of "sticking to the topic" as an extension of freedom of the press!

> "We insist on our right to organize meetings and to determine the agenda, *speakers and attendance* at them.... [our emphasis]
> "...we no more grant you the *right* to attend meetings that we organize to disseminate our views than we grant you automatic right to put forward your views in our paper *Direct Action*."

So the principle of workers democracy is dismissed with a simple sophistry. But the SL is not clamoring for the right to contribute to *Direct Action*, only insisting that its comrades have the same rights as everyone else to express their views in the discussion periods of these supposedly public forums. As the comrades of the SL/ANZ responded in a widely distributed "Open Letter to the Socialist Workers Party":

> "It is vital for working class militants to be able to debate the issues facing the working class in an atmosphere free from intimidation and bureaucratic repression. All proletarian political organizations have a *responsibility* to conduct meetings in an orderly and democratic fashion, so as to *promote* political debate—not to suppress it
> "...Public meetings of socialist organizations are just what they claim—public, open to the workers movement at large."

Comrades of the SWP, you cannot hide your support for Khomeini and the mullahs behind a veil of cynical lies and bureaucratic censorship. The SL is there to expose you as the spineless reformists you are. ■

Racist Hysteria Targets "Turn 'Em Loose Bruce"

The wolves are out again after NYC criminal court judge Bruce Wright. They began howling for blood when the liberal black judge released without bail a black college student accused of slashing the throat of a white decoy cop. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) immediately went on the warpath, clamoring anew for the dismissal from the bench of the man they call "Turn 'Em Loose Bruce." Predictably, Murdoch's *New York Post* blew up a grisly photo of the cop with his 8-inch running scar on its 13 April front page. And seeing a new opportunity to let loose a salvo of "law and order" rhetoric to boost his poll ratings, Mayor Ed Koch attacked Wright's decision as "bizarre" and "disturbing."

As it turned out, the yahoos picked a real loser of a case to nail Wright on. Despite all the racist hysteria, the evidence was clearly on the judge's side. The D.A. had failed to hand down an indictment within the 72-hour time limit because he couldn't get a straight story out of the cops. Wright then released the suspect, Jerome Singleton, on his own recognizance, as was his prerogative. Moreover, Singleton is married with two children, an honorably discharged vet with no prior arrest record, and a student at Manhattan Community College—hardly the type to take a powder. Wright was vindicated the very next day when the suspect showed up voluntarily after an arrest warrant had been issued. On the "evidence," the cops first said the decoy was slashed with a broken bottle, while Singleton had been booked for using a knife. Then lab tests showed no blood on either his knife or his clothes. The real "evidence" is that Singleton is a black man who was picked up near the scene of the crime and beaten bloody by the cops—now they have to get something on him, or else.

Even while the *New York Times* and the liberal judicial establishment admitted that Koch and the PBA were running amok, they clucked their tongues over Wright's remarks at an April 12 Princeton University civil liberties lecture. "There is murder among New York's finest," the judge said, and police "have a license to hunt down blacks and kill them with impunity." Crusading for his favorite cause, Wright said he released the suspect because the Eighth Amendment prohibits punitive bail, and that "the firmest underpinning of our judicial system is the presumption of innocence." It is refreshing to have a judge who believes this, but under capitalist justice the whole bail system necessarily discriminates against the poor.

The racist hysteria over Wright's ruling produced a wave of anger in black neighborhoods of Brooklyn and Harlem, where tempers are still inflamed over last summer's vicious murder of popular black Democratic Party local leader Arthur Miller by a gang of kill-crazed cops in Crown Heights. And it further strained relations between black Democratic Party politicos and the mayor, who was elected on a racist death penalty campaign and since then has not missed a chance to hammer the coffin nails into the remnants of the Percy Sutton machine in Harlem.

WV Photo

Bruce Wright at rally outside Tombs, 17 April. To his right Crown Heights minister Herbert Daughtry.

Every black politician immediately tried to latch onto the issue and ride it for all it was worth. Crown Heights demagogue Rev. Herbert Daughtry had Wright out to his Lord Pentecostal Church to deliver the Easter Sunday sermon, a smart move that brought out thousands of worshippers and the entire press corps as well. Two days later he mobilized some 700 people to demonstrate in support of Judge Wright in front of the Tombs. One picket sign asked significantly, "Why Didn't Koch Find the Torsney Decision 'Disturbing'?" (This referred to the white cop who was acquitted for gunning down unarmed black teenager Randy Evans on Thanksgiving Day, 1976.) On the weekend former Harlem civil rights activist Jesse Gray tried to make a comeback after 15 years in the doldrums by rallying the old Sutton machine in Harlem.

All the assorted support demos served up the same warmed-over liberal fare. At the Tombs Daughtry called for a federal investigation "of everything, the whole judicial system." The call for more black cops ran through the entire affair, from the presence of a black ex-cop who had been knocked off the force after being shot by one of his white counterparts, to a statement of support for Wright by the Guardians Association (of NYC's black transit and city cops). All demanded the reappointment of Wright when his term expires at the end of the year.

Bruce Wright is a liberal who has had the courage to stand up against the onslaught of trigger-happy cops, scare-

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Koch's Cossacks

Mayor Ed Koch has declared war on NYC labor, and he wants everyone to know it. Striking tugboat workers, school bus drivers and Teamster milk deliverers have all been met with a combination of anti-labor propaganda and out-and-out strikebreaking by the union-buster in City Hall. After refusing to negotiate with the bus drivers and smearing them in the press as heartless child-haters Koch even ordered city officials to ferry handicapped kids to school in their own cars. When tugboat crews went out on strike Koch got a "health emergency" declared and a court injunction invoked against the strike. And on April 11 the labor-hating mayor turned the cossacks of the city's mounted police against picketers at the Sunnydale Farms dairy in Brooklyn. *WV* was there.

The 500 Teamster strikers outside the Brooklyn plant knew that on that day the bosses' negotiator had promised to run a load of scab milk into the dairy "with or without union workers." They didn't know that the scabs would be escorted by more than 200 riot-equipped cops and a squad of mounted police. At first the cops tried to trick the picketers into leaving the plant doors. But when the men refused to budge the orders came down for a frontal assault.

The strikers stood their ground when the cops charged with nightsticks swinging. But then the mounted cops put the spurs to their horses' sides and charged. Again and again the horses smashed into the defenseless workers, who were trapped against the building wall. The picketers were forced to give way but even after the line had been broken the mounted thugs ran down strikers who stood cursing the cops. Twenty-five were injured, including 11 cops.

The union bureaucrats had no stomach for the fight. First they tried to help the cops persuade the picketers to move, but the rank and file was having none of that. Even after the cop riot had cleared the way for the scab truck, local president Willie Whelan was still whining, "Don't let [Sunnydale boss] Eisenberg turn the cops against us and us against the cops." The next day the bureaucrats saved the cops the trouble of breaking the picket line by sending workers to a plant where no deliveries were expected and allowing the scabs to ride into the Elmhurst Milk and Cream Co. unopposed.

Koch's criminal assault on the striking Teamsters and the brutal cop attack were designed to terrorize and intimidate the city's unionists. It was a bloody confirmation of the elementary Marxist truth that the capitalist government and its cops are not neutral. The blue-shirted thugs who rode down the Sunnydale picketers were 100 percent on the side of the bosses. "New York's finest" strikebreakers attacked the white, American flag-waving workers with the same ferocity they have always used against ghetto youth and leftist demonstrators. The bruised and bloodied Teamsters who got to their feet shouting "Sieg Heil!" and cursing the cops as "fucking Nazis" should not forget this lesson in bourgeois justice.

The vicious cop riot at Sunnydale, the police escorts for scab buses and the injunctions directed at tugboatmen should have been answered immediately with protests from every union in the city. Mass picketing should be reinstituted, with the NY unions mobilized to beef up the lines. A mass demonstration of all NYC labor should be organized to demand, "Hands Off the Unions! No to Koch's Strikebreaking!" ■

WV Photo

Mounted cops cordon off Sunnyvale Farms dairy in Brooklyn, 11 April. Scab driver got $1,500 for the delivery.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 230 **27 April 1979**

WV MOVIE REVIEW
THE DEER HUNTER
DIRECTED BY M. CIMINO

BY PAT KINCAID

SCENE: A movie theater.
On screen, Robert De Niro as an American soldier held captive by Vietnamese guerrillas. He is being brutally tortured. He manages to grab a machine gun from his captors. Spraying bullets into the Vietnamese sadists, he escapes, saving his two home-town buddies.
Applause. Cheers: "All Right!" "Go Get 'Em!" Whistles.

The Deer Hunter has done what *The Green Berets* could not do more than a decade ago: it has moved audiences to actively root for the American military fighting the Vietnam war. When *The Green Berets* was shown to draftees in Vietnam in 1968 it drew not cheers but bitter ironic laughter. At home it drew picket lines of antiwar activists who saw the film for what it was: a crude Pentagon-inspired propaganda bomb aimed at the hearts and minds of an increasingly disaffected American public.

The Green Berets missed its mark because the conventional propaganda weapons and cinematic clichés of the World War II heroic genre were overwhelmed by political reality: the "fragging" of officers, the terror-burning of villages, the official lies exploding on nightly TV newscasts. College campuses were ablaze with protest; winter patriots were arming against a sea of "hippie commies" and "nervous Nellies"; even a defeatist wing of the U.S. bourgeoisie was unhappily debating in the Senate, "Why are we in Vietnam?" In that polarized climate the "good guy/bad guy" images of Hollywood simply felt flat.

The Deer Hunter, while no obvious John Wayne flagwaver, has purposes no less conscious and reactionary. But unlike *The Green Berets*, it has realized those purposes, despite its flaws and melodramatic pretensions (they are deep and grandiloquent), despite its lies (they are big and outrageous) and despite its clearly reactionary content.

Deer Hunter is the most artistically serious popular film yet produced on the subject of America and the Vietnam war. With its recent Academy Awards victory, it has become the signal occasion for a campaign of national redemption for the "sin" of Vietnam, a popular focus for U.S. imperialism's moral rearmament after its stunning defeat. Now, says *Time* magazine (23 April), "the psychological time-lock on Vietnam seems to have expired." And in a six-page spread entitled "Vietnam Comes Home," *Time* explains why *The Deer Hunter* is the key to the "time-lock": "*The Deer Hunter* presents a version of the American experience in Vietnam that is utterly at variance with the view" of "a nation of William Calleys."

As the U.S. government builds up militarily and toots about "human rights," with "hawks" and former "doves" unified on the need for a mighty imperialist arsenal, the Vietnam war must be "put into perspective" amid the "complexities" of the U.S./China alliance and the new wars in Southeast Asia. Toward this end a barrage of new books, plays and films offer a "revisionist" right-wing retrospective apology for U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. *The Deer Hunter* is the stunning example among them.

But people do not always learn the "lessons" imperialist propagandists want to teach. So while *The Deer Hunter* raises a number of interesting questions at the intersection of technique and propaganda, the most vitally interesting is: why do they cheer? Why—after the Vietnam war tore up the political guts of a generation, after an experience so traumatic that it broke down the jingo-reflex born of American imperialism's world-war victories, after

millions of Americans learned their government was a collection of lying mad bombers—why now do they cheer?

Not Political?

It is not wrong but partial to reply that they cheer because it has been a long time since the Vietnam war was a "hot" political issue. *The Deer Hunter* does not simply reflect the depoliticization of the "me" decade; it is an active advocate of that process and perhaps an important artifact of the period. It is the quintessential 1970s film: slick, colorful, stylized, romantic, superficial and deeply reactionary politically in the name of being anti-political, beyond "mere" politics.

From a certain point of view *The Deer Hunter* is not complex enough to be a good political film; it is an adolescent good guys/bad guys movie filled with what liberal film critic Pauline Kael called "boys book values." It surely insists on those values with its mythic tests of bravery and strength, its emphasis on male bonding and the hunt as preparation for war. In fact, the film is an epic wonder of nearly all known reactionary social attitudes, from a glorification of the provincial xenophobic "purity" of the closed ethnic community to the most vicious anti-Asian racism, neanderthal male chauvinism and sentimental jingoism. But it is too easy to dismiss *The Deer Hunter* as merely a "buddies" film.

The Deer Hunter is an intensely political film, full of political controversy. When it was shown at the Berlin Film Festival this spring the Soviet delegation led its bloc in a protest walkout. And no wonder! *The Deer Hunter* is a political outrage. Yet the first controversy encountered—and perhaps the high ground for the film's loyal political defenders—is the claim that it is not fundamentally a political film. It is telling that such a defense should be mounted for a movie about American working-class "good guys" going off to fight the NLF. How could this *not* be political? Yet that is what the popular media claims in its abundant praise of *The Deer Hunter*. At long last, says *Time* (18 December 1978): "This is the first movie about Vietnam to free itself from all political cant. It contains no antiwar characters at all; its prowar characters are apolitical foot soldiers, not fire-breathing gook-killers."

It is true that the characters in this film do not talk about politics. The three main characters join up to fight in Vietnam and say nothing about it, nor does anyone else question their decision. Nor does anyone talk about racism. The hits of behaviorist dialogue provided are supposed to suggest only feelings; no overt "thinking" is allowed to get in the way, and certainly no argument. Michael Cimino, the American director of this British-financed film, told *Le Monde* (29 March) that *The Deer Hunter* is "not about ideas, it's a film about people." This is a nice counterposition from the most talented graduate of the *Dirty Harry* school of moviemaking. But Cimino has an idea all right: "A film that takes too obvious a position may force you to think and argue, but it prevents you from feeling anything." Indeed the primacy of feeling is what Cimino's reactionary romantic aesthetic is all about. And the denigration of reason and glorification of unverbalized "pure" emotion is itself characteristic of a fascistic political coloration.

Cimino the filmmaker is in the business of manipulating feelings and not ideas. But this manipulation is put in the service of a complete set of reactionary ideas. As mass-culture craftsman, Cimino offers us characters whose personal consciousness is aggressively non-political—incredibly non-political for people who are supposed to exist in a period of burning political polarization. This serves his purposes. He cleverly goes to the heart of the 1970s antipathy to politics to perpetrate some of the most vicious right-wing propaganda on film since the McCarthy era. And he succeeds in drawing his audience in—to the point of cheers—through an acute sense of mass psychology, technically effective film editing and a calculated and profoundly cynical disregard for historic truth. Since the film appears to probe deeper than "just" politics to concern itself with the "real" psychological-mythic roots of war, the viewer is not supposed to concern himself with mundane conjunctural questions of who tortured who in Vietnam.

The Truth Matters

The successful impact of *The Deer Hunter* may be due to the boldness with which director Cimino frontally assaults the truth. There are in fiction what can be called distortions, subtle fabrications, imaginative constructs—and there are lies. *The Deer Hunter* lies. And so it must be or it could not portray the Americans as the good guys in Vietnam.

The scene of the biggest lie receives the biggest cheer. But before Cimino subjects the "buddies" to some of the most melodramatic scenes of torture on film—scenes expertly calculated to make the audience squirm with fear and loathing—he lets us get to "know" the heroes in their home town. The first part of the film concentrates with care upon daily life in Clairton, Pennsylvania, a fictional small steel town of a working-class Ukrainian-American ethnic community (these scenes were actually shot in a real Ukrainian-American community in the industrial "flats" of Cleveland's near West Side). Cimino's camera allows us to observe his "good buddies" and their family and friends. He attends carefully to the ritual business of life and death, the recognizable symbols and choreography of social gesture: sex and marriage, death and funeral, friendship and male bonding, the hunt. He picks up the smallest details of working-class life and throws them up against the largest mythic landscapes.

Of course Cimino presents his heroes as "regular guys" just trying to survive, uprooted and plunged into a horrible situation which they do not understand and for which they are not responsible. The "non-political" conceit, which makes audience identification with the heroes easier, helps to universalize their experience in Vietnam as a struggle with the ultimates of life and death. The mythic landscapes serve to suggest the primal imagery of human survival, an to deflect attention from the historical/political concreteness of the situation. In *The Deer Hunter*, Everyman goes to everywar.

From the mountains, Cimino cuts roughly and suddenly to Vietnam (actually shot in Thailand), where we are confronted by an American Legion political fantasy. We see massacres of Vietnamese villagers—but it is the North Vietnamese who are the mass murderers, and the Americans who are defending the helpless, just like McNamara and Westmoreland said. We are stunned by a familiar image: a Vietnamese holds a pistol to the head of a crouching prisoner, about to blow off his head. Is it Nguyen Ngoc Loan, Saigon police chief caught by a UPI

photographer in the act of executing a "suspected Victcong"? No, it is the other way around—a Vietcong about to blow the head off a helpless South Vietnamese. Cimino has taken the very images that galvanized American antiwar sentiment and turned them inside out. More than a lie, Cimino perhaps has developed an aesthetic perversion.

His technique is more insidious than the old-fashioned technique of telling the big lie and telling it often. Leni Reifenstal (*Triumph of the Will*) could pick up some modern-day pointers from Cimino & Co. One can only wonder if he learned his stuff in one of the army intelligence psy-war "brainwashing" schools. Familiar images are presented with exactly the opposite content of what they are known for—result, disorientation. Identification with the heroes, fear for survival, shock—and rational historical judgment is overwhelmed by feeling. Jarred out of rational perception, black becomes white, the victims become the persecutors, the tortured become the torturers.

The Vietnamese guerrilla torturers in *The Deer Hunter* conform to the most vicious, racist, "yellow horde" stereotypes. They precisely fit the description presented in indoctrination lectures by intelligence officers who told inductees that "the VC" were the most sadistic creatures on earth, who would "nail your dogtags to your foreheads and send it home to Mother." Not only are Cimino's guerrillas wild and sadistic, but they torture for sport. The Americans are kept in small, rat-infested bamboo cages in a river, from which they are dragged and forced to play Russian roulette with live ammunition. The "VC" have a splendid time betting on the outcome of this game.

Now first of all, this Russian roulette torture has no basis in fact, and even Cimino admits it is purely a romantic invention. But by the scale of *The Deer Hunter* this amounts to a small untruth. The prison cages, for instance, are clearly meant to recall the infamous "tiger cages." But the tiger cages were the device of the ARVN! (And how did three home town buddies wind up in the same "tiger cage" anyway? This too is but a small lie by the standards of Cimino's art.) The big lie that dominates and conditions all the others is the portrayal of the NLF as the torturers and the U.S. military as the tortured.

The torture scene is of central importance in *The Deer Hunter*, as it is in the lives of its three main characters. Each is personally tested by this hideous experience which pushes them beyond the bounds of human endurance. Only Michael (De Niro)—the Hemingway-style one-shot deer hunter—comes through intact. The groom, Steven (John Savage), is mutilated; Nick (Chris Walken) is driven to madness, heroin and eventually—as he endlessly reenacts the Russian roulette torture-as-sport—to degraded self-inflicted death.

Cimino knows what he's doing when he goes directly to the center of the liberal moral revulsion with Vietnam for his inverted images. He is after more than "war is hell" pacifism or *Catch 22/M*A*S*H* absurdism. He knows the truth and knows it matters, even as he tries to convince his audience that his film is an apolitical metaphor of survival. His ideological position demands he run the process of truthful discovery backwards.

Who Tortured Who

The truth is that it was the U.S. forces and their Saigon allies who did the torturing in Vietnam, and not the NLF. This statement is categorical. It is not a question of the random brutality associated with individual soldiers in the field of war—acts that tend to be the result of pressure and personality—but of torture as a *policy* in Vietnam. As such it was avoided necessarily by the NLF/DRV, which relied heavily upon its base of support in the peasantry and its effective political infrastructure. The policy of torture for the American government and the ARVN, however, was the strategic center of its "ground war." Torture was the method of "political education" *for a population which supported the other side*. And it was practiced with demonic ferocity.

It was the CIA which organized the most widespread and systematic campaign of civilian terror based on torture since Nazi Germany. Project "Counter-Terror" (CT) in the mid-1960s funded and set up "Provincial Interrogation Centers" in each of the 44 provinces of South Vietnam:

> "An agency [CIA] operator or contact employee directed each center's operations, much of which consisted of torture tactics against suspected Vietcong, such torture usually carried out by Vietnamese nationals."
>
> —Victor Marchetti and John Marx, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*

A foreign service officer described the CT teams as "a unilateral American program... whose function was assassination, abuses, kidnappings and intimidation."

The CIA's torture machinery went into high gear with the Phoenix program begun in 1967. Phoenix set up an official torture terror center in every district where it wreaked a barbaric fate upon hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese "suspects." It was a method that was intended to brutalize the population as a whole, its authors aware that the NLF cadres were in fact among the best concealed and protected in each village:

> "In 1969 the United States set a goal for the Phoenix program to 'neutralize' twenty thousand NLF agents during the year, and at the end of the year GVN authorities reported 19,534 agents 'neutralized.' The figure was unsettling in that there had been no corresponding decline in American estimates of NLF agents at large. Who then were the 19,534 people, and what had become of them?"
>
> —Frances Fitzgerald, *Fire in the Lake*

Even CIA head Colby testified before Congress in 1971 that Phoenix had killed more than 20,000 "suspected Vietcong" in its first two and a half years.

Most Americans were to learn of the government's torture policy slowly and with initial disbelief. Starting in the late 1960s the government "truth teams" tried to counter the atrocity stories coming out of Vietnam with vague charges of mistreatment of American soldiers. But they could never make the charges stick. Mark Lane published a book of interviews with GIs recounting the most brutal torture by the Americans. The State Department denied it. In these times of post-Watergate liberal cynicism, it is worth remembering that it was the government's Vietnam lies which excavated the "credibility gap."

The bourgeois defeatist "doves" got into the act. When in 1970 two Congressmen went to Vietnam they found not NLF torture but American torture on an incredible scale. It was true: there were "tiger cages" on a "Devil's Island" of Con Son 60 miles from Saigon, where tens of thousands of prisoners were kept without trial in five-by-five hellholes. Rep. Harkin told a press conference:

> "There were as many as five people in an airless pit.... Many are forced to drink their own urine. Most of the men could not stand up, their legs having been paralyzed by beatings and by being shackled to a bar about one or two feet off the floor.... There are buckets of lime dust above the cages, and the guards throw this down on the prisoners when they beg for food and water."
>
> —*Washington Star*, 7 July 1970

So the American public learned from the media of the unspeakable horror. They learned it was systematic and sophisticated. They learned that the American military was training the ARVN in the most advanced techniques of electro-torture. They learned that the tiger cages did exist and that, when the old bamboo wore out, a California concrete company was contracted to rebuild them to the exact specifications of the time-worn dimensions of agony. Now Cimino wants his audiences to unlearn the truth.

Catharsis and Bourgeois Hypocrisy

For the left wing of the antiwar movement, the exposure of the U.S. policy of torture confirmed what they already knew: that there was a *class war* in Vietnam. The workers and peasants were on one side and U.S. imperialism—holding up the enfeebled Vietnamese capitalist class—was on the other. The Phoenix program was the model for "Vietnamization"; the counterrevolutionary war was necessarily "dirty."

But for the liberal "doves" the torture was a dirty *policy*—as if that war could have been fought on a better, "human rights" basis. American liberals felt guilty. They wanted to get out of that dirty place where "our boys" were becoming corrupted by drugs, by the Saigon brothels, by the torture.

It is this guilty moralism which the new Vietnam films seek to address and purge. Both *The Deer Hunter* and the liberal *Coming Home* start from a strictly American perspective—"what has the war done to Americans?" And like the old arguments of "hawks" and "doves," they chart different courses to come to terms with the demoralization following the defeat of U.S. imperialism. The sentimental nostalgia of Jane Fonda's cinematic and real-life liberalism identifies with the mutilation, embraces it. Thus in *Coming Home* she is miraculously cured of her non-orgasmic state. To the imperialist "doves," what mattered about the war was the "moral" question of how you *felt*; the purpose of the Fonda film is to help you feel better.

The Deer Hunter, of course, couldn't care less about women's orgasms—or about women. Its concern is men as hunter-warriors. As its filming of the last days of Saigon shows, Cimino's film is concerned with the Vietnam defeat as a demonstration of weakness. If *Coming Home* identifies with weakness and sympathizes with the suffering, *The Deer Hunter* celebrates heroic strength.

And if *Coming Home* is an echo of the 1960s exhortation to "make love not war," *The Deer Hunter* tries it the other way around. In the closed ethnic community of Clairton, elaborate social ritual is the mechanism for benignly working out repressed sexuality (*The Deer Hunter* presents the longest

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Felix Greene

A "Vietcong suspect" is dragged to death after "interrogation." Torture was a policy for U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

AP

General Loan executes "suspected Vietcong" prisoner on the streets of Saigon in 1968; this is the searing image of political truth The Deer Hunter attempts to invert.

Fatima Khalil

(continued from page 1)

Her message to the American left: the working class must lead the women, national minorities and peasants in revolutionary struggle against the Muslim clerical reactionaries now in power in Iran. The alternative, becoming clearer day by day, is theocratic barbarism.

Already well before the overthrow of the bloody U.S.-backed shah, the international Spartacist tendency warned that replacement of the hated dictator by the Khomeini-led opposition would be no gain for the working masses; that the ayatollah's forces are anti-working-class Persian chauvinists seeking to return to the Koranic law of the 7th century. Now that the mullahs have won, our warning has been dramatically confirmed as women take to the streets of Teheran protesting imposition of the veil and ethnic-religious minorities rise in revolt around the country. Based on her own experience as a student activist and trade-union organizer in the region, Fatima Khalil draws the urgent revolutionary lessons of the Iranian crisis.

For the SL/SYL the decision to bring Comrade Khalil to speak in this country was based on our understanding that the dramatic situation in Iran today poses a major test for the entire working-class movement, just as did the Chilean popular front in the early seventies. At that time the Spartacist League stood alone in refusing to give political support to Allende's class-collaborationist government that paved the way for the bloody Pinochet coup. Now once again the SL has acted as a beacon on the left by uniquely opposing the rise of Islamic reaction with our now-famous slogan, "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs!" Aggressive propagandistic exploitation of the correctness of our Marxist program in this crucial test can lay the basis for a new wave of recruitment for the international Spartacist tendency.

"The international Spartacist tendency told the truth before Khomeini stepped into power, before the blood was laid on the ground, before the corpses rolled in the streets."

Across the U.S. hundreds have already turned out to greet Fatima Khalil's stand against turning back the clock of history in Iran to the time of Muhammad. Her speeches have also drawn threats of physical attacks and disruption attempts from Iranian Muslims and Maoists. Defense squads composed of dozens of American trade unionists have ensured Khalil's right to speak to the public. Her tour has also received attention in the media. The Near Eastern Trotskyist militant was interviewed on WGIC and WVON in Chicago, as well as WWJ radio and Channel 2 TV in Detroit. In addition she was featured in a 20 April *Detroit News* article (see elsewhere on this page). This week Khalil is addressing audiences in Los Angeles (April 28) and the Bay Area (April 29-May 2) and will be returning to New York for a final talk on May 5.

No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution!

In her forums Comrade Khalil stressed that Khomeini has not betrayed—he said very clearly from the beginning exactly what he wanted. "There are people who claim that what is going on in Teheran today is the Iranian February Revolution," she said. "But it has been clear to us from the beginning that Khomeini was in no sense progressive." He said he wanted an "Islamic Republic" based on the Koran; in his plebiscite the people were given only two choices, either the shah or the Muslim clergy. He tried to win the support of the shah's army and decreed that only "Islamic soldiers" could be armed.

> "Today in Iran there are Islamic courts. We have no tears for the generals and SAVAK torturers who were executed by the mullahs. But why is it that only the mullahs have the right to speak in these courts? Organizations like the Fedayeen were tortured by the shah, yet these people are not allowed to speak because they are not part of the 'Iranian nation' according to Khomeini."

Centering her talk on the oppression of women under Islam historically, under the shah and now under Khomeini, Khalil pointed out that according to Muslim law women do not have rights as human beings:

> "When they are young they are dependent on their fathers; when they get married they belong to their husbands. On a legal basis two women are considered equal to one male witness. And in the villages young women—children, really—are often exchanged for animals ...
>
> "The Koran says if you show your finger to a strange man, you have to cut it off. Because it doesn't belong to your husband any more, therefore it doesn't belong to you."

The bourgeois revolution meant a great deal for women, she stressed—namely, they were considered to be human beings. The basic Islamic laws existed under the shah's regime as well. If he gave Iranian women the right to work as part of the token reforms of his "white revolution" in 1963, it was to provide cheap labor. But the mullahs want to go backwards to the Middle Ages:

> "After Khomeini took power he said that about 300 women who are married to non-Muslims will be deported from the country, and foreign workers from Afghanistan and Arab countries, too. Today in Iran if you use alcohol the punishment is whipping. Khomeini also abolished the 1975 Family Protection Act."

As the only real example of the emancipation of women from the medieval oppression of the Koran, Khalil pointed to the early Bolshevik work among women of the Soviet East. Laws against forced marriage, early marriage and polygamy were actually effective, in contrast to the showcase reforms of bourgeois nationalists like Atatürk. And communist women organizers were murdered for their fight against the veil. "In those mass meetings which many Islamic women took part in, they burned their veils. They were the first supporters of the Bolsheviks in Central Asia." Trotsky, on the basis of this experience, pointed to the tremendous revolutionary potential of Muslim women, in a quote cited by the speaker:

> "And this, moreover, means that the Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for the ideas of Communism, than the awakened woman worker."
>
> —"Perspectives and Tasks in the East," April 1924

Comrade Khalil also polemicized against the opportunists on the left, who in their inveterate penchant for tailing anything that is popular have incredibly ended up singing the praises of Islamic reaction:

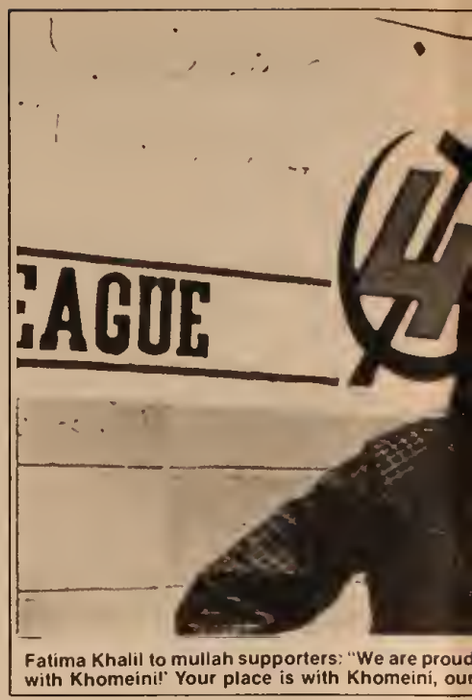
> "The leader of the British International Marxist Group said that when he was in Iran he chanted the slogan, *allah akbar*, which means 'god is great.' He said this slogan is revolutionary because it is the slogan of the Iranian masses. But for us it is clear that this slogan belongs to Islam. Today in Iran, when the Islamic soldiers kill Kurdish fighters, they chant *'allah akbar.'* In 1974 when the Turkish army invaded Cyprus, when they were massacring the Greek people, they were chanting *'allah akbar.'* This slogan means one thing—Islamic reaction. That slogan belongs to them, not to us."

"Your Place Is with Khomeini, Ours Is with the Iranian Workers"

Fatima Khalil's forums have been uniformly well-attended—85 in Boston, 100 in Chicago, 75 in Detroit and 100 in Ann Arbor—attracting a number of Iranian students in the audiences. By no means all the Iranians present sided with the Islamic fanatics and Stalinists who had disrupted earlier SL/SYL forums, however. Significantly, those who spoke up in favor of Spartacist positions were mainly women and members of oppressed nationalities. Thus one woman in Chicago remarked during the discussion period: "As an Iranian woman, I would like to thank the Spartacist League for being the only organization to see the class analysis of Iran, saying that Khomeini was never a progressive and what an Islamic state would mean for the workers and women in particular."

At Ann Arbor a Baluchi spoke against the pro-mullah thugs who had attempted to stop earlier Spartacist League forums:

> "I am here from East Lansing, sent to apologize from these people. I was one of those Iranians who participated with those who disturbed that Young Spartacus meeting [at Michigan State University]. I know how the followers of Khomeini and sections of the Iranian students and leftists have been trying to strangle any voice which does not conform to their political goal. I know how Khomeini's followers disturbed the meetings so I am a witness. And I wonder if the so-called Iranian revolutionaries do not allow people to express their opinion in this country, what is the condition in Iran?"



Fatima Khalil to mullah supporters: "We are proud with Khomeini!' Your place is with Khomeini, our

In several of the meetings there were polemical exchanges with mullah supporters. At Wayne State University in Detroit the same Maoist who two weeks earlier had announced that if Khomeini wanted to cut off his head, "I would be the one to take the sword and do it," was back on the scene. Repeating his slanderous litany that all Trotskyists were "CIA" and "SAVAK agents," he hailed the speaker for being on tour in the U.S. and not in Iran. To this Comrade Khalil responded:

> "I ask what are *you* doing here? Why aren't *you* in Iran? You don't say where you stand, just repeat slanders. But you are one of the people who last time called the bourgeois police on us. That shows *your* position. We are proud to be with the women who said, 'Down with Khomeini!' Your place is with Khomeini, ours is with the Iranian proletariat."

At the same meeting a Muslim woman denounced the speaker for daring to criticize the ayatollah, who had studied religion "for 40 years." The

WVON Interview

WVON: Fatima, would you tell us first of all why you are here in this country?

FATIMA KHALIL: I was invited by the Spartacus Youth League to give a forum on Iran, to tell the truth about what's happening in Iran.

WVON: What is going on in Iran?

FATIMA KHALIL: Today Khomeini is in power. People had said he would bring democracy in Iran and that he was fighting for the people's interests. That's not true, factually. If you read the press you can see that the Iranian masses are oppressed by Khomeini. Kurdish people who are fighting for their national independence have been killed by Khomeini's Islamic soldiers. Women came into the streets and said, "Down with Khomeini, we don't want the veil." Khomeini is trying to crush that movement. It is not correct to say that Khomeini is progressive. The Spartacus Youth League said that the shah is a dictator and he is against the Iranian people and working class. They fought to overthrow the shah's regime in Iran, but of course they don't want to replace that regime with Islamic reactionaries.

WVON: If Khomeini is overthrown, what kind of government do you want in Iran?

FATIMA KHALIL: A socialist government—a workers and farmers government that would give democratic rights to the oppressed peoples in Iran, democratic rights for women. Khomeini is not able to do that because he is fighting for power for the Islamic hierarchy. The working class interests are completely different from Khomeini's interests. The Spartacist League said that Khomeini's victory would be a tragedy for the working class, but all the left said that Khomeini was progressive. Now today we can see that that's not the case. That is why the Spartacist League is trying to make clear what is happening in Iran today and what is the program to overthrow the reactionary regime in Iran, and to fight for a workers and peasants government which would represent the interests of the Iranian masses and the proletariat.

SYL Wins—Mullah Lovers Cringe

WV Photo

oud to be with the women who said, 'Down ours is with the Iranian proletariat."

After their cowardly attempts to disrupt Spartacus Youth League forums in the Midwest failed miserably earlier this month, a score of Iranian Muslim zealots and their Maoist bedfellows crawled back last week to hear Fatima Khalil, the Near Eastern Trotskyist militant who is speaking across the U.S. on the topic, "No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution in Iran!" This time no one tried to rush the meeting hall, call the cops or drown out the speaker; having once experienced workers democracy at the hands of a defense squad of trade unionists, the mullah lovers meekly submitted to our security precautions at meetings in Boston, Chicago, Detroit and Ann Arbor. What is more, an attempt by student government pipsqueaks at the University of Michigan to ban the SYL from campus and prevent Khalil from speaking went down in flames as students and faculty protested this highhanded censorship.

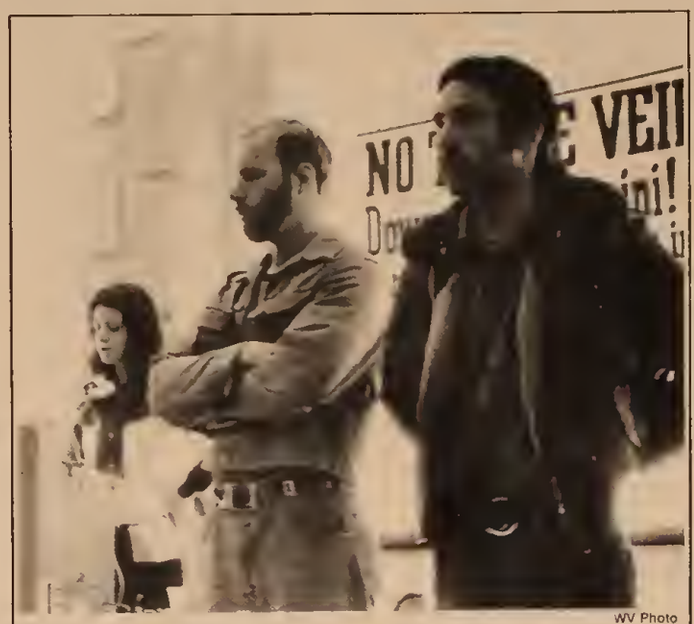
Two weeks ago at Wayne State University in Detroit the Islamic and Stalinist followers of Ayatollah Khomeini had blocked the hallways, chanted, pounded on the doors and called in campus police in order to stop our meeting. But on April 19 they came back cringing. Told by the forum's organizers that three ringleaders of the heckling and obstruction last time would not be admitted, they tried to get in anyway by repeating "we promise not to disrupt." But to no avail. Inside, the Maoists and Organization of Iranian Muslim Students (OIMS) supporters were encouraged by the presence of a 35-man security squad to carefully observe the limits of democratic discussion procedure.

At Ann Arbor the OIMS gangsters had besieged our forum in early April, surrounding the entrances, spitting on SYLers, cursing the speaker as a "slut," and harassing members of the audience out into the parking lot where they finally provoked a confrontation with our marshals which left a dozen of the mullah thugs on the ground (see *WV* No. 229, 13 April). But this was not enough for the apostles of Khomeini, who were out to silence the Trotskyists. As a result of this attempt to destroy our forum, student government bureaucrats handed the SYL a $97 bill for broken windows and suspended its organizational status and right to use university facilities.

Immediately the SYL demanded a hearing and issued a leaflet denouncing this flagrantly undemocratic victimization and declaring: "Now the MSA [Michigan Student Assembly] is bowing to Khomeini's followers...." Inside of 48 hours more than 150 people had signed a petition demanding that the charges be dismissed and the fine dropped, that the SYL's rights be restored and Fatima Khalil be allowed to speak. At the hearing almost two dozen people representing a broad range of campus organizations showed up to defend the SYL against the attempted victimization. Meanwhile the university administration was also obviously having second thoughts about being the only school in the country to ban a Near Eastern woman revolutionary speaking against the veil.

So after squirming in their seats through the testimony, the board recessed and came back ten minutes later with a statement lifting the SYL's suspension, reinstating our right to use campus facilities, accusing itself of violation of due process and declaring it would act as advocate for the SYL in the dispute over payment of damages. It was a total vindication for the Spartacus Youth League and a stinging defeat for the Stalinists and clerical reactionaries who seek to strangle the voice of the communists. Fatima Khalil would speak at Ann Arbor.

The next night, April 20, those attending the University of Michigan forum were met at the elevator by five burly trade unionists who assured them of their safety. At the entrance another team searched all participants and escorted them to their seats. Inside the hall the chief marshal announced that the defense squad, made up of members of seven trade unions, would ensure equal time for all to speak, including those defending the viewpoint of the Islamic clergy. However, noting that if such a meeting were held in Teheran Khomeini would have the Marxists shot, he warned: "If they try to disrupt this meeting here, they will get a fist in the face." There were no takers. ■



WV Photo

Trade unionists defend workers democracy at Ann Arbor forum.

speaker retorted, "So they have degrees. So does Dr. Kissinger, what about him? All the ayatollahs want to impose the *shuriyat* [Islamic law], did you know that? Of course you do. Yes, Khomeini has published many books. When he was in Iraq he published books against the Jewish people and against the Ba'hai in Iran. What about them? According to Khomeini they are not part of the Iranian people, they should be crushed. Or the Kurds, because they are Sunni." As she left the forum the same Muslim woman revealed the class basis of her views when she retorted, "Women are free in Iran. My mother drives a Mercedes."

The next night in Ann Arbor saw much the same line-up. In response to Khomeini supporters' attempts to justify the vigilante attacks by Islamic marshals to impose puritanical social norms, one SL spokesman shocked the Muslim fanatics by retorting: "I used to be in a homosexual communist grouping that fused with the Spartacist League, and I say that Ayatollah Khomeini is nothing but Anita Bryant with a beard and a turban. You say that the homosexuals [shot by the mullahs'

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Detroit News Feature —20 April 1979

NEWS PHOTO / STEVE THORPE

FATIMA KHALIL: Opposes the veil as a symbol of servitude.

Attack on Iran regime

She calls veil a 'prison'

By MARTHA HINDES
News Staff Writer

To devout Iranian Moslems, a woman without a veil is both immodest and anti-Moslem.

But to Moslem-reared Fatima Khalil, the traditional Iranian "chador," or body-swathing veil, is a prison that robs its wearer of her freedom and identity.

The 26-year-old Istanbul native who now lives in England, stopped at Wayne State University yesterday to denounce the revolutionary Moslem government of Iran's new leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

ONE OF KHOMEINI'S first acts, after successfully defeating the shah's forces, was to call for women to wear the veil, the symbol of servitude and second-class citizenship for Moslem women since the seventh century. Even before Khomeini took power in mid-February, many Iranian women had adopted the chador as a symbol of support for the revolution in their country.

Tens of thousands of Iranian women, who became accustomed to modern dress and privileges under the shah's pro-Western government, rebelled violently to the order that they wear the veil permanently. As a result, Khomeini modified the order, calling the veil a religious symbol, not a necessity.

But Ms. Khalil, a Communist whose 12-city United States tour is being sponsored by the Trotskyist Spartacus Youth League, called the veil the symbol of oppression that has put Iranian women on a par with cattle.

Her speech was opposed by about three dozen Iranian students, including several blue jean-clad woman, who denied that women in Iran have lost their civil rights.

SEVERAL IRANIAN students were barred from the meeting by a voluntary 30-member security force of five local labor unions. They searched Iranian students for weapons and lined the meeting room to prevent a recurrence of violence that had interrupted previous women's rights meetings.

On April 4, militant Iranian students broke into a similar meeting at Wayne, shouting obscenities at the women speakers and kicking chairs, Spartacus members said.

In a speech that was as much political as feminist, Ms. Khalil said Iranian women will not be able to fight oppression without a powerful leader. She said they need to align themselves with the working and peasant classes which are as oppressed under Khomeini's Moslem dictatorship as they were under the shah.

She said Iranian women have lost the right to inherit property and to divorce their husbands, through the abolishment of the 1975 Family Protection Law, although men have those rights. Iranian women can still be legally executed by their husbands for committing adultery, which is not an offense for men, she added.

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San Francisco State
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Wednesday, May 2
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New York University
Meyer Hall of Physics, Room 121
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Saturday, May 5, 7:30 p.m.
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No Socialist, No Alternative

SWP Runs Scab Pulley for Chicago Mayor

Reporter: "*If you were actually elected, what would a socialist mayor be able to do in a city like Chicago?*"

Andrew Pulley: "*...Busing could be carried out to bring about some equality in educational opportunities without fundamentally changing the economic realities of this city. A real genuine affirmative action program could be conducted....*"

Reporter: "*In other words, we wouldn't have any alteration of the structure of our political system or our economic way of doing things?*"

Andrew Pulley: "*Well, yes I would. I would propose my new tax plan before the City Council.*"

This is socialism? No, it's the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for mayor of Chicago, responding to liberal black columnist Vernon Jarrett during a televised "candidate's panel" March 29. Although Jarrett may have been confused by a supposed socialist claiming his program could be carried out "without fundamentally changing the economic realities of this city," it comes as no surprise to those familiar with the SWP's wretched reformist practice.

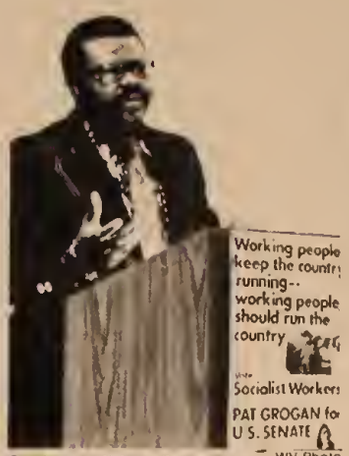
Andrew Pulley, a long-time SWP party hack, presented himself in this campaign as the voice of the workers and poor, a militant black steel worker. In reality he is nothing but a *scab*! As a Spartacist League leaflet on the SWP's Chicago mayoralty campaign pointed out:

> "Pulley personally certified his loyalty to the capitalist status quo when he scabbed on a picket line of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airlines Clerks (BRAC), thrown up around U.S. Steel Gary works in September, 1978. A picket line is traditionally a sacred battle line for the working class, and in this case BRAC officials asked that the line be respected, while strikers passed out leaflets calling on steelworkers not to cross at Pulley's gate. But Pulley and other SWPers, eager above all to brown-nose a USWA [United Steelworkers] leadership unwilling to call steelworkers out on strike, muttered that 'everyone is doing it' and waltzed right across without even calling on the union to change its policy!... As a 'leader' of the working class, Pulley has set an example of union backstabbing and class treachery—he should be afraid to look honest working people in the eye let alone run for mayor on a 'socialist' ticket."

SWP: For a Five Percent "Alternative"

The SWP gave the Pulley campaign front-page billing in the *Militant*, trumpeting the fact that the Chicago *Defender*, the major black liberal newspaper in the city, had run a full-page poster backing the SWP candidate, and proclaiming its goal as 5 percent of the vote. By crossing this threshold it would realize its cherished dream of permanent ballot status. In the political turmoil following Jane Byrne's upset primary victory, Pulley received far greater media publicity than usual for a left candidate, and the SWP pulled out all stops, believing its goal of becoming the *official* electoral "alternative" to the Democrats and Republicans was at last in sight.

In the end, Pulley got only 15,000 votes—a little under 2 percent—while Byrne swept the city, carrying every



WV Photo

Scab candidate Pulley

ward and getting 90 percent of the black vote. The SWP actually did *worse* this year than when they ran Willie Mae Reid for mayor in 1975 (she got 17,000 votes, in a situation where the Daley machine carried only 82 percent of the black wards). Byrne's victory margin, greater than the legendary Daley ever got, clearly shows that blacks and working people are still tied to the Democratic Party and to illusions in Democratic "reformers."

The SWP in its rush to "respectability" offered little to distinguish itself from the capitalist parties. It's pretty hard to sound like a people's crusader when even the Republican candidate, a millionaire investment banker, has the same pro-"affirmative action" program as the SWP. The SWP's solution to the crushing blizzards which paralyzed Chicago—a major issue in Byrne's primary victory—was essentially "community control" of snow removal, a plan which differed only minimally from Byrne's. Pulley made it very clear that his campaign's slogan, "Human Needs Before Profits," was *not* a call to abolish the profit system. The supposedly "realistic" centerpiece of Pulley's propaganda was a call to "tax the banks and big business" to pay for social reforms, but as he insisted on an April 1 television program, "I'm not for taxing them 100 percent. I'm for taxing them to the degree necessary to provide the funding for social services."

Spartacist League Challenges SWP

The Chicago Spartacist League aggressively exposed the timid reformism of Pulley's mealy-mouthed campaign, both at public meetings and in a leaflet counterposing key socialist demands to the SWP's rotten liberalism (excerpts reprinted below):

• **Busing:** "While the SWP supports busing to achieve school desegregation, they also demand the deployment of *federal troops* to enforce it. This demonstrates a touching faith in the capitalist government, but most Chicago blacks found out about troops when they came to brutalize the black community during the rebellions of 1965 and 1968—do we really need another lesson courtesy of the SWP? The Spartacist League program, a real socialist program, is for *labor/black* defense of bused schoolchildren—and extension of busing beyond the city limits to the superior schools in the white suburbs."

• **Nazis:** "The SWP also held the position that Nazis like Frank Collin should get a government-protected, 'Constitutionally guaranteed' platform for their filthy views—that is until it became expedient for the SWP to change tunes and tail various groups protesting the planned Nazi march in Skokie last summer. Before this hypocritical switcheroo they *attacked* the Spartacist League position that vicious fascists should instead be smashed by the working class! And for further proof of the SWP's faith in the capitalist government, just look at how they join the U.S. government's fake 'human rights' campaign and help the butchers of Vietnam and huddies of the shah of Iran attack the Soviet Union in the name of 'American democracy'."

• **Community Control:** "Last but not least the SWP hits us with the call for 'community control' of services in Chicago neighborhoods. Haven't blacks had enough 'community leaders' like the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who wheel and deal with City Hall on behalf of 'their people' and never deliver for anyone but themselves? And doesn't 'community control' have a sinister meaning in Chicago anyway—it's exactly what the racists in Marquette Park want! In fact, for blacks 'community control' is a utopian myth which, even if it could be attained, would only mean the freedom to 'control' ever-deteriorating ghettos, ever-worsening city services, and permanently segregated schools! Blacks don't need a candidate who thinks this is

continued on page 11

SWP Flees Anti-Weber Demo in Chicago

CHICAGO—Driven into a frenzy by the presence of class-struggle politics, leaders of the United Steelworkers (USWA) District 31 Women's Caucus sabotaged an anti-Weber demonstration which they themselves sponsored outside the Federal Building here on March 31. The Women's Caucus, a pressure group made up of fake-left supporters of the Sadlowski/Balanoff bureaucracy of District 31, had intended to turn the protest into a celebration of union-busting "affirmative action" programs. But faced with a sizeable contingent led by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), the sectarian reformists simply walked off to form their own picket line.

The SL denounces the racist court suit by Brian Weber (which alleges that a program for upgrading of minorities at a Louisiana steel plant resulted in "reverse discrimination" against the white lab analyst), while at the same time opposing government-ordered programs which overturn union contracts and seniority systems. At the Loop demonstration SL/SYL signs included: "Defeat Weber! Government Out of the Unions!" "For Union-Run Minority Job Recruitment—Not Government Union-Busting Affirmative Action!" and "For the Union Hiring Hall—First Come First Served on All Jobs!"

These signs already dismayed the Sadlowski/Balanoff apologists, but when the SL began to chant "Dump the Bureaucrats—Build a Workers Party!" they recoiled in horror. Pulling their followers away, they suddenly split the picket line in two and formed a rival demonstration with some 30 participants only a few yards away. One supporter of the Maoist Workers Viewpoint Organization became so convulsed over the SL's refusal to tail after the liberal wing of the USWA bureaucracy that he physically threatened a woman steel worker who was marching with the Spartacist League.

Prominent among the saboteurs were leading members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), including Pat Grogan (a Women's Caucus member who crossed picket lines of striking railroad clerks last September). Grogan's comrades were distributing "Pulley for Mayor" literature calling for a labor party as they refused to join the SL chant for a workers party and against the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy. Also present was a delegation from the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League which wandered aimlessly between the two picket lines without joining either. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist League contingent at anti-Weber demonstration in Chicago, March 31.

Deer Hunter...

(continued from page 5)

wedding reception in the history of film). Once you get out of Clairton, however, you're in the war zone. Repressed sexuality becomes uncontrollable mass aggression in a crude model of social-Freudian pessimism. (And in Asia as seen by Cimino, the culture seems to have no social rituals at all except forcing people to shoot themselves in the head for fun and profit.)

At the structural center of *The Deer Hunter* is the metaphor of the game/sport: the Russian roulette torture/gambling game in Vietnam and the deer hunt in the U.S. The precise treatment of the ritual organization of sport is part of the film's stress on the need for war preparation. Michael, the hero of the hunt, becomes the hero of Vietnam; tested by the game played in the mountains, he can meet the test of survival in the Southeast Asian jungles. Just as he leads the deer hunt, he leads his friends to survival in Vietnam—the super-leader who draws his strength from the "community" and upon whose shoulders rests collective survival. On this plane *The Deer Hunter* is a simple plea for a strong military ethos to save the "community."

The repressed sexuality in the film is strongly homosexual (sleeping with Meryl Streep barely counts even as a game). The locker-room and barroom scenes underline the emphasis on male bonding, the highest expression of love and loyality in a warrior society.

When Michael the macho military hero comes home from the war he ascends the mountain again, in a scene which may well define the contemporary proto-fascist artistic sensibility. Above the mist of the highest peak with some tabernacle choir singing and the camera straining toward mythic grandeur and primal force, the superman stands as a solitary hunter facing the sexually symbolic buck. Of course, now he doesn't shoot. Only the Übermensch can understand the relationship of game to life. Only here can there be sport without blood. And only the individual can be redeemed from the unconscious cycle of sexual repression and ritual social slaughter.

The real answer to the cult of the individual strong man in *The Deer Hunter* is not the celebration of weakness in *Coming Home* but the collective strength of the Vietnamese working people who with bravery, determination and self-sacrifice defeated the mightiest imperialist military machine on this planet. The heroes of the NLF/DRV who impressed the world with their courage, the masses of peasants and workers who fought for national liberation and social revolution, the millions who endured while the torturers plied their trade and the bombs rained down—these people changed the face of Asia. *The Deer Hunter* can lie about the Vietnamese people's struggle for freedom, but it cannot undo their victory.

An Oscar for Uncle Sam

The Deer Hunter ends with the survivors gathered together after the funeral of their friend Nick, who blew his brains out playing Russian roulette for money in Saigon. In their grief they spontaneously break into a mournful version of "God Bless America."

It would be inconsistent with Cimino's methods to end his film with a big bang of obvious flagwaving. The whimpering ending is meant as bittersweet tragedy—to cast post-Vietnam demoralization in universal "human" terms. The friends are sadder (and not a bit wiser), but they have survived; they have their hero, their community and the song that brings them closer together. Thus patriotism is portrayed not as a political ideology but as a necessary mechanism and expression of community survival. And the demoralization caused by the Vietnam war is stripped of specific political content and becomes merely the image of the tragedy of the human condition.

But what about the real political tragedy of Vietnam? What about the butchery of American working-class youth sent to slaughter the Vietnamese? *And what about the Vietnamese?* What of their shattering "experience"? Their communities at the receiving end of imperialism's relentless terror bombing—and the communities that lived underground in tunnels for years?

The real source of the Vietnam war's demoralization of Americans was political—the counterrevolutionary war of an imperialist ruling class. That is what depressed and sickened the American soldier, made him weak and unwilling to fight. And Cimono's appeal to the second-rate myth of the macho man and the mountain will not make it otherwise. The GIs in Vietnam did not believe they were fighting in defense of Hometown, USA. They sensed they were dying in the jungles for Imperialism, USA and they wanted out. And patriotism went out the window.

It is that pre-Vietnam innocent patriotism for which Cimino yearns. And *The Deer Hunter* does its best to recover from that image of a weakened and hurt America so that it can respond to new challenges like it did in the "old days," in the name of the defense of the Clairtons. Ultimately this film is part of a bourgeois ideological offensive to cut through the disillusioned anti-patriotic sentiment produced by Vietnam and gear up for the next imperialist war. It is no wonder *The Deer Hunter* won an Oscar; perhaps it better deserved the Congressional Medal of Honor.

After all Cimino's cinematic tricks are over, after the crafty lying is spent and the cheers have trailed off, reality imposes itself on myth. Workers are not singing "God Bless America," and patriotism will not be the same at least for a while.

The Deer Hunter lies again. The truth is that not everyone was demoralized by the defeat of U.S. imperialism by the heroic armies of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The Vietnamese were jubilant—and so was every class-conscious proletarian everywhere in the world. But the cheers that ring out in American movie houses do testify to the partiality and shallowness of the American antiwar sentiment that so impressed the liberals and their fake-left camp followers. Only a small minority of that movement became the conscious partisans of *the other side* in Vietnam. The antiwar movement in its mass never broke from social patriotism; the graduates of that movement, and the subsequent political generation, thus remain accessible to Cimino as he portrays the "VC" as sadists and murderers.

Of all *The Deer Hunter*'s lies, the most dangerous poses survival through imperialist war—sending the workers into battle to kill their class brothers. But the real survival of humanity demands its liberation through socialist revolution. ■

Ayatollahs...

(continued from page 1)

wants to demonstrate for Mr. Taleghani?" (*New York Times*, 20 April).

Class Collaboration—The Road to Bloody Defeat

The Iranian fake left tailed the mullahs in the name of "anti-imperialist" unity. But the program of social reaction which the mullahs have always advocated is now being ruthlessly implemented. Bands of religious fanatics have set up roadblocks where they search cars for sinners to flog for the "crimes" of drinking and fornication. Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" turns out to be the curbing of imports of liquor and pork.

So now the opportunist left is backing the "national bourgeoisie" of Bazargan et al., and "progressive" mullahs like Taleghani as the alternative to Khomeini. The bourgeois politicians, however, have sought to ride to power on the coattails of the mullahs and have no organized power base of their own. Their "defense" of democratic secularism consists of pathetic, impotent petitions to the mosque. Furthermore, the appetite of the National Front to crush the left has been made quite clear. Bazargan was quick to attack "Trotskyites and Maoists" as complicit with SAVAK in allegedly instigating the Kurdish and Turkoman revolts. And he has stated, "a powerful army is now more necessary to us than bread" (*Le Monde*, 6 April).

The imperialist press, lamenting the execution of a few of the shah's bloody-handed henchmen—a fate they richly deserve—has equated Khomeini's reign of terror with that of Robespierre. But the "Islamic Revolution" *opposes* the basic gains of 1789: separation of church and state, legal equality for women, abolition of feudal landholdings, the right of self-determination! Such revolutionary-democratic tasks as bringing land to the poor peasant and national rights for the oppressed nationalities can be guaranteed only by the dictatorship of the proletariat—an Iranian workers and peasants government.

This revolutionary perspective requires a political struggle against the wretched class collaborationism of the pro-Moscow Tudeh party, the Maoists, the Fedayeen guerrillaists and the fake Trotskyists of the HKS—all of whom backed Khomeini. The HKS now crows about its debate with a mullah on Iranian TV. For these dangerously deluded parliamentary cretins this is the ideal model to pressure the ayatollahs. Begging Khomeini to have a better economic policy, the HKS remained silent on the burning need for a united-front defense of the left, the need to organize workers militias and of course the call of "Down with Khomeini." The international Spartacist tendency stands as the only group on the left to consistently warn of the danger of Islamic reaction and to call today for workers revolution against the mullahs. ■

Fatima Khalil...

(continued from page 7)

firing squads] were nothing but rapists, but you said the 'victims' had to be whipped a hundred times.... Why do we hold these forums? Because we are looking for a few Iranians with guts, with the guts to stand up and say they are for the democratic rights of all the people—national minorities, homosexuals, women."

When another Muslim in the audience asked "what right" the speaker had to criticize Khomeini when 98 percent of the population had voted for an "Islamic Republic" in the recent referendum, an SL supporter replied:

> "When Nixon went to Cairo after the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, 3 million people lined the streets and cheered. I suppose that was the outpouring of the great love of the Egyptian people for American imperialism, right? When Sadat called a referendum to approve the peace of treason, he got over 90 percent, too. It's very easy to arrange a referendum. Hitler is a great teacher. So Iran is directed by a 'revolutionary council'—but nobody knows who's on it; they don't even know what the laws are! That's Islamic 'democracy'!
>
> "You talk about the CIA—today in Afghanistan, the policy of Khomeini is the policy of the CIA. And in 1953, where did the CIA spend its money? They didn't send it to the shah, it filtered the dollars through the mosques and the ayatollahs, whose mass demonstrations were what brought down Mossadeq. So don't tell us about the CIA, because you are a Muslim reactionary."

In conclusion a black woman comrade of the Spartacist League answered the Khomeini lovers: "As Marxists, we recognize the right of the national minorities in Iran to self-determination. You have no program for the minorities. You don't even speak on the reality of women's oppression there. You have nothing to say to the working class. The international Spartacist tendency told the truth *before* Khomeini stepped into power, before the blood was laid on the ground, before the corpses rolled in the streets. We were baited for opposing the 'progressive' forces. Only it turned out they weren't so progressive after all. We seek to intervene in the struggle in Iran because we are internationalists—we defend our class brothers who only stand to lose under Islamic reaction. That's why we say, 'Down with Khomeini, For Workers Revolution in Iran!'" ■

Racist Hysteria...

(continued from page 3)

mongering media and the "law-and-order" city government. After repeated clashes with the cops over his low-or-no-bail rulings, pressure from the PBA led to Wright's temporary removal from the Criminal Court in 1975. Two years later he was restored to the post. Known for his sharp tongue, the 60-year-old part-time poet scandalized his liberal colleagues when, in the midst of the furor, he was asked his opinion of PBA chief Sam DeMilia and replied that there was an old West Indian saying, "Never get into a pee-peeing contest with a skunk."

But it's not a question of the good judge versus the bad cops. Bruce Wright is an agent of the capitalist state, appointed by union-buster John Lindsay. His political views, in fact, are very mainstream Democratic Party—the old pork-barrel system of capitalist politics. He just wants to get something for his constituency—as for example his attempts to pressure for more black professionals, or his criticism of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund that it is headed by a white attorney. Thus his politics are compatible with black capitalist demagogues such as Daughtry who are willing to play with pogromist threats against small Jewish sects in order to further their careers.

Marxists denounce the racist furor whipped up over Wright's no-bail ruling. We oppose the bonapartist attempts by the cops to oust the judge from the bench, just as we defended black Democrat Adam Clayton Powell when he was driven from his congressional seat on the crest of a racist crusade. But oppressed groups cannot defend themselves by pressuring for the reappointment of liberal judges. Only fighting to replace the whole racist system of bourgeois "justice" with working-class rule can do away with the lumpen crime and cop brutality endemic to American capitalism. ■

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French Trotskyists Denounce LCR on Iran

"For the Ayatollah You Sacrifice Women!"

We reprint below the remarks by a spokesman of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, at a forum on Iran sponsored by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) at the Mutualité meeting hall in Paris on March 2. The meeting was addressed by Michel Rovère, a journalist for the LCR's weekly newspaper Rouge, *who had been part of a team of reporters from sections of the United Secretariat (USec) that visited Teheran in mid-February. In recent weeks these pseudo-Trotskyist "eye witnesses" have been on tour spreading the gospel according to Khomeini. In the U.S. SWPer Cindy Jacquith justified wearing of the veil as an "act of resistance" to the shah, rather than a return to medieval practices of female seclusion. In England IMGer Brian Grogan proudly announced that he had chanted* allah akbar *(god is great) and carried a portrait of the Islamic fundamentalist ayatollah (a "Khomeini card") in his wallet.*

The LCR's Rovère was no less effusive in his praise for the "Islamic Revolution," seeing the neighborhood committees (the komitehs) led by Shi'ite religious leaders (mullahs) as possible precursors to soviets. Of course, there are some problems, he reported, such as the fact that women do not have the right to speak in the komitehs! During his speech, Rovère noted:

> *"The neighborhood committees were formed essentially from the end of December on, often at the initiative of local religious authorities, in order to assure minimal supplies of bottled gas during the oil workers strike.... Later these neighborhood committees were the framework for organizing what was called in the press the Islamic marshals.*
>
> *"The most serious [limit] is without doubt segregation by sex. In a meeting of a neighborhood committee... women do not have the right to intervene. There is a curtain separating the women from the men. ... At the most they pass small notes under the curtain ...*
>
> *"So the future of these neighborhood committees, that is to say... whether they advance toward the organization of soviet-type structures, depends on several factors...."*

These factors included dealing with questions of sewage, lighting, day care and similar problems of the slum neighborhoods, according to the LCR speaker. But of the need to break with the mullahs, to oppose the theocratic Islamic Republic of Khomeini, there was not a word. Our comrade replied:

Some months ago when you held your first meeting on Iran, we intervened to say that Khomeini was against agrarian reform, against communists, against the liberation of women; that he was reactionary and that it was necessary to mobilize the working class and the masses against both the shah and Khomeini. You answered—as usual—that we were sectarians and that Khomeini was "ambiguous" and even represented the "democratic movement."

At that time, and in the absence of a real proletarian leadership, it was the mullahs who profited from the masses' hatred for the shah. And if groups like the Fedayeen today are armed militarily, *politically* they are disarmed. It's difficult to effectively struggle against Khomeini after you've been supporting him. Today, tragically, they are impotent before Islamic fanaticism.

And now the supreme cretinism: the fake-Trotskyist organization in Iran [SWP] limits itself to pressuring the ayatollahs in power for demands which they *never* promised to fulfill. Quite the contrary, Khomeini never promised anything but repression of women and a return to the Middle Ages. Against the shah's barbarism, he promised only a more retrograde barbarism! Every time I read the articles on Iran in *Rouge*, I remember when I used to intervene in the LCR's feminist meetings to fight for the class line instead of the sex line, and I was booed by the feminists of the LCR. But for the ayatollah they are ready to sacrifice the women!

Who the hell is the USec trying to fool? Sections of the USec took part in this defense group called CARI, which included pro-mullah forces. The sections of the international Spartacist tendency in the U.S., in Britain, in Germany, in France, in our struggle against the shah have always insisted that the ayatollahs were no alternative, that the powerful Iranian proletariat must regroup the masses behind it and *against* the ayatollahs. Of course, the pro-mullah forces don't like this much, but when they wanted to kick us out of their demonstration in England and called the cops, the IMG [British USec section] shut up and stood back—which says a great deal about the United Secretariat.

So you think the ayatollah is "ambiguous"?! The problem isn't that the LCR had illusions, it's that they closed their eyes. Because what passes for revolutionary strategy in the USec is tailism, tailing anything that moves. That's why the LCR always ends up siding with those who co-opt the revolution, those who are *sidetracking* the proletariat from victory. This time, it's even more gross. Sometimes there's at least a vaguely "progressive" facade on what the LCR is supporting, but here it's blatantly medieval barbarism, the "anti-imperialist" holy war that this "democratic movement" stands for.

We Spartacists think the principal task in Iran was and still is to build an independent proletarian revolutionary party which alone can satisfy the democratic aspirations of the masses, the peasants, the women, the nationalities, as was shown by the Russian Revolution. And for this there must be an independent mobilization of the masses to form their own organs of workers power—soviets—organized by the workers, led by the Trotskyist party, not by the mullahs like the neighborhood committees, where women don't have the right to speak. To think you can fight for democracy without having fought against Khomeini, without fighting today against Khomeini, is social-democratic cretinism. The question of revolution is a question of state power, and it's Khomeini who's been winning—in part thanks to the political disarming of the proletariat. ■

Healyites...

(continued from page 2)

betrayals. To put it in perspective, we will use an historical analogy. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 was decisive both in the development of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution and in the historic division between Stalinism and Trotskyism. Trotsky opposed the Chinese Communist Party's liquidation into the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang as suicidal opportunism. But after his worst predictions had been borne out, he fully solidarized with the Communists against Chiang's terror. (Even Stalin, who advocated the entry into the Kuomintang, defended the Communists when the bourgeois nationalists turned on them.) The Healy/Banda position in Iraq is equivalent to supporting Chiang's 1927 massacre of the Communists on the grounds that they had "betrayed the Chinese Revolution"!

And this is more than an analogy. The Communist Party of Iraq is not merely a Kremlin publicity agency. It is *the* mass party of the proletariat, centered on the strategic oil workers. And its mass base has a history of resisting Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and alliance with bourgeois nationalism—namely in the 1958 revolution.

In July 1958 the Hashemite monarchy of King Faisal was swept away by a popular uprising led by the CP in bloc with a nationalist grouping in the officer corps under General Kassem. Under pressure from the revolutionary masses the CP went into opposition to Kassem and sections of the party were pushing to overthrow him and take power directly. So as not to disturb the "spirit of Camp David," the Kremlin openly supported Kassem, denounced the Iraqi CP for "ultraleftism" and demanded a purge of its left wing. As Isaac Deutscher wrote at the time:

> "Since the far-off days of the middle 1920s, when Stalin ordered the Chinese communists to serve as the 'Kuomintang's coolies,' no Communist Party has been exposed to quite so abject a humiliation."
>
> —"Russia and the International Communist Movement," in *Russia, China and the West: A Contemporary Chronicle 1953-1966* (1970)

Encouraged by Moscow's support and the demoralization of the Communist ranks, Kassem moved against the CP. In 1960 he outlawed all parties affiliated to international organizations. Using this reactionary law he purged CPers from the trade unions and drove the party underground. The 1963 Ba'athist coup intensified the repression which Kassem had begun. Presumably the Healyites retrospectively support the Kassem/Ba'athist terror against the Communist Party because of the latter's "international affiliations"!

With practiced cynicism the *News Line* tells J.A.:

> "It is a principle with Trotskyists that we defend workers, whether they are Stalinists, revisionists or social democrats, from the attacks of the capitalist state.
>
> "But, as the facts show, that has nothing to do with the incidents in Iraq."

Do the Healyites then maintain that Ba'athist Iraq is *not* a capitalist state? Or perhaps they mean that they defend the workers movement against capitalist state repression only for groups which don't do anything illegal, like organize within the army. In case the WRP leaders' parroting of Qaddafi's oratory has entirely rotted their brains, we will remind them that one of the famous "21 conditions" for membership in the Communist International states:

> "The obligation to spread communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on systematic and energetic propaganda in the army. Where such agitation is prevented by emergency laws, it must be carried on illegally. Refusal to undertake such work would be tantamount to a dereliction of revolutionary duty and is incompatible with membership of the Communist International."
>
> —Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International 1919-1943*, Volume I, *1919-1922* (1956)

We have long maintained that beneath the hully-boy bluster of Healy, Banda & Co. is the cowardly legalism endemic to the British Labourite bureaucracy. The Stalinist cadres in the Iraqi army, despite their class-collaborationist politics, are a hundredfold more courageous than Qaddafi's yellow journalists in Clapham High Street.

The WRP's fake-Trotskyist opponents are naturally scandalizing it for its support to counterrevolutionary terror in Iraq, thrilled with the chance to oppose the WRP from the left. But the myriad British centrist groups are by no means champions of proletarian class independence in the Near East (or elsewhere). They too support bourgeois nationalism in backward countries, though now less flamboyantly than the Healyites. They too uphold the notion of the "Arab Revolution"—that most curious "revolution" which is directed not against the Arab governments and ruling classes, but externally against Zionist Israel. Like Healy/Banda, they supported Khomeini as "progressive," "democratic" or "anti-imperialist." But now it is Healy/Banda who have taken the "Arab Revolution" line to its logical conclusion—opposition to any expression, however partial or deformed, of proletarian class independence which disturbs the Arab rulers, up to and including support to its bloody repression.

We warn the WRP and its supporters in the rump "International Committee" that its cynical embrace of the Libyan and Iraqi military dictators has consequences. Whereas Stalinists similarly apologize for repression against their left-wing opponents by bourgeois nationalists (e.g., Indira Gandhi, Mengistu, Velasco) as prescribed by the bureaucrats of the deformed workers states, the Healyites have gone them one better in mimicking this class treason on behalf of bourgeois regimes directly. For a small propaganda group without a significant mass base, moreover, program is decisive in determining a group's class character. In the case of the Healy/Banda organization, the contradiction between its "Trotskyist" pretensions and the dictates of its Libyan patrons has repetitively come down in favor of the latter. ■

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Newport News...

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The police riot was the cops' response to the re-establishment of militant, mass picketing at the shipyard gates. On April 13 the union membership had successfully beaten back a proposal for unconditional surrender to the company, which had been endorsed by the majority of the Local 8888 executive board under pressure from the International. The several hundred pickets who showed up on April 16, obviously buoyed up by Friday's victory, were determined to ditch the faint-hearted strike tactics of the bureaucracy, under which scabs were generally free to enter the plant. The 500 to 600 pickets, only a fraction of the local's membership, proved unequal to the legions of armed cops. However, the failure lies not with the courageous militants but with a leadership that failed to throw the whole weight of the union behind the picketing.

The USWA International had waited one full year after the union won a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election against the scab company union, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, before striking. And even then, the Steelworkers leadership looked more to the courts than to the picket line for victory. When on April 9 the federal courts ruled in favor of a company appeal that the representation election be re-examined by the NLRB, the McBride gang decided to call off the strike. Claiming that the union was prepared to resume its strike *after* the NLRB investigation, International staff representatives bulldozed Local 8888's executive board and negotiating committee into voting to end the strike. The return-to-work proposal included a humiliating demand that each striker sign a statement pledging "I make an unconditional agreement to return to work"—leaving job reassignments, etc., totally up to the company.

A letter over the signature of Local 8888 president Wayne Crosby was sent to the strikers notifying them of the leadership's decision to return to work on April 16. The International reps, who had informed the exec board that they saw no reason why the membership should have a vote on ending the strike, were confident that the matter was disposed of. But by now the local leadership had polarized. There was strong opposition from Local 8888 officials who had been critical of the International's highhanded conduct of the strike and its strategy of permitting scabs to cross picket lines. As word of the sellout spread among the stunned pickets a seething indignation began to grow. The company all along had demanded an "unconditional return to work" and now the union leadership had voted to accept it behind the membership's back!

On Wednesday, April 11, a group of 150 militants gathered at Copeland Industrial Park to plan for the union meeting that Friday and hopefully prevent the hureaucrats from abandoning the struggle. They decided to demand democratic discussion and a membership vote on the strike at the union meeting. Jack Hower, the arrogant International rep in charge of the organizing campaign, showed up and was raked over the coals for his inept strike leadership by the enraged militants, most of whom had been active in the day-to-day running of the strike.

By the time the union meeting took place on Friday, April 13, at the Hampton Coliseum the 6,000 members present were hopping mad and rightly so. Speaker after speaker took the mike to blast the leadership for its behind-the-scenes deals. Criticism focused on the attempt to call off the strike without a membership vote and a secret deal made with local police chief Hinman by Hower and Wayne Crosby to enforce a han on mass picketing. Under the terms of this agreement, the union would dishand the flying squads set up spontaneously by militant pickets, which cruised from gate to gate to drive off scabs: in return, the cops would not harass strikers for "petty infractions." Since this accomplished Tenneco's purpose of eliminating barriers to scabbing, it was not surprising that it was eagerly accepted by the cops! The shamefaced bureaucrats couldn't muster enough courage to put their own motion on the floor ordering strikers to return to work the following Monday. Instead a vague resolution was passed, with the substance that there be no return to work unless the shipyard lifted its "conditions."

One week later, and subsequent to the police riot, Steelworkers leaders again ordered the membership back to work, this time successfully. To justify this, the bureaucrats seized on the company's dropping of its demand that strikers sign the humiliating pledge. This "concession" is nine-tenths window dressing. While the USWA bureaucracy played it up as a big victory, this in no sense prohibits the shipyard from refusing to rehire militants and using any number of excuses to implement discriminatory transfers and downgrades.. As we go to press, Newport News workers have told *WV* that upon reporting back to work they were sent home, pending company reassignment of jobs.

At times, of course, it is necessary for even the best of trade-union leaders to carry out tactical retreats in order to prepare for a renewed fight under more favorable circumstances. But shipyard workers ought not to be lulled into believing that this is the intention of the McBride leadership. Those who label defeats "victories," who preach reliance on the courts and the NLRB and make deals with the cops to halt mass picketing, merit no confidence from the working class. If matters are left to the present Steelworkers leadership, the most likely outcome is increased victimizations by the company, spreading demoralization and, more likely than not, eventual abandonment of the workers by the USWA. Therefore it is imperative that militants in the yard reassemble their forces and fight for resumption of the strike.

As we emphasized from the inception of the Newport News battle, victory could not be attained without class-struggle methods. And central to that was the issue of the picket line. As we said, "The lessons of labor history are clear: no major strike, particularly against a bitterly anti-union company, has been won by letting scabs in!" (*WV* No. 225, 16 February). And indeed this proved true. On the rare occasions when the union mounted effective mass picket lines, the number of scabs decreased and morale surged. But this was the exception, not the rule, and in the end the leaky picket lines fed demoralization and gave the bureaucrats an excuse to end the strike.

Yet throughout the strike the fake leftists, the pseudo-socialists who are unwilling to antagonize the Steelworkers bigwigs, refused to warn shipyard workers of the deadly dangers inherent in the bureaucracy's policy of abiding by the "right-to-work" (i.e., right to *scab*) laws. The reformist Socialist Workers Party capped its press coverage with an article hailing the April 16 meeting (the only membership meeting held during the entire strike!) as "Union Democracy in Action—'We'll Go Back to Work on Our Own Terms'." The article omits any reference to the secret anti-picketing deal and to the meeting of strike militants called to organize opposition to the sellout deal, while uncritically quoting USWA district director Bruce Thrasher saying that the intention of the leadership was to "continue the strike." Not surprisingly, the same 27 April issue of the SWP's *Militant* noted without comment the intention of local officials to call on federal marshals to protect the pickets from local cops—as if the strikebreaking Carter government would defend the workers!

But all the reformist claptrap notwithstanding, the strikers have experienced firsthand the pitfalls of class-collaborationist leadership. As the last few days of the strike indicate, if shipyard militants were not able to implement effective, mass pickets or defeat the sellout, it is not because they were unwilling or did not try. Rather, they were not sufficiently prepared and organized beforehand to combat the bureaucracy's treachery. The hard reality of the Newport News defeat is that the existing Meany/McBride trade-union leadership, with its defeatist reliance on the government and capitalist politicians, is no more capable of organizing the South than the conservative AFL officials were of organizing auto, rubber or steel four decades ago. Only the Spartacist League has forthrightly proclaimed this elementary truth, calling for building a class-struggle leadership in the unions that can defeat the union-busting monopolies and break the back of the "open shop" South. ■

Scab Pulley...

(continued from page 8)

a solution to racial oppression! A real socialist program like that of the Spartacist League proposes low-cost, publicly-funded housing throughout Chicago *and the suburbs* so that blacks can *escape* the rotting ghettos."

Reformist Scabs Betray the Working Class!

Pulley and the SWP spent a lot of time talking about the need for a "labor party, based on the unions," but carefully refrained from raising any programmatic demands expressing real working-class independence. This isn't surprising coming from Pulley, who has betrayed one of the most elementary principles of working-class solidarity: picket lines mean don't cross! It wasn't just would-be mayor Pulley who blithely crossed the Railway workers picket line at U.S. Steel's Gary plant last fall, but also the SWP's candidate for treasurer, Pat Grogan, who works at U.S. Steel's South Works plant. These scabs excused their class betrayal by claiming that the BRAC bureaucrats hadn't asked the Steelworkers to support them—a blatant lie (see "SWP Scabs on Rail Strike," *WV* No. 216, 6 October 1978).

The way forward for the working people of Chicago does not lie with these lying, scabbing reformists who so casually cross picket lines. There *were* steel workers who refused to cross the Railway Clerks union picket lines and who fought for the union to honor the lines. One of these workers confronted Pulley at an SWP forum last fall, exposing the SWP's real appetites: "For the SWP, it's being one with the hureaucrats. If the bureaucrats tell the workers to scab, they say, then we'll scab."

The Spartacist League stands with the intransigent working-class solidarity displayed by those USWA members who walked the BRAC picket lines with signs proclaiming "This steel worker doesn't scab." The SWP has proven many times over—and once again in the Pulley campaign—that it is neither socialist nor a real "alternative" to the sellout union bureaucracies who tail after the bosses' parties. As for Pulley, we can only repeat the evaluation by Jack London: "A scab is a two-legged animal with a corkscrew soul, a water logged hrain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principles. When a scab comes down the street, men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the devil shuts the gates of hell to keep him out." ■

Steel Haulers Wildcat...

(continued from page 12)

doubtedly, TDU's minimal demands contributed significantly to Fitzsimmons' pledge to sanction the strike, and by April 22 the International announced agreement on reinstitution of the old pay formula with all but one of the major groups representing steel carrying companies.

Even more damning, however, is TDU's parochial strategy, which consciously isolates the steel haulers from the rest of the workers covered by the MFA. "We're Not Freight—Strike to Win in Steel," *Convoy Contract Bulletin* No. 9 proclaimed to the strikers. "The freight settlement has nothing to do with steel haulers and the contract we will have to live with," the bulletin went on to explain. Instead of pointing to the steel haulers' revolt as an example for the rest of the IBT, for TDU the freight division has all but ceased to exist. Though TDU formally calls for a "no" vote on the MFA, its previous emphasis on "no contract, no work" in freight has virtually disappeared.

What has remained the same is TDU's bottom-line strategy of putting pressure on the bureaucracy as the means to winning a "decent" contract. The April 15 *Convoy* bulletin suggests that Teamsters telegram Fitzsimmons "urg[ing] you to immediately call a strike against all companies covered by the [steel] rider. This is the only way the carriers will give us a good contract." This is a lie. A "good" contract, one representing the real needs of the IBT membership, can be won only through united strike action by freight drivers, all the commodity haulers and the related warehouse workers. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops Rampage—60 Picketers Arrested

McBride Stabs Newport News Strikers in the Back

On April 22 local and International officials of the Steelworkers union (USWA) ordered 15,000 workers striking the Newport News Shipyard and Dry Dock Company back to the job without a contract. Although union officials are claiming that the bitter three-month strike was ended on "our terms," the dismantling of picket lines unmistakably marks a defeat for the shipyard workers. Moreover, it could well cripple organizing efforts at the huge shipyard over the next few years unless the workers are able to rapidly rally their forces.

That the Newport News battle is a pivotal test of labor's ability to organize the South is indisputable. There has been no comparable unionizing drive in this anti-labor bastion for decades. Despite the enormous odds faced by the strikers—the multi-million dollar Tenneco conglomerate, hordes of state and local cops eager to enforce Virginia's scabherding "right to work" laws—responsibility for this setback, as well as for the continuing inability to organize the South, lies squarely with the American trade-union bureaucracy. To understand the tragedy of this strike it is sufficient to examine closely the last week of the battle, for within these few days the enormous gap between a rank and file eager to fight and the conservative, cowardly McBride leadership of the USWA was excruciatingly evident.

On Monday morning, April 16, as the strike of the shipyard workers was dragging into its eleventh week, Virginia police using Nazi stormtrooper tactics attacked the strike headquarters building of Steelworkers Local 8888. Strikers were dragged out of the building and beaten bloodily. One worker was thrown through a plate glass window, and then while lying on the ground bleeding he was savagely clubbed. To stop the raid on their strike headquarters on the second floor, union members blocked the stairwell with their bodies. Using anything they could get their hands on—chairs, tables and fire extinguishers—they successfully defended their hall. When it was all over 14 strikers were sent to the hospital, one with a concussion, another with a fractured jaw and yet another with a broken leg.

Just before the unprovoked attack on strike headquarters, local police and state troopers in riot gear with attack dogs had launched a sweep against picketers in front of the shipyard gates. After brief defensive skirmishes the strikers fled along Washington Avenue pursued by the cops. As they ran into restaurants and down side alleys, they were dragged out, handcuffed and beaten, often as police dogs were biting their arms and legs. The bloodthirsty cops, intent on crushing the strike, didn't stop to check for union cards. Anyone in the area, news reporters and bystanders, was given the same treatment. Before "Bloody Monday" was over nearly 50 strikers had been injured and more than 60 arrested, according to Local 8888 vice president John Townsell.

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WV Photo

Newport News cops confront strikers in February.

Steel Haulers Wildcat Over Fitz Sellout

Just a week and a half after it began, the "longest national trucking strike in U.S. history" ended abruptly on April 10 with a tentative agreement between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) and trucking industry bargainers. Immediately following the announcement of the pact, Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons ordered the membership back on the job, trampling on the fundamental trade-union principle of "no contract, no work."

The new agreement is fundamentally the same as the wage package offered before the strike, except that the union won its demand for one extra cost-of-living payment in the third year of the contract—with the provision that the money be deferred until after the contract expires! Otherwise, none of the significant issues faced by Teamsters—70-hour workweeks, grueling schedules, stepped-up disciplinary procedures and mushrooming of non-union outfits—were resolved.

Due to its enormous social power the IBT was able to sidestep Carter's wage guidelines without much difficulty, although with the present skyrocketing inflation rate even Teamsters will be lucky to stay even. Weaker unions, however, not to mention millions of unorganized workers, will not obtain exemptions so readily when their wages and working conditions are on Carter's 7 percent chopping block. With a militant strike, the Teamsters could have obliterated the guidelines on behalf of the entire working class and fought for demands representing the actual needs of the membership, including a big wage increase, full cost-of-living protection and a slashed workweek with no cut in pay. But a militant strike necessarily entailed a struggle with the capitalist government, and to Fitzsimmons that is unthinkable.

The Midwestern steel haulers covered by the Iron and Steel "rider" to the Master Freight Agreement (MFA) pose the chief threat to Fitzsimmons' intended sellout. In Pittsburgh, Youngstown and Canton the haulers, whose own contract supplement had not been settled, refused to return to work. Their unsanctioned strike rapidly spread throughout much of the Midwestern steel belt and resulted in thousands of layoffs at mills in the region. As the rank-and-file walkout gained strength Fitzsimmons reportedly promised to sanction the strike but refused to accede to the strikers' demand for a separate vote on the Iron and Steel rider. Since the union tops are presently unable to crush the steel haulers, Fitzsimmons' main concern is to isolate them and thereby prevent their resistance from sparking a generalized rebellion by the rest of the 300,000 workers covered by the MFA.

Unlike the aborted breakaway "strike" led by FASH last fall which was aimed at splitting steel haulers away from the IBT, the current walkout should be supported by trade-union militants. The central demand, however, of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which has played a leading role in the walkout, is merely for a return to the pre-1976 pay formula for steel haulers, namely a flat 75 percent of the revenue from each load for owner-operators or 26 percent for drivers operating company rigs. But this is precisely the demand raised by the IBT Iron and Steel negotiating team. Un-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 231 | 11 May 1979

Save the Fedayeen!

Iranian Left Under the Gun

No to the Veil!

For Workers Revolution Against Islamic Reaction!

"Death to the communists!" "Death to the enemies of Islam!" These are the ominous battlecries echoing through the streets of Teheran. The clerical reactionaries who now rule Iran are orchestrating a redoubled offensive against the left with a series of massive demonstrations that howl for the blood of those branded "traitors to Islam." Simultaneously the Khomeini regime has granted virtually unrestricted powers to the Muslim paramilitary units taking shape which will spearhead the coming onslaught on the Iranian left and working class.

A major confrontation between the left and Islamic theocracy has been delayed only by the chaotic conditions produced by the rapid and complete disintegration of the shah's imperial state apparatus. The attempt to consolidate Khomeini's rule has also meant the execution of some of the most hated butchers of the shah's SAVAK and army—the one act of this dangerous regime which is worthy of applause. While the imperialists cry bitterly for their good friends who face the firing squads, proletarian revolutionaries are glad to see some of these sadistic torturers go. We know that it is the torture of mullahs and not the torture of leftists and working people that has been made a capital offense. We know well whose hands hold the rifles after the Islamic courts pronounce sentence, but we know too that nearly all of these butchers deserve to die. We would gladly extradite the shah himself to Teheran to face his victims—end the "vacation" of this mass murderer!

The creation of Khomeini's Islamic state requires this deep-going blood purge. For every general who falls at the wall an ex-imperial colonel takes his place. But it has taken time to discipline the irregular Muslim militiamen and salvage the needed military and police cadres from the wreckage of the shah's army and police forces.

It is not simply brutal military suppression which puts the Iranian left in peril but, as in Indonesia in 1965, the possibility of a combined assault by the regular army and a viciously anti-communist Muslim mass movement. Using the spectacular assassinations of government figures by the shadowy, self-proclaimed Islamic populists of the Forghan Fighters group, the Khomeini regime is succeeding in whipping up just such a rabid popular mobilization among its petty-bourgeois followers.

UPI

Anti-communist vengeance at assassinated mullah's funeral: "Kill, kill, kill."

In the wake of savage fighting between pro-government forces and Kurdish and Turkoman rebels the mullahs had singled out the Guevarist Fedayeen guerrillas for suppression because of their military aid to these embattled national minorities. After the arrest of 70 Fedayeen supporters in early April the next blow came when on April 20 a mob of 2,000 militiamen stormed the Fedayeen offices in the southwestern city of Abadan, center of the Iranian oil industry. The Muslim raiders confiscated a supply of arms and ammunition and arrested 41 Fedayeen.

Although Fedayeen spokesmen in Teheran attempted to deny that the

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Fatima Khalil Tour a Smashing Success

Fatima Khalil has just wound up her successful national speaking tour, sponsored by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, on the topic "No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution to Defeat Islamic Reaction." Drawing on her own experiences coming from a Muslim background, the young Near Eastern communist woman received significant press coverage with her vivid descriptions of the centuries-old oppression of women which the reactionary Khomeini regime seeks to enforce in Iran today. Speaking to over 1,000 people in ten cities coast-to-coast, Khalil argued powerfully on the need to smash the reactionary "Islamic Republic" through socialist revolution.

Khalil's tour stressed the urgent need to draw the lessons of Khomeini's orders to reimpose the veil, the massacre of Kurds, execution of homosexuals and round-up of Fedayeen militants under the new Islamic Republic. Those so-called "leftists" who uncritically hailed the ayatollahs stand today confused, deeply compromised and utterly bankrupt politically. In her concluding forum in New York City on May 5, Khalil set forth the urgent tasks facing revolutionaries in Iran today:

> "The struggle today...is to smash the Islamic government, and to base ourselves on the working class.... For that the task of revolutionaries is to fight to establish a revolutionary party.... The slogan of the workers and farmers government is the main slogan in Iran. It is necessary to break the masses from the ayatollahs, raising demands which will contradict with the mullahs' interests, which will show the masses the road forward. Demands like: expropriating the land, including the mullahs' own land! For a constituent assembly and self-determination! For full democratic rights!"

She also emphasized the need to mount a united-front defense of the left and all those democratic secular forces who are increasingly coming under attack from the mullahs.

Khalil's forums on the West Coast and in New York drew large audiences, as they did earlier in the Midwest: 70 in Los Angeles, 100 at Santa Cruz, 120 at San Francisco State University, 200 at the University of California at Berkeley, and 150 in New York City. While in the Bay Area she also received a

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SWP Distorts Lenin on Religion

1 May 1979

To the editor:

Through a dishonest manipulation of quotations, the *Militant* of 23 March attempts to exploit Lenin in the service of the Socialist Workers Party's revolting capitulation to Islamic reaction in Iran. An article misnamed "Lenin on Religion and Revolution" states:

> "Here, we are told by the bourgeois press (which is echoed by some groups on the left, such as the Spartacist League), a reactionary Islamic movement led the backward masses to overthrow the shah. The movement can only take Iran back to the eighth century.
> "But Lenin was aware that movements of the masses are sometimes reflected through religious figures. Particularly where the workers' leadership is weak, such figures can at times play a progressive role."

The SWP notwithstanding, it has by now become unambiguously clear that Ayatollah Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" means sending the imperial army built by the shah to savagely suppress national minorities rebelling against great Persian chauvinism, Islamic fanatics attacking women demonstrating for their rights and breaking up meetings of the left, the beating of anyone caught with alcohol on his breath, the stoning of "adulterers" and the mobilization of thousands of religious fanatics chanting "Death to the Communists!"

Attempting to equate Khomeini with Father Gapon, the Russian Orthodox priest placed at the head of the march on the tsar's palace which opened the 1905 Revolution, the *Militant* article amalgamates quotations taken out of context from two separate articles by Lenin (while giving the source for only one). The source cited, "Socialism and Religion," was written in December 1905 and did not mention Father Gapon; the direct references to him come from another article, "Revolutionary Days," written immediately after the "Bloody Sunday" massacre of the march led by Gapon on January 9 of that year. By this editorial sleight-of-hand, the SWP tries to create the false impression that Lenin's remarks on Gapon were representative of the Bolsheviks' general attitude toward religion. Yet this priest stood at the head of a workers demonstration protesting against the outrages of the medieval/feudalistic order which the church hierarchy (like Ayatollah Khomeini and the Shi'ite Muslim clergy in Iran) was committed to defend and *restore*. No less dishonest is the SWP's omission of the historical verdict pronounced upon Gapon as an agent of the tsarist secret police.

The *Militant* article quotes Lenin's call for the revolutionary workers to carry "the demands of honest and sincere members of the clergy to their conclusion, making them stick to their words about freedom, demanding that they should resolutely break all ties between religion and the police." But it omits the immediately following sentence which states that such sincere clergymen "must stand for the complete separation of Church and State...." Khomeini is not only flatly *opposed* to the separation of church and state, he is a fanatical advocate of their complete fusion, in a theocratic regime administered from the mosque. Khomeini went into opposition against the shah not over this butcher's terrorization of the workers and minorities—policies which the ayatollah is continuing in his own way—but against the monarchy's partial secularization of education, the courts and state.

Elsewhere in Lenin's writings on religion we find reference to just the kind of movement which Khomeini today represents. In "The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion" published in May 1909, Lenin draws a distinction between West Europe, where the task of combating the stranglehold of religion on the masses "was to a large extent performed (or tackled) by bourgeois democracy, in the epoch of *its* revolutions or its assaults upon feudalism and medievalism," and Russia, where "because of the conditions of our bourgeois-democratic revolution, this task falls almost entirely on the shoulders of the working class." Whereas in West Europe bourgeois anti-clericalism can serve to divert the working class from the struggle for socialism:

> "In Russia conditions are quite different. The proletariat is the leader of our bourgeois-democratic revolution. Its party must be the ideological leader in the struggle against all attributes of medievalism, including the old official religion and every attempt to refurbish it or make out a new or different case for it, etc."

If this was true for tsarist Russia, it is even more the case for Iran where the countryside is even more backward and where the attributes of medievalism loom even larger.

In a companion article published the following month, "Classes and Parties in their Attitude to Religion and the Church," Lenin discusses the role of the representatives of the Orthodox Church in the Duma:

> "The Church cannot forgive the state for secularising Church property. The Church demands a leading and dominant position....
> "These are not officials in cassocks, as the Social-Democrat Surkov called them, but *feudalists* in cassocks. Defense of the Church's feudal privileges, outspoken support of medievalism—that is the essence of the policy pursued by the majority of the Third Duma clergy." [emphasis in original]

Lenin points out that as long as the tsarist autocracy was intact, clerical reaction could be concealed from the masses. But the 1905 Revolution compelled the aristocracy to organize fascistic gangs, the Black Hundreds, and "it became necessary for the princes of the Church—the bishops' to organize the reactionary clergy into an independent force."

Like Tsar Nicholas II, the shah was forced to introduce certain token bourgeois reforms, such as secularizing certain church property, in 1963. Khomeini, like the Russian Orthodox bishops, could not forgive the shah this attack on feudal privilege, and it was over this issue that he mobilized the mass demonstrations that led to his exile. Khomeini and his fellow "princes of the mosque," the ayatollahs, are no Father Gapons. They are nothing but "*feudalists* in cassocks" who exploited the mass hatred of the shah to "organize the reactionary clergy into an independent force." Khomeini's "Islamic republic" has as its goal "defense of the Church's feudal privileges, outspoken support of medievalism." Lenin concludes this article by praising the Social-Democratic deputy Surkov, who:

> "...representing the workers' party and the working class, was the only person in the Duma to raise the debates to the truly high level of principle, and said without beating about the bush what the attitude of the proletariat is towards the Church and religion and what should be the attitude of all consistent and vigorous democrats. 'Religion is the opium of the people.... Not a farthing of the people's money to these murderous enemies of the people who are drugging the people's minds'—this straightforward, bold and outspoken battle cry of a socialist resounded like a challenge to the Black-Hundred Duma, and met with the response of millions of proletarians, who will spread it among the masses and who will know how to translate it into revolutionary action when the time comes."

We have consistently pointed out the numerous parallels between tsarist Russia and the shah's Iran, with the one unfortunate, major exception: in Iran there existed no revolutionary Marxist vanguard party that could give voice to the interests of the Iranian proletariat. But the international Spartacist tendency, which uniquely warned the Iranian masses and the world working class that Khomeini's "Islamic republic" would be no less reactionary than the bloody Pahlavi dynasty, has blazed the path for the construction of the Trotskyist party of the Iranian socialist revolution.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

On Mullahs

Columbus, Ohio

To the editor:

I guess you were right about the mullahs.

N.I.

Who Should Expropriate the Energy Trusts?

23 April 1979
Ryde, N.S.W., Australia

The editors:

While presenting an excellent critical polemic against the anti-nuclear/alternate energy life-stylists and the opportunist "Trotskyist" tailists, the *WV* article "No-Nuke Syndrome" (*WV* 13/4/79) contains two particularly misleading turns of phrase.

Attacking the hypocrisy of the anti-nuclear movement you state, "Life will be better for the entire working class when there is as much worry about black lung as there is concern now for meltdown." While not imagining that the SL would seek to promote such social-democratic illusions, it is not at all unlikely that in a milieu where faith in Democratic Party politicians such as Jerry Brown and Bella Abzug (and how many others) is rampant this could easily be construed as a call for a "socially responsible capitalist government/bourgeoisie," à la CP/SWP. No capitalist, no matter what his moral convictions, can circumvent the need to exploit the proletariat because this is his function.

Second, a call is made for the expropriation of the "greedy energy trusts without compensation." Having come to an incorrect conclusion of support for a socially concerned bourgeoisie, then perhaps socially concerned and non-exploitative energy trusts should be exempted! They all are imbued with greed for profit (as the SL points out earlier). And who should expropriate them... the bourgeois government? Perhaps a little "community control," of course not. Such expropriations can be carried out only when the proletariat led by its Trotskyist vanguard breaks with the Democrats and, vanquishing the U.S. bourgeoisie, establishes in its place a workers government. It must be pointed out these omissions are obvious only in a journal like *WV*, where this need is continually expressed! It would never have been noticed in the sordid perversion of Trotskyism promoted in the *Militant*.

In conclusion I might add that the article "Why They Supported Islamic Reaction" (same issue) provides a brilliant Leninist debunking of reformist and centrist confusionism on support for clerical reactionaries in Iran. Your opponents are exposed mercilessly as theoretical bankrupts.

Comradely,
J.P.E.

* * * * *

WV replies: Reader J.P.E. is correct in assuming that we did not mean to imply that there could be a "socially concerned" capitalist order, and that we *were* saying that all capitalist enterprises are driven by profit hunger. On the question of who should expropriate the energy trusts, this demand is part of our overall transitional program for breaking the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through workers revolution. At the same time we (and the Trotskyist movement historically) defend partial nationalizations by the capitalist state of particularly hated monopolies and exploiters (e.g., the properties of the shah and his henchmen in Iran today). We call on the class-conscious workers to take the lead in mobilizing support for such demands, while opposing any compensation to the former owners. However, where such nationalizations have taken place (for instance, Cárdenas' expropriation of Mexican oil, Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal, the nationalization of the Nazi collaborator Renault in post-World War II Gaullist France) obviously certain petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois forces have also found these measures in their interests.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 231 **11 May 1979**

Union-Bashing Tories Take British Elections

Labour's Betrayals Put Thatcher In

LONDON—The stock exchange index shot up and the Tory gutter press headlines screamed with delight as Margaret Thatcher's union-bashing Conservative Party won the May 3 British election with an overall majority of 43 seats. Thus Britain now has its most right-wing government since at least World War II, a Tory regime which will attempt to revive the sick capitalist economy by unleashing a violent onslaught against the powerful trade-union movement. What Labour tried and ultimately failed to do through deals with the union bureaucrats Thatcher now threatens to do through open confrontation. Following in the footsteps of her reactionary sisters Bandaranaike, Indira Gandhi and Golda Meir, *Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will be the Fourth Horselady of the Apocalypse.*

Labour managed to hold most of its traditional working-class support in Scotland and the industrial North of England. But it lost thousands of votes throughout the South and Midlands and received its lowest overall percentage total since the 1931 elections debacle. Thatcher's victory was the fruit of five years of Labour betrayal which saw massive government attacks on the jobs and living standards of British workers combined with open strike-breaking by the police and army. No wonder the working class—whose pay packets seem to get thinner while the dole queues [unemployment lines] get longer every week—was less than enthusiastic about the prospect of another five years of such Labour government.

The government's failure to stem the massive strike wave which destroyed Phase Four of Callaghan's wage control last winter convinced the bourgeoisie that Labour was a spent force, no longer able to keep the unions in line for its capitalist paymasters. Thus, after having supported the government for years, business interests rallied solidly behind Thatcher in the months leading up to the election. The authoritative bourgeois *Economist* noted that Callaghan stood on a fine "platform of middle-ground conservatism" while Thatcher was too dangerously radical and confrontationist. Nevertheless it, too, came out for a Conservative vote as the best chance under the circumstances for reviving the sick British economy on the backs of the working class.

The "Iron Lady" in Power

But can Thatcher succeed? Callaghan and Harold Wilson's Labour administration couldn't; nor could Edward Heath, the Tory prime minister who was brought down by the miners strike of winter 1973-1974. The "Iron Lady" Thatcher, who replaced Heath as Tory leader three years ago, makes her predecessor seem a reasonable moderate by comparison. Moreover, her personal popularity with the electorate has always been much lower than Callaghan's, and her relative inexperience and strident right-wing politics worry even many staunch Tory supporters.

During the election Thatcher presented herself as the champion of radical change in contrast to Labour's "don't rock the boat" approach. Her radicalism is that of an extreme reactionary who wants to roll Britain back to its days of pre-World War II grandeur when "free enterprise" allegedly governed all, and public spending on such things as education and social security was kept to a minimum. One of her chief economic advisors, Sir Keith Joseph, is an advocate of the monetaristic economic theories of Milton Friedman, whose other notable clients include Israel's Menachem Begin and General Pinochet of Chile.

Press Association

Margaret Thatcher: The fourth horselady of the apocolypse.

The Tory manifesto laid out many areas which it considered were in need of radical change. Top of the list were the unions, whose power was to be checked through legislation aimed at undermining the closed shop, outlawing secondary picketing and halting payments of social security benefits to strikers' families. Tighter immigration laws and a register for immigrants came next, along with an increase in defence spending and a beefed-up role for Britain in NATO as part of an aggressively anti-Soviet foreign policy. The police would be strengthened under the rubric of law and order and Thatcher declared that she "personally" supported the return of capital punishment. After the substantial cuts in government spending, rigid control of the money supply and cuts in direct taxation, the Tories' policies would lead to a drastic slashing of real wages, increased unemployment (especially for government employees) and no-strike laws aimed against "essential service" workers.

No Votes for the Labour Traitors

Life under the Tories does not promise to be nice for British workers. But then neither was life under Labour. Every one of Thatcher's anti-working-class proposals is but an extension of the policies of the treacherous Callaghan government. Yet during the election campaign the trade-union bureaucrats, right and "left" alike, joined dutifully by virtually every pseudo-revolutionary organisation in the country, were declaiming loudly on the alleged qualitative superiority of Callaghan's programme to Thatcher's.

Fake-Trotskyists, like the Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, who had been screaming for years about the betrayals of Labour wage controls and strikebreaking, suddenly discovered that Callaghan was a "lesser evil" and clamoured loudly for his return to Westminster. The Pabloist International Marxist Group and sundry smaller fake-Trotskyist grouplets joined in the "vote Labour" chorus, each with its own pet gimmicks and excuses. In contrast the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) emphatically insisted that the workers had no interest in returning the Labour strikebreakers for another five years of anti-working-class attacks.

Applying the Leninist tactic of critical support to bourgeois workers parties, in the 1974 elections the Spartacist tendency called for critical support for Labour candidates in order to draw the class line against the bourgeoisie and expose the social democrats before the masses by putting them in power. But to call for votes to Labour at this time when it has thoroughly demonstrated its treachery and is running on its anti-working-class record and programme is to junk Leninist tactics designed to win militant workers away from social democracy in favour of unconditional support for the reformist betrayers.

In opposition to the pro-Callaghan electoral machines, both official and pseudo-revolutionary, the SL/B said in its leaflets and interventions throughout the election campaign: "No vote to the Labour traitors any more than to the Tories." When sections of militant trade unionists, like the Dunlop Tyre workers at Speke near Liverpool and various regions of the National Union of Public Employees, began calling for abstention in the elections because of Labour's unmitigated treachery, the SL/B raised the call for trade-union candidates to be run *against* Labour on a full class-struggle programme.

In addition we warned that regardless of who won the election, the working class had to prepare for the inevitable attacks which face it. With the election now over, the new government will quickly buckle down to its primary task of restoring capitalist profitability. The first targets may well be those public sector workers—teachers, postmen and the strategically crucial power workers—who still have large pay claims outstanding.

Major union-government confrontations along the line of the miners strike five winters ago are a near certainty at some point in the life of this Tory government. Conscious of Heath's spectacular failure then, the current Tory government is determined not to botch it again. And when the Tory attacks do come, the bureaucratic union misleaders are certain to behave as in 1973-74: first look for ways out and when that fails display a bit of economic muscle while leaving the "political" work to the Labour top brass. However much this may be dressed up with left-wing rhetoric about fighting the bosses, the last five years have shown that when Labour gets into power it proceeds to attack the working class with no less venom than the Tories.

This cycle of Tory government attacks, left-sounding Labour opposition followed by Labour government attacks can ultimately only wear down and demoralise the working class. What is acutely needed to break out of this pattern is a genuinely revolutionary leadership of the labour movement—one whose fight is to ensure that the workers themselves rule in Britain. ■

British Cops Kill Anti-Nazi Militant

LONDON—As Margaret Thatcher was swept into office in a campaign for stopping Asian immigration and bashing the unions, the outright fascists sought to cash in on the right-wing mood. The National Front (NF) fielded 300 candidates for the May 3 elections, and as the state-owned television and radio stations obligingly provided the NF with free broadcast time, the police unleashed a wave of violence against anti-fascist demonstrators at NF meetings and rallies throughout the country. Determined to protect "free speech" for these merchants of hate, the cops arrested many hundreds of immigrant and leftist protesters, injuring scores and killing one demonstrator outside an NF meeting in the largely immigrant West London suburb of Southall.

Communists recognise that the NF is not primarily a legalistic electoral party to be stopped at the ballot box but a militarist outfit which seeks to grow through racist and anti-working-class terror and which must be physically smashed by the workers movement. In contrast, the popular-frontist Anti Nazi League (ANL) and its chief backers, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), had nothing to offer during the election period but a series of "peaceful" anti-NF protests and calls for a government ban on their activities. But the anger felt by many young ANL supporters, other leftists and especially black and Asian immigrants at the NF's brazen provocations was not to be contained by this legalism, and several militant demonstrations aimed at denying fascists a platform resulted.

The high point came when thousands of local Asian residents responded to a provocative fascist meeting in the center of the immigrant district of Southall, West London, on April 23 by shutting down their shops and walking out of the factories. Over 5,000 people, mainly immigrants, gathered in a protest demonstration outside the fascists' scheduled meeting place. There they were confronted by an equal number of riot police with a full range of "crowd

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NYC's Almost May Day

Not for many years has New York City witnessed thousands of union workers marching in the streets on May Day. But on this May 1, the blocks around City Hall were filled with 4,000 to 5,000 members of District Council 37 (DC 37) of AFSCME (government employees) and other NYC unions protesting union-busting mayor Ed Koch's intention to shut down half the city's public hospitals. The first union May Day rally in decades was largely ignored by the city's capitalist press—the *Times* merely used it as a backdrop to elicit statements praising "American democracy" from several recently released Soviet dissidents who were coincidentally visiting City Hall. More importantly, however, in the midst of a wave of strikes among isolated sectors of the NYC labor force (milk drivers, school bus drivers, tugboat workers, building service employees), where a united demonstration of labor's muscle could powerfully aid the strikers, NYC labor leaders simply turned their backs on this tremendous opportunity to link up with the AFSCME protest for a *fighting May Day to stop Koch's union-busting.*

Members of Local 420 of DC 37 poured into the demonstration from hospitals all over the city and were joined by hospital workers from the Social Service Employees Union and members of other sympathizing unions and community organizations, including the Brooklyn-based Black United Front of Rev. Herbert Daughtry. The demonstrators carried signs reading "Koch's Cuts Kill!" and "Save Our Hospitals, Save Our Jobs." At stake for the marchers were not only thousands of jobs but the health of New York City's poor and working people, most of them black and Hispanic, whose only source of hospital care is the municipal system threatened by the cutbacks.

As the post-march rally began, DC 37 leader Victor Gotbaum, looking stooped and haggard from years of bowing to the city bosses, was booed off the podium by angry unionists and black protesters. Loud applause greeted the demagogic black preacher Daughtry, who urged the audience: "Let's march, let's rally, let's scream, let's vote"...for black Democratic politicians. Right in line to pitch for those votes were Brooklyn assemblyman Al Vann and Harlem congressman Charles Rangel who, offering his Capitol Hill pork-barreling expertise, promised that, "If Congress has anything to do about it, that [city hospital] system will not be closed."

With a large banner prominently displayed near the speakers' platform the Spartacist League contingent counterposed to the labor traitors and capitalist politicians the slogans "Stop Koch's Union-Busting! Break With the Democrats—Dump the Bureaucrats! Build a Workers Party!" SL members and trade-union supporters carried signs reading "For Militant Strikes to Stop the Hospital Closings!" "Victory to the Tugboat, Building and Schoolbus Strikes!" and "Cops and Prison Guards Out of the Unions!"

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at NYC May Day rally.

During the year and a half of his administration, Koch has targeted virtually every sector of the city's workers, as well as racial minorities and the poor. In the last issue of *WV* we called for such a rally of the thousands of striking school bus drivers, tugboat workers, milk deliverers and building workers against the scabherding Cossack tactics of the labor-hating mayor. Unfortunately the striking unionists were not mobilized by their bureaucratic leaders to attend, and the chance for a militant solidarity demonstration led by thousands of angry strikers was frittered away in a lackluster rally by a gang of social-democratic municipal union hacks and their Democratic Party "allies."■

Coast Guard Shafts NY Tug Strike

New York City has been rocked in recent weeks by a number of local unions challenging the federal government's wage guidelines and the union-busting policies of NYC mayor Koch. The *Journal of Commerce* of 27 April railed that "strikes have approached epidemic proportions" here as striking dairy workers and school bus drivers were joined by building maintenance workers and tugboatmen. While the first three contract disputes have now been settled, the tugboatmen are still out and threatened by Koch's repeated attempts to mobilize the U.S. Coast Guard to break the strike.

Local 333 United Marine Division, an affiliate of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) representing 2,800 tugboatmen and bargemen, mainly in New York harbor, typifies the defiant mood of many of the striking workers. Outraged at Carter's ceiling of 7 percent for wage increases while corporations boasted a 37 percent increase in profits for the first quarter in 1979, the boatmen have vowed to bust the wage guidelines. And they can do it. Local 333, striking six times in the last 26 years, has a history of militancy. In 1970 they hit the bricks for 60 days and won a 40 percent wage boost and 17 percent increase in benefits over a three-year contract.

On April 1 an overflow crowd of 2,500 tugboatmen packed into the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel and voted unanimously to strike. Aside from wages, the other key issue being fought by the boatowners is union jurisdiction. Recently there have been increased incursions into New York harbor and on coastwise trade by non-union boats from the South, derisively called "rebel boats" by the strikers. These "rebel boats," some chartered or owned by southern affiliates of Local 333-contract companies, could steal the burgeoning coal trade out of Hampton Roads, Virginia or even break the backbone of the union by invading New York harbor. Both sides are well aware of the consequences, and that is why Local 333 is demanding that a "past practices" clause be written into the agreement, spelling out the historical jurisdiction of the union.

Into the conflict jumped New York's mayor Koch, the Greenwich Village liberal of the sixties become "law-and-order" labor-hater of the seventies. After injunctions in New Jersey and Nassau County were successful in forcing the union leadership to order crewmen to move sewerage barges, Koch began crying "health hazard," as idled garbage scows forced the Sanitation Department to haul refuse to dumps by truck, costing the city a million dollars in overtime so far. One week after calling out NYC mounted police to smash a milk drivers picket line in Brooklyn, Koch slammed an injunction on the striking tugboatmen ordering them to tow the garbage. "Captain" O'Hare, Local 333 president, was ready to comply once again. But strike militants got the word out, "No one works the garbage!" The handful of weak-kneed crew members who showed up at the Moran boatyard on Staten Island were easily persuaded to leave. After one week, citing a legal technicality, the injunction was rescinded. In fact it was a series of militant actions during the third week of the strike, including defiance of the injunction, that forced the government to temporarily back down.

WV Photo

Coast Guard hauls garbage in NYC: the bosses state does its strikebreaking job.

Then on May 5 Koch teamed up with the Carter administration in another strikebreaking gambit. U.S. Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams directed the Coast Guard to assist the city in hauling garbage immobilized by the strike "in light of the health emergency declared by the Mayor." By May 7 Coast Guard vessels—escorted by police boats and helicopters—were towing the garbage, union officials having acceded to Carter's strike-busting order.

The New York big business press has predictably blamed the tugboatmen for using violence to "extort" wage increases from the bosses. But the truth came from the strikers themselves. According to a number of tugboatmen doing picket duty on the Staten Island union boat, rifles were conspicuously displayed in the wheelhouses of some scab boats operating in the New York waterways. During the first week of the strike in Hempstead Harbor four scabs, carrying shotguns and taunting strikers, walked through a picket line. Certainly the most provocative action by the employers occurred Sunday, April 29 when a scab tug, the *Robin 10*, made its way into NY harbor towing an unloaded cement barge. Heading past the Statue of Liberty up the Hudson River to Albany, the Atlantic Cement barge had two armed guards, one on the bow and one on the stern, a helicopter on the deck and two police launches alongside as escorts. When the scab tow reached the dock it was greeted by a mass picket of 300 angry strikers. Although the cement workers of the plant honored the picket line, strikebreaking supervisors, hitting one picket and sending him to the hospital, plowed through the line to load the barge.

The strikers have not taken the employers' provocations sitting down. Skilled in marine transportation and communications, these boatmen have been able to pinpoint scab tugs, monitor their operations and dispatch picket boats to the scene quickly. In one incident a scab tug, the *J. J. Keegan*, was spotted in the harbor on the night of April 24. The union picket boat reportedly arrived alongside the scab tug and it was boarded by a dozen strikers. After getting a brief lesson in trade unionism, the captain headed his scab tug into berth.

For a Class-Struggle Strike Strategy

The courageous determination of the striking boatmen has time and again run up against the O'Hare leadership, which not only has repeatedly sought to

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No-Nuke Flukes Flood Washington

They came from all over the country to take part in the giant anti-nuclear be-in held in Washington, D.C. on May 6. Tens of thousands streamed into the city by bus and by van and by car (all the while denouncing pollution). Bedecked in their bells and their beads and their flowers, they assembled once more beneath the Washington Monument. The official crowd count was 65,000, but most unofficial observers doubled the number; in any case it was the biggest demonstration since the Vietnam War. As the 7 May *New York Times* described it:

> "While some of the talk was filled with anger, the demonstrators were for the most part smiling and amiable. They gave the appearance of being graduates of an earlier era returning for a 10-year reunion."

But if it was a "ten-year reunion," what got together in Washington was the old "Clean for Gene" crowd, mobilizing for liberalism and the "greening" of America. From the numerous American flags along the line of march to the endless demands to "Make Our Country Safe," the entire affair oozed with patriotism. And while most of the left tagged along, from start to finish it was a rally for know-nothing populism within the framework of the Democratic Party.

The scene was like something out of "Hair": in a crowd of largely college-age youth, the tone was predominantly that of a counterculture happening. Thousands of hippies crawled out of the woodwork to wave balloons and languish in the tulips in front of the Monument mall. They brandished skulls, crossbones and other ghoulish paraphernalia on sticks, chanting "Hell No, We Won't Glow" and "Two-Four-Six-Eight, We Don't Want to Radiate." They dressed up like mushroom clouds and they hung "children of holocaust" dummies depicting two-headed children, one-eyed creatures and the like on traffic lights and trees. In addition to the clams and shads there were the "Flukes Against Nukes" people who spent the

WV Photo

Jerry Brown wants to beat Carter as a born-again faddist.

day carting around a 40-foot fish blimp.

Assorted "socialists," with their warmed-over pacifist slogans protesting the proliferation of nuclear weapons ("East and West," of course) attempted to give a left cover to the march. But such sentiment was isolated and insignificant. The vast majority of the crowd opposed all nuclear power, while others wanted to ban all energy production more advanced than rubbing two sticks together. One banner proclaimed "Less Electricity," while another waved around an effigy of the demon electricity in the form of General Electric's cartoon figure, "Reddi KiloWatt."

There were almost no black people there except for Dick Gregory who vowed to fast until there were no more

WV Photo

No nukes: A movement of middle class despair, New Left nostalgia and reactionary irrationalism. Socialists want more not less electricity.

nukes. And save for the endorsement of the Reutherite IAM president William Winpisinger and supporters of left organizations, there were virtually no workers. One incident at the rally outside the White House poignantly demonstrated this. Just as the crowd was preparing to march to the Capitol, an enormous "Labor Unions" banner was brought forward and a voice from the podium called, "Is there anybody here from a labor union to help us carry this?" The request was repeated several times, but no unionists were seen stepping forward.

The absence of trade unionists or blacks at this biggest no-nuke demonstration ever was not just a failure of organizing. Working people in this country, who have to struggle to make ends meet, have a gut-level sense of economic reality. And they cannot be mobilized behind a movement based on reactionary-utopian "back to nature" nostrums, behind the banner of "the less, the better."

"Above Bourgeois Politics"?

Called by the May 6th Coalition, the demonstration was endorsed by a slew of groups and individuals running the gamut from Democratic Party officials, consumer groups, academics, women's groups, foundations, movie stars, scientists, muckrakers and so on. But the big attractions of the day were the speeches from the steps of the Capitol by movie star Jane Fonda and California governor Jerry Brown.

Radiant in a strapless top and flanked by her husband Tom (to whom nobody paid very much attention) Fonda thrilled the crowd with references to her recent movie, *The China Syndrome*, lashed out against the utility executives and called on Jimmy Carter to remove Energy Secretary James Schlesinger. "Putting Schlesinger in charge of our solar program," she said, "is like putting Dracula in charge of a bloodbank."

Declaring that the dangers of nuclear power were larger than "any political personality, any political party," Governor Brown made what amounted to a campaign speech for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination. And just as in the past he tried to rope in the conservative homeowner and small businessmen's votes by becoming the foremost proponent of the Prop 13/real estate tax cut movement, in Washington the "liberal" Brown made an unmistakable bid for an alliance with the anti-abortion forces. Calling for a "politics of the unborn...a politics of the future," he ended his speech by exhorting the crowd to "Join Life! Join the Moratorium!" Mystically rambling about "respecting the breezes, the trees," this former Jesuit demonstrated his messianic conviction that he has been anointed to save America through building a new populist movement linking ex-liberals to the reactionary right and built around his own personality cult.

Brown's talk about nuclear power being "larger than parties or politicians" was laughable. The Clamshell Alliance's Sam Lovejoy implored the crowd to "remember there's a presidential election next year...there's no way they can avoid the issue." Ralph Nader was cheered when he shouted "Jimmy Carter has deceived us!" Fonda's husband said "Carter has lost his honesty," while a message from Teddy Kennedy was read to the crowd. And while Carter declined *his* invitation to speak at the rally he told the press the next day he thought it was a "legitimate" demonstration and sought to appease anti-nukers by announcing he was backing away from his hard pro-nuclear position.

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg on PBS TV: "They want to turn back the clock."

Oppressed At Last

The theme that nuclear power is "America's Vietnam" ran as a common thread throughout the demonstration, from the clamshells to the muckraking liberal journalists, to the Democratic Party politicians. "It's just like the antiwar movement," said Lovejoy. We have "to start the movement again," echoed George Wald, the Nobel Prize-winning biologist and former Vietnam War activist. At a May 5 NYC anti-nuke teach-in sponsored by the *Village Voice*, the crowd tittered when Ralph Nader said that Carter and the energy trusts might want to cut back their nuclear energy projections a bit but were worried about a "domino effect." "It's our technological Vietnam," Nader replied.

Ten years away from their idealistic student days, the old antiwar protesters motivated by liberal guilt have been yearning for a cause. Now they welcome the anti-nuke movement with open arms and discover that at long last they have a red, white and blue "oppression" of their own. (Jane Fonda, who is perpetually discovering new oppressed groups, once told a crowd that she had finally discovered what it meant to be oppressed as a movie actress.) But if the politics of the radical anti-Vietnam War activists were deformed by their pacifist illusions, by their tailing after the Democratic Party doves, etc., at least they wanted the U.S. to get out of Vietnam. Communists could march in the streets with them. In contrast, the program of the no-nuke crusade is downright perverted, conservative to the core and ultimately calling for a return to pre-industrial society.

Moreover, it is an astounding piece of imperialist hypocrisy for these representatives of comfortable, white middle-class America to compare their situation to the Vietnamese. It's like Jane Fonda's film *Coming Home*, in which the Vietnam War was seen as harmful because it screwed up and maimed "our boys." What about the more than one million Vietnamese who died on the battlefields, in napalm graves, from vitamin deficiencies due to living in underground tunnels, from eating crops poisoned by defoliants? It is a sign of the times that in post-Watergate America and under Jimmy Carter's "human rights" imperialist moral rearmament campaign people can seriously claim that Harrisburg is "our Vietnam."

Spartacist League Statement

The May 6 demonstration was covered live coast-to-coast on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) television. As part of its coverage, PBS carried an excerpt from a statement on nuclear power by SL spokesman Marjorie Stamberg, former Spartacist Party candidate for State Assembly in New York. The full text of Stamberg's statement, as taped for broadcast, is reprinted below:

PBS: Marjorie, do you oppose or favor nuclear power?

Stamberg: The anti-nuclear protesters want to pull the plug on atomic power. We think that nuclear power is unsafe. Anybody knows that nuclear power is unsafe except types like the neanderthals at the *National Review*. But any type of energy production under the capitalist system is going to be unsafe. For instance, does anybody think it's safe to go to work in a coal mine? Every time you turn on your light switch you're going to give some miner black lung disease.

The point about this is that we refuse to take responsibility for the way the capitalists allocate their energy resources. Because we know that whatever system they're going to go for, whether it's oil, whether it's coal, whether it's nuclear power, they're going to find a way to get a lot of people hurt and a way to get a lot of people dead. And that's because the system fundamentally is not concerned with finding ways to minimize accidents, with finding ways to

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Khalil Tour Success...

(continued from page 1)

full-page feature in the 1 May *San Francisco Chronicle*.

The most vehement reaction to comrade Khalil's tour came from Iranian Khomeini supporters in the U.S., who have been driven into a frenzy by her exposure of the reactionary nature of mullah rule. Despite the attempts of Muslim fanatics to disrupt the tour (including cowardly anonymous telephone death threats in Los Angeles), Khalil's forums were all successfully carried through. This was due in large part to the brothers and sisters from over 25 different trade unions who turned out across the country to defend workers democracy.

At her presentation at San Francisco State University on May 2, some 50 Khomeini supporters—deterred from open attack by the presence of hurly trade unionists—scurried out of the forum quietly, only to return near the end of the discussion period with a university dean and several plainclothes cops, slanderously charging that the union defense guards had firearms. Their courage bolstered by the cops' presence, several of the Khomeinites then spoke, merely reiterating the stale claim that the Koran doesn't discriminate against women. When the meeting adjourned the defense guards interposed themselves between Kahlil and the shouting Islamic fanatics, while other guards ejected a particularly obnoxious and hysterical Iranian reactionary. In a graphic example of their "Islamic democracy," the Khomeini disciples then hoisted, literally dragging out with them several of their entourage who wanted to stay and continue discussions with the SL. One of these unlucky Iranians, his eyes filled with tears as he was hauled away, exclaimed, "It's true! There is no democracy in Iran today!"

Comrade Khalil's forums exposed the reactionary *political* implications of religion, a rather unfamiliar theme for American leftists, who are more accustomed to see racism and nationalism as the predominant reactionary ideologies. At the forum in Santa Cruz, California, a Spartacist spokesman underlined this key Marxist distinction:

> "This comrade is from the Muslim East and she's speaking in a country in which the Catholics, Protestants and Jews all hate Muslims and are therefore anxious to score on the Muslims.... Catholics, Protestants and Jews, in their religious aspects, have a lot on their plate. Do not throw stones at the Muslim religion because it is Muslim, but because *all* religions necessarily have each idiosyncratically deeply reactionary sides. And you have to know only a little of the history of South Asia to throw in the Hindus and the Buddhists too....

Islam is not unique in its denigration of women. The difference between the role of religion in Khomeini's Iran and its reactionary ideological function in the advanced capitalist societies of the West is the *bourgeois revolution* which established secularized states. In Khomeini's Iran, the anti-woman precepts of the Koran automatically acquire the force of laws.

In New York City Khalil was invited to give a brief presentation at a talk by American feminist Kate Millett, who recently had a first-hand taste of Khomeini's reaction when she was expelled from Iran after participating in the mass demonstration protesting the veil on International Women's Day. Although shaken by her experience, as a feminist Millett's limp conclusion was that only women can liberate themselves. In contrast, Khalil insisted that "the fight is not man against woman, and the question is not to tail some other mullahs or bourgeois nationalists. What is needed is a revolutionary party which can change the social order." Following a lengthy debate between some of the more vehemently anti-communist feminists in the audience and Spartacist League supporters, Khalil succinctly summed up the nature of the petty-bourgeois audience's attitude:

> "What I see here tonight is guilt ism—'We should let those women decide what they have to do.' But the point is *how* these women will be liberated...the question is to smash the Islamic Republic, to fight for a workers government which will bring democracy and liberate the women."

Comrade Khalil's intensive (and exhausting) three-week tour has been an important part of the international Spartacist tendency's campaign to bring home the lessons of the bloody Iranian events to the left, to the campuses and to the working class, as we struggle to crystallize a revolutionary cadre which can lead the Iranian masses to victory through socialist revolution. It was particularly gratifying that a number of the trade unionists who had come initially simply to defend her right to speak found themselves drawn closer politically to the Spartacist League through her forums and the experience of defending them. ■

Fatima Khalil Tour Spreads Truth on Iran

WV Photos

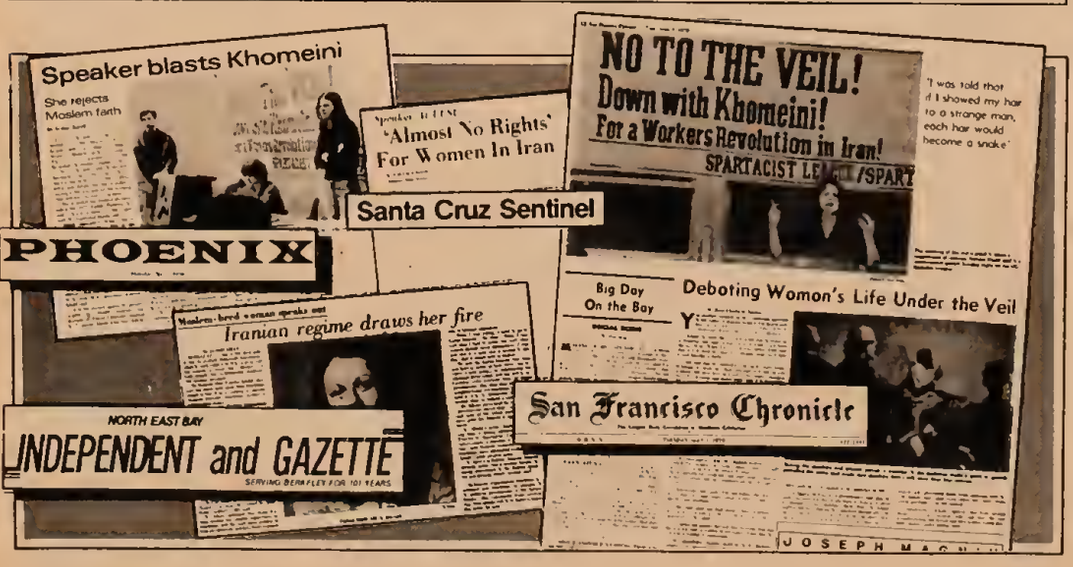
Clockwise from above: With feminist Kate Millet (sitting) May 4. Right: Trade unionists defend Khalil forums in S.F. May 2 and NYC (bottom), May 5.

Thanks to Our Trade Union Brothers and Sisters

The Spartacist League thanks all those who volunteered their time to defend Fatima Khalil's speaking tour and to uphold the principle of workers democracy, including particularly the more than 100 trade union brothers and sisters from the following 25 unions across the country (partial listing):

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks
Canadian International Association of Firefighters
Chicago Transit Union
Communication Workers of America
Graphic Arts International Union
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union
International Typographical Union
Letter Carriers Union of Canada
Local 333, United Marine Division—ILA (currently on strike in New York)
National Association of Letter Carriers
National Maritime Union
Retail Clerks International Association
Service Employees International Union
Sheet Metal Workers International Association
Stationary Engineers
United Auto Workers
United Steelworkers of America
United Transportation Union

The Press Covers Khalil Tour



Qaddaffi, Billy Carter, Healy, Idi Amin

Who's Behind WL Provocations Against Spartacist?

"Q: What Do Idi Amin, Billy Carter and Gerry Healy Have in Common?
"A: The Qaddafi Connection!"

On May 6 trade unionists and supporters of the Spartacist League demonstrated at the Hotel Taft in New York City and the Alameda County Labor Temple in Oakland, California against new provocations against workers democracy by the notorious Workers League (WL), American cohorts of the British-based "International Committee" (IC) of Gerry Healy/Mike Banda. Once a claimant to the mantle of "anti-revisionist Trotskyism," the Healyite WL/IC has in recent years placed itself in the service of Muammar Qaddafi, megalomaniacal strongman of Libya, utilizing on behalf of its patron the characteristic "method" of the Healyite political bandits—gangsterism and slander.

Demanding "Defend Workers Democracy Against WL Provocation!" the militant demonstrators outside the WL's May 6 meetings (called ostensibly in celebration of May Day) were replying to a pathological smear article in the WL's yellow-journalism *Bulletin* (1 May) entitled "The Spartacist League: Provocateurs Against Trotskyism and the Iranian Revolution." This 12-column tirade was the Healyites' frenzied reaction to the SL's exposure of the WL/IC's press agentry on behalf of its oil-rich Libyan patron.

Last issue, *WV* had excoriated Healy/Banda for their efforts to justify the bloody suppression of the Iraqi Communist Party at the hands of the Qaddafi-allied bourgeois-nationalist Ba'ath regime (see "Healyites: Kill a Commie for Qaddafi," *WV* No. 230, 27 April). Also goading the Healyites to new paroxysms of slander was the SL's political offensive against Qaddafi's pal Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran, highlighted by the widely publicized tour by

WV Photos

Protests in S.F. and NYC against WL provocations. Above, left: WL's Bulletin, May 1.

Fatima Khalil, the Near Eastern communist who spoke in eight cities on "No to the Veil! For Workers Revolution Against Islamic Reaction!"

Hoping to egg on the Muslim fundamentalists who have mounted physical assaults on Spartacist forums several times over the past few months, the *Bulletin* takes the SL's Trotskyist line on Iran as the excuse for a new orgy of cop-baiting slander:

> "[The Iranian revolution] has earned the hatred of the CIA, the U.S. corporations, the military and the entire Carter administration. Nowhere is this hatred expressed more viciously however, than in the pages of the revisionist press—*The Militant*, published by the Socialist Workers Party [SWP], and *Workers Vanguard* of the Spartacist group.
>
> "Utterly degenerate both politically and morally, it may be said without exaggeration that these groups represent not so much a political tendency within the workers movement, as an out-and-out provocation against the entire working class.
>
> "Upon reading the articles on the Iranian Revolution in both of their newspapers, one cannot help but wonder aloud, 'In what police acade-

continued on page 11

Portrait of a Healyite as a Scab/Spy

At the May 6 SL picket of the Workers League (WL) slanderers in Oakland, two Healyite goons roamed about seeking confrontations. One of these thugs was a man already known to us, one "Tim Nichols."

Who is "Tim Nichols"? He says he dropped out from Princeton, one of the great universities for dumb bourgeois children, and that his father is a CIA intelligence officer. "Tim Nichols" claims the political history of a drifter: after allegedly participating in actions in defense of the Panthers in the 1970 New Left milieu, and in various SWP front groups in 1971, he is known to have joined the Healyite organization in 1972.

He was the WL's Oakland organizer in 1974, and claims to have left the WL during the Wohlforth purge. But the WL's San Jose organizer claims that "Nichols" was asked to resign in 1975 because he had committed racially provocative acts in the black community.

In 1977 "Tim Nichols" came around the Spartacist League intent on joining. But the SL did not take the bait. An SL member who was "Nichols'" roommate during the time they were both in the WL raised questions about him: "Nichols" had come straight from an SWP feminist front to join the anti-women's liberation WL; he was full of questions about international travel; he got a job in the carpenters union by threatening to scab if he was refused.

"Nichols'" subsequent conduct as a self-professed SL supporter certainly justified the suspicions about him—that he was irrational, possibly a cop, perhaps a WL penetration agent or maybe all three at once.

We drove "Tim Nichols" away from the SL after a reprehensible incident of crossing the class line, smacking of provocation. The facts are these. During the 1977 Handyman warehouse strike in Northern California, a picketer was brutally killed. The ILWU in response organized a boycott of Handyman. This boycott was in effect when, in August of 1977, in flagrant disregard of elementary labor solidarity, "Tim Nichols" patronized a Handyman establishment. Since "Nichols" was accompanying a member of the SL on a sale of our press at the time this atrocity took place, the question was strongly posed that "Nichols"—in addition to exposing his own "socialist" pretensions—might be attempting to associate our party with his scabbing.

The SL reacted swiftly. On 21 August 1977 the Berkeley/Oakland SL passed the following motion:

> "Whereas Tim N. acted with gross and cynical irresponsibility while on a sale in violating an organized boycott, thereby endangering the political reputation of the organization and its trade-union friends, and furthermore that he appears to be erratic and unstable as evidenced by several recent incidents and a perusal of his political history, therefore we do not consider Tim N. suitable for membership in the common movement... comrades are instructed to keep him at arms length from the organization."

"Tim Nichols" WV Photo

Now "Tim Nichols" has surfaced as a prominent West Coast goon for the "security"-obsessed WL. This provocateur/scab has again found his proper home—if indeed he ever left it. Whoever was running the operation which sent this man up against the SL should take note: if you hope to penetrate the Spartacist League, such low-grade material can't fool our party. ■

We Will Not Forget This Betrayal!

Miller Buries Stearns Strike

The heroic miners of Stearns, Kentucky, on strike for nearly three years against the notorious Blue Diamond Coal Company, have fallen victim to one of the most despicable betrayals in years from their own union leaders. With the explicit approval of United Mine Workers (UMWA) president Arnold Miller, on May 3 a thoroughly rigged "election" supervised by the National Labor Relations Board was held behind the picket lines on company property. To no one's surprise, the 110 Blue Diamond scabs unanimously voted in the company "union," the Justus Employees Association (JEA), as their bargaining agent.

The strikers stood steadfast to the very end. They boycotted the sham vote in which only 60 UMWA strikers were declared eligible, although 122 of the 151 miners who voted to strike in July 1976 remained active in the struggle. Some 28 guards carrying shotguns and sidearms, the same gun thugs who have been herding the scabs, hovered over the polling area inside the Justus mine compound. Rather than take any part in this wretched farce—termed by the Miller bureaucracy "the best we can get"—the strikers courageously maintained their picket lines in defiance of the rigged vote.

WV Photo

Stearns strikers rally, July 1977: They held out against scabs, gun thugs, cops, courts...and then Miller sold them down the river.

The Stearns coal miners responded to the announcement of the sellout by shutting down ten mines in Kentucky and Tennessee on April 23 by sending squads of picketers. But with strike benefits cut off, and without any semblance of support from the International, there is little hope that the struggle can continue effectively. One militant complained bitterly to *WV* that "We can't get a Mine Workers attorney or anything down here to talk to us." The Stearns strike had become a symbol of the miners' resistance to the hired gun thugs, bloody cop attacks and kangaroo courts that rule in the coalfields. Class-conscious workers will not forget the vile treachery of the UMWA leadership which from the beginning refused to mobilize the union behind these militants.

Over the course of the bitter Stearns strike, the entire reformist left hailed the struggle without offering a strategy for victory. The fake socialists, who virtually without exception supported Miller in the 1972 UMWA elections, had no stomach to criticize the International's treachery in Stearns. Likewise they kept their mouths shut as Miller & Co. repeatedly sabotaged the 110-day national coal strike of 1977-1978.

Workers Vanguard was the first socialist newspaper to give national publicity to the heroic fight of the Stearns miners. In repeated articles we called for a break with Miller's defeatist policy, demanding militant union support like the five-day shutdown of all UMWA-organized coal mines which finally won the 13-month strike at nearby Brookside (Harlan County). Only by waging a determined struggle to replace the treacherous UMWA bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership will miners be able to reverse defeats like Stearns and organize the non-union coalfields in the South and throughout the country. ■

Moscow Stalinists Cheer Khomeini's Witchhunt

As Muslim leader Ayatollah Khomeini moves to crush all opposition to his reactionary clerical dictatorship, one organization in Iran has distinguished itself as the most obsequious left-wing servant of the new regime. Virtually the entire Iranian left has given some degree of support to the mullahs in power, but the Moscow-loyal Tudeh ("Masses") party has spared no effort to prove that, in the words of first secretary Nureddin Kiyanuri, Khomeini's "progressive views stand in no contrast to the line of the Tudeh Party" (*New York Times*, 14 February).

Some Iranian "Marxist-Leninists" flinched from direct support for Khomeini's phony referendum on an "Islamic Republic". Not Tudeh—they actively campaigned for a "yes" vote for theocratic rule. Many leftists sympathize with or support the struggles of Iran's minority nationalities for autonomy or independence. Not Tudeh—Kiyanuri says they are "resolutely struggling against any form of separatism" (*Daily World*, 18 April). Tudeh eagerly spreads Khomeini's slanderous charges that agents of the deposed shah and the CIA are behind the uprisings of the oppressed Kurdish, Baluchi, Azerbaijani and Turkoman peoples.

Militants of the left-wing Fedayeen guerrillas as well as other leftists joined the protests of Iranian women against Khomeini's demand that they wear the head-to-toe *chador* (veil) of Shi'ite Islam. The U.S. Communist Party, however, spoke for their Iranian co-thinkers when the *Daily World* (6 April) hailed Khomeini's views on women's rights as "egalitarian, humane and democratic."

Most despicably (and suicidally), the Tudeh party has lent its support to the anti-communist witchhunt being whipped up by the new regime. When Khomeini denounces Marxists as "satanic elements, worse than the shah" and threatens righteous repression against "disruptionists wearing the mask of 'leftists' but taking their orders from the U.S.," the Tudeh leaders scramble to prove that when it comes to "ultraleftism" they are more Islamic than the ayatollah. *Mardom* (*The People*), the Teheran organ of the Tudeh party, called on April 20 for "vigilance against the growing intrigues by counter-revolutionary forces", and no one doubts that the forces in question are not the crushed and demoralized servants of the ex-shah but the armed militants of the Fedayeen and other left-wing groups.

The Tudeh opportunists no doubt hope to save their own skins by abasing themselves before Khomeini and the mullahs. But the real reason for their disgusting apologies for the medieval-minded Islamic leaders is their Stalinist loyalty to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet bureaucrats seek at all times to preserve the stability of their privileged rule by diplomatic deals with their capitalist neighbors and imperialist enemies. Having established a cozy relationship with the regime of the shah, the Kremlin diplomats were fearful that the fiercely anti-communist and xenophobic Khomeini would prove to be a troublesome neighbor. Hence their eagerness to demonstrate that Khomeini need have no fear that the Soviet Union would inspire left-wing revolution in Iran. They have achieved some measure of success, apparently, because Ayatollah Shariatmadari of Qum, the second most powerful of the Shi'ite leaders, recently reassured Moscow that: "The Soviet people can be confident that the Islamic Republic of Iran will not be a source of concern or anxiety for them. In this difficult period for Iran, we value the USSR's moral support. Development of good relations with the Soviet Union has always been in Iran's interests" (*Daily World*, 21 April).

The "moral support" of the Kremlin for Khomeini and détente between Teheran and Moscow will not be enough to save the Tudeh party from Islamic repression, however. Since its founding in 1941 the Tudeh leaders, following the turns of Soviet policy, have (when possible) supported every government of Iran. As reformists seeking a place in the bourgeois regime, they were doubly committed to maintaining capitalist rule at home. Yet every government of Iran has moved to crush them. During World War II the Soviet/American/British alliance dictated that Tudeh support the government of the shah, who was installed by British imperialism. This did not stop the shah from banning the party in 1949 and killing hundreds of its supporters until his fall this year. During the rule of prime minister Mohammed Mossadeq in the early 1950s even after the Tudeh party gave its loyal support to this bourgeois-nationalist leader this did not prevent him from turning the army against mass demonstrations organized by Tudeh. Can there be any doubt that once Khomeini has succeeded in consolidating his rule and repressing the far left he will also move to smash Tudeh?

The Tudeh party's disgusting CIA-baiting of their left-wing opponents and of the movements of Iran's oppressed minorities is ironic when one stops to think who the *real* friends of the CIA in the region are. In Afghanistan, Iran's northeastern neighbor, the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul is faced with a rebellion led by right-wing Muslim nationalists. The most authoritative leader of the rebellion is a close political relative of Khomeini named Pir Syed Ahmed Gailami, who claims descent from the prophet Mohammed. His spokesman, Zia Nassery, is an American citizen (!) who lived in New York until a few months ago when he arrived in Pakistan to fight "forced Communism" in his native country. "Refugee" camps in neighboring Pakistan are no doubt crawling with CIA agents seeking to "destabilize" the Kabul government—and their interests are being served by the Islamic regime in Iran. The Afghani government charges that 4,000 Iranian soldiers crossed into Afghanistan to aid Muslim rebels who briefly seized control of the city of Herat and killed 40 Soviet citizens, some of whom were flayed alive. Whether or not this charge is true, it is a fact that Ayatollah Shariatmadari has been making repeated broadcasts on the Teheran state radio with statements of support for the Muslim guerrillas in Afghanistan.

Time and again the Stalinist parties have proved themselves to be, as Trotsky termed Stalin, gravediggers of revolutions. In this case, however, by betraying the workers and peasants of Iran the Tudeh Stalinists may be digging their own graves as well. ■

"Socialists" Back Age of Consent Laws

SWP Backs Sexual Puritanism

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has made the slogans of bourgeois democracy its "maximum program" in class battles from Portugal to Peru, has recently shown that it will not defend elementary democratic rights when these conflict with its opportunist political appetites. The "consistent feminist" SWP's *Militant* has hailed the triumph of Khomeini as a "Victory in Iran" while the mullahs campaign to reimpose the veil, the symbol of woman as chattel. On a smaller scale, the SWP last month joined the reactionary crusade for repressive "age-of-consent" laws aimed at youth and homosexuals.

Discussing a February conference of Philadelphia gay liberationists, *Militant* reporters Rich Finkel and Matilde Zimmerman upheld age-of-consent laws as "historic acquisitions of the working class [which] should be enforced." The article described the conference's resolution for "Full rights for gay youth, including revision of age-of-consent laws" as "a reactionary demand... [whose] advocates are primarily adult men who believe they should be unrestricted in having sex with children" (*Militant*, 13 April).

With the same "save our children" pitch which was the watchword of Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual crusade, the SWP calls on the capitalist state's cops and courts to arbitrate and enforce the sexual morality of the bourgeois family. The *Militant*'s hurrahs for age-of-consent laws parallel a right-wing campaign to repeal a recently passed New Jersey statute lowering the state's age of consent from 16 to 13.

The reform, drafted by the New Jersey Coalition Against Rape and the Rape Task Force of the New Jersey National Organization for Women (NOW), was intended, according to NOW's Nancy Stultz, "to extend maximum protection to children who might be involved in consensual sex with someone their own age" (*New York Post*, 30 April). The measure defined all persons over 13 as old enough to consent to sex with anyone, and those under 13 as able to consent to sex with partners no more than four years older than they are.

The liberalized New Jersey law will probably be repealed by the same coalition of "concerned parents," right-wing religious bigots and Phyllis Schlafly-style Victorian moralizers who crusade against legalized abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, sex education, contraception for teenagers and pornography. What unites these forces is a commitment to put the punitive powers of the capitalist state behind the institution of the nuclear family and its oppressive restrictions on the rights of women, young people and homosexuals. *Post* columnist Harriet Van Horne spoke for this reactionary cabal (and for the SWP?) when she argued in a 30 April article that "many feel that a drop in the age of consent is bound to result in the seduction of minors—male and female—by older persons of perverted or unwholesome character."

From Anita Bryant to California's Briggs, the puritanical crusade against gay rights has always been couched as a defense of "innocent children" against sexual abuse. Now the SWP joins the attack on democratic rights at its cutting edge: "Saying that children [i.e., those younger than 16 or so] have the 'right' to 'consent' to sex with adults is exactly like saying children should be able to 'consent' to work in a garment factory twelve hours a day." The equation of consensual sex with brutalizing child labor may say a lot about the authors' view of sex but it won't work as an explanation for why "socialists" should invite the bourgeois state into the nation's bedrooms.

To be sure, repressive capitalist society extends alienation and brutalization into every aspect of society, sexuality not least. But there is no reason to assume that a significant disparity in age between sexual partners is particularly likely to lead to sexual abuse; in any case, the *Militant*'s concern is explicitly not the possibility of abuse but the fact of sexual "deviance": "We don't want laws against child labor changed to simply outlaw vaguely defined 'abusive' child labor. Nor do we want 'non-abusive consensual' sex by adults with children OK'd." Those who advocate age-of-consent laws as a way to prevent the possibility of exploitative sexual manipulation are in the same camp as those who support the legal prosecution of prostitutes in the name of protecting women from degradation. The arena of the most widespread and brutal child abuse—including sexual molestation—is the home, the nuclear family. Yet the SWP, joining with the reactionary vigilantes who raise the spectre of balding homosexuals lurking around playgrounds, calls on the capitalist state to enforce the morality of the bourgeois family—in the name of fighting child abuse.

The *Militant* article does not so much as mention the New Jersey controversy. It is obvious why. It is easier to throw around labels like "reactionary" in the abstract than to admit that in the real world (where practitioners of "unnatural" sex are jailed and sexually precocious kids sent to reform schools) New Jersey NOW is "reactionary" and the right-to-lifers presumably are "democratic."

Conflict of Appetites

The SWP's defense of conventional sexual moralism must come as a shock to those who took seriously its years of uncritical enthusiasm over the petty-bourgeois lifestylist gay movement. Indeed, the *Militant* article caused some commotion among homosexual members of the SWP's Canadian sister organization, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), who were attending the RWL national conference at the time the article appeared. Several gay RWLers, already deeply disgruntled with their organization's efforts to squelch their lifestylist politics, simply walked out of the RWL at or soon after the conference. But the SWP's rediscovery of puritanism comes as no surprise to those of us who remember that in the 1960s, prior to the eruption of "gay power" politics, the SWP's practice was to quietly drop from membership individuals discovered to be homosexuals.

The SWP's attempts to put a "working-class" face on its capitulation to backwardness (the *Militant* article calls for a "class-struggle road to winning gay rights" and features, in place of the once ubiquitous photos of petty-bourgeois "gay lib" demonstrations, pictures of miners) should fool nobody. It is the Spartacist League which has always insisted that democratic rights, including for homosexuals, can be defended and extended not by sectoralist "independent movements" but by united labor-centered struggle. Leftists in the gay milieu fought the reformist SWP's extreme sectoralism, and some like members of the Red Flag Union fused with the SL.

Why are the former "best builders" of the gay movement singing the same tune as the anti-homosexual bigots? The *Militant* explains: "What is certain is that the tainting of any action call with the 'cross-generational sex' issue will make it impossible for organizations like NOW, civil rights groups, trade unions, or socialists to endorse—and correctly so." The decline of the early 1970s gay liberation movement, along with the decline of separatist feminism and black nationalism, means that the positions developed by the SWP to cater to these movements are now simply impediments to drawing closer to the trade-union bureaucrats whom the SWP's "turn" to the unions is designed to impress.

A party which has accomodationism as its only principle will find that contradictions develop between its positions, reflecting the contradictory programs of the various objects of its political affections. Thus the SWP's feminism conflicted with its desire to kowtow to the anti-woman mullahs in Iran; its support for "preferential layoffs" in violation of union seniority systems finds little support among the union bureaucrats who are the SWP's newest hoped-for "constituency." When double-think alone can't suppress such contradictions, the SWP simply dumps the politics of its less important allies. In 1977 the SWP built the "Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights" together with gay lifestylist David Thorstad of the Gay Activists Alliance. Today Thorstad is labeled a "reactionary" in the pages of the *Militant* for calling for reviston of age-of-consent legislation!

The SWP's new line was exposed by the Spartacist League at a New York City meeting on abortion rights sponsored by the SWP. After SWP spokesman Gail Shangle had attacked the state legislators for seeking to prevent teenage women from getting abortions, an SL member spoke from the floor:

> "It's admittedly pretty disgusting that Albany would want to stop teenagers from having abortions. What is interesting is that it seems that the SWP these days doesn't want teenagers to have sex at all! The *Militant*'s position reminds one of the Victorian era when women and children were supposed to have no sexuality whatsoever. The SWP says age-of-consent laws are a prevention of child abuse but in fact the laws are not used to prevent child abuse but are used mostly as victimization, like the victimization of Roman Polanski [the film director driven into exile for his affair with a 13-year-old girl].... Moreover, these laws are a real attempt by the bourgeois state to strengthen the nuclear family, which is the main vehicle for oppression of women in class society."

The position of revolutionary Marxists is one of opposition to any and all legal restrictions on effectively consensual sexuality. It is appropriate to recall *WV*'s statement on the Polanski case:

> "As communists we oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed 'norms.' The guiding prineiple for sexual relations should be that of effective consent—that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion. We hold that any and all consensual relations between individuals are purely their own coneern, and the state has no business interfering."
>
> —"Stop the Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski!" *WV* No. 192, 10 February 1978

National Front...

(continued from page 3)

control gear"—horses, dogs, helicopters, riot shields and truncheons.

Hours before the first fascists arrived on the scene the police moved to break up the protests. With truncheons swinging they suddenly laid into the crowd, heating and arresting protesters indiscriminately, and unleashed a veritable police riot which ended with 340 demonstrators arrested, scores injured and one demonstrator, Blair Peach, dead on the pavement. According to several eyewitnesses, Peach, who was a member of the SWP, was clubbed to death by Special Patrol Groups police as he was attempting to leave the demonstration. And as the cop rampage continued outside, the few dozen fascists who had sneaked into the town hall meeting place held their race-hate rally.

The determination of the immigrant community to prevent the NF meeting from taking place is indeed heartening after months of pacifistic belly-crawling by the ANL. But if the fascists are really to be driven off the streets it is not enough to have 5,000 disorganised anti-fascists show up without any idea of how they plan to halt the NF. In these situations what invariably results is inconclusive brawls with well-armed trained cops determined to let the fascists speak. And as in Southall, these uniformed thugs are quite prepared to kill in order to get their way. The only thing that will stop the cops is a mass working-class mobilisation which makes it impossible for them to move in defence of the fascists. ■

Ross Kenward

Spartacist League contingent fought off attack by National Front scum at London demonstration in July marking seventh anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland.

No-Nukes...

(continued from page 5)

maximize safety precautions, but it's concerned with one thing its bottom line, its profits.

PBS: Well, in the short term, do you advocate safety measures, plant shutdowns or anything of that nature?

Stamberg: Well, we have a program for safety which we think can be carried out. We call for union control of safety conditions in the nuclear plants the same way we do for the coal mines. We call for nationalization of the nuclear industry under workers control. And we call for closing down unsafe nuclear plants like Three Mile Island in very much the same way we would call for closing down a coal mine that is unsafe. But we would no more call for pulling the plug on the atomic industry any more than we would call for shutting down the coal mines across the U.S. because there's been an accident in the mines.

Behind this is essentially a political question. As Marxists, we believe that a socialist society, a rational society is going to be built by utilizing the highest technological level of society and utilizing all of the productive forces that are available to mankind. We think you need more of things and not less. That's our basic position.

So you can talk about safety all you want, and we think it's important to discuss ways to minimize accidents. But that presupposes a rational society and not one that is based on profits.

PBS: Well, a lot of the people looking at the demonstrations think that basically it's a left-wing movement, radicals from the Vietnam era and so on, Jane Fonda on the board and all that kind of thing. You call yourself a socialist. Why aren't you joining the demonstrations?

Stamberg: Well, it's true that there are a lot of socialists in these demonstrations. That's because there are a lot of socialists who are willing to tail after anything that is popular no matter how reactionary it is. So these same people in Teheran right now are busy running after the mullahs even though the mullahs want to take the Iranian masses back to the 8th century. We are not in these demonstrations because we believe that the anti-nuclear movement is fundamentally, deeply conservative as well as deeply hypocritical. For instance, it's based on the belief that the life of a middle-class suburban housewife is more important than the hundreds of thousands of coal miners who in the last decade have gotten black lung disease and died in the mines. Every form of energy in this society is dangerous.

It's also deeply conservative. You look at these people like Jane Fonda, you look at the assorted clams and shads and abalones and the other people who are marching in these demonstrations, their fundamental program is "Stop the World, I Want to Get Off," right? It's middle-class despair that doesn't see any future except capitalism and therefore they want to turn back the clock on history.

It's a phenomenon that we saw last fall when I was campaigning for State Assembly in New York City. We had many arguments with the people who wanted to stop the Concorde from landing at JFK. And they had the same kind of hypocrisy. Because these people were not upset about the supersonic army fighter bombers that were flying overhead, but they wanted to stop the Concorde. And more than that, they also wanted to stop the construction of the Westway, the only major road to come into New York City. At that time we demanded "Land the Concorde on the Westway" which is something that really got their goat. We wanted to make a political point, that cities need roads and cities need planes and cities need power.

PBS: Do you think that the political issue of nuclear power will become a greater and greater public issue in the next elections?

Stamberg: Well, I think it's already of great importance. So, for instance, if you look at the speakers' platform at the demonstration, and from the people who built the demonstration, you see the growing participation of capitalist politicians in it. And there's a reason for this. These demonstrations have only called for an end to the commercial nuclear plants. They have not said a word about the government. And most important, they have not said a word about the question of nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialists.

So people are worried about accidents. We have one thing to say and that is that Hiroshima was no accident. We think that nuclear weapons in the hands of the imperialists and directed ultimately against the Soviet Union are the greatest danger facing humanity today. That is the question. And by the way, that question will not be resolved through detente, and will not be through any type of disarmament schemes. We think that the question is fundamentally a class question, a question of what class will rule. And we stand with the working class against the capitalists, with the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialist attack.

PBS: Thank you very much.

Stamberg: You're welcome.

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

mullah-run Ahadan komiteh had instigated the attack, Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Amin Entezam announced that the 41 were being held on suspicion of smuggling arms to the Turkomans. Some 500 members and supporters of the Fedayeen staged a three-day sit-in at the Ministry of Justice in Teheran. As the Fedayeen ended their protest on April 27, the Khomeinites gathered to chant, "Down with the leftists! Death to the communists!"

But when on April 23 the Forghan fighters assassinated General Vali Ullah Qarani in his own home, Qarani's funeral became not only a rallying point for the officer corps, but a right-wing mobilization directed against the entire left—not only the Fedayeen but the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh party as well, which has given Khomeini servile support every step of the way. The hundreds of thousands of demonstrators supplemented their cries of "Death to the enemies of Islam!" with the more specific "Tudeh, Fedayeen: assassins!"

May Day in Khomeini's Teheran

The Islamic demagogues next attempted to upstage leftist-organized May Day celebrations by calling a rival rally at Teheran's Imam Hussein square. There Ayatollah Shariatmadari's Islamic Republican Party drew a crowd of 100,000 primarily composed of artisans and shopkeepers—the mullahs' traditional plebeian base. Once again the theme of the rally was "get the left." But this time the banners added the incredible slander that, "Marxists are the agents of the shah!"

According to *Le Monde* the two separate leftist gatherings held elsewhere in the city were roughly the same size as the mullah-run anti-May Day. The Tudeh party's march demonstrated its continuing strength among the industrial working class and the trade unions, but at the same time reaffirmed its complete capitulation to Khomeini, repeatedly emphasizing its support to the "Islamic Republic." The other leftist demonstration was a motley combination of women activists, the unemployed, the bourgeois nationalist National Democratic Front, various Maoist sects, the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (HKS) and the Fedayeen. The common denominator of this march was a series of radical demands which would be raised by revolutionary Marxists as well: recognition of the right to strike, nationalization of foreign-controlled firms, the end of censorship in the mass media. But other demands raised at the May Day gathering, for example, that the workers should have a say in the editing of the constitution, demonstrate that the perspective of these Stalinists, social democrats, guerrillaists and liberals—whatever their subjective intentions—remains one of *pressuring* the very government that is organizing to butcher them.

That night the Forghan fighters struck again, shooting down Ayatollah Morteza Motahari in a Teheran alley. Whereas they had denounced Qarani for plotting a pro-American coup, the terrorists denounced "akhoundism"—rule by the mullahs—and revealed that Motahari was a leading member of Khomeini's secret Revolutionary Council. The people of Iran, it seems, will learn who their rulers in this "republic" are only when they are assassinated in the street by equally shadowy underground groupings.

Speculation concerning the Forghan is rife. Motahari's brother was quick to announce, "The Forghan group are disruptors who want to bring Communism under the cover of Islam." Hundreds of thousands of people flocked to the funeral of this previously obscure ayatollah in the third mass outpouring of hysterical anti-communism. "I will kill, kill, kill those who killed my brothers," screamed the marchers, denouncing the left as "parasites on society."

Time Is Running Out for the Fedayeen

Three days after Motahari's funeral Khomeini made it clear how the "parasites" would be dealt with. Previously the plan had been to amalgamate the various militia units either into the national police force or the elite "Guardians of the Revolution." The commander of the national police force, Colonel Nasser Mojallali, announced that the police stations, uniforms, equipment and the men were being readied for a complete restoration of the police apparatus. Now it seems the "Guardians" will be responsible not to the provisional civilian government of Mehdi Bazargan but solely to Khomeini's Council. Their stated purpose is to "remove all foreigners and those who support foreigners"—"armed combat" against the enemies of the "Islamic Revolution." Behind it all is the threat to forcibly disarm the left—Khomeini's stated objective since he came to power in February—and leave them defenseless before the slaughter. As one militiaman put it, "We are awaiting orders from Ayatollah Khomeini. If he gives the order, we will put them in their proper place" (*Newsweek*, 14 May).

Khomeini's government has made many enemies in its few short months of existence: the women whom it has attempted to force back into the veil; the workers suffering from massive unemployment; the peasants whose seizures of the landlords' holdings the government opposes; and the national minorities, who have already been attacked with tanks and helicopter gunships as Khomeini seeks to maintain the "sacred national boundaries" with an armored fist. But none of the Iranian leftist organizations presents a clear program to rally these forces against Khomeini. They refuse to oppose the mullahs on the grounds that they represent an "anti-imperialist" force. Yet it is Khomeini who will do the CIA's dirty work by massacring them!

Facing the horrible possibility of another Indonesia 1965, the Fedayeen have only added a few more spotlights, sandbags and guards at their Teheran headquarters. One of their leaders told *Newsweek*, "If necessary, we will go underground as we did before. We do not want civil war. We want more time." But time is running out and the alternative to class war is their annihilation, unresisting, at the hands of Muslim reaction.

Only a program of proletarian independence can prevent another catastrophic defeat for the Iranian proletariat. For a united front of all left, working-class and secular-democratic forces for defense against Khomeini's Islamic sword! For workers militias based on factory committees and trade unions! Full democratic rights for women! For the right of self-determination for the national minorities! Land to the tiller! For a secular constituent assembly! For socialist revolution in Iran to establish an Iranian workers and Peasants government! For an Iranian Trotskyist party!

Tug Strike...

(continued from page 4)

capitulate to Koch's injunctions but has exempted military ships and refused to shut down the operations of all Local 333-manned vessels, including sludge boats, tour boats and ferries. Militants were also angered by the union leadership's refusal to dispense strike benefits as well as by O'Hare's changing of the traditional winter contract expiration date when the oil companies are far more vulnerable.

Rather than forcing the militant but isolated NY harbor tug workers to bear the brunt of the battle alone, a class-struggle union leadership would seek to counter Koch/Carter's strikebreaking by mobilizing tug workers throughout the Eastern seaboard, along with appeals for real solidarity from other maritime unions. But Local 333, the largest and most effective tug union, has seen its organizing efforts flounder. A major contributing factor has been the narrow and destructive racial policies of the union, which in NY harbor has only a handful of blacks and Puerto Ricans in its membership, mainly employed as cooks. This makes NY Local 333 an easy target for non-union companies, many of whom employ blacks in the South.

At the same time, jurisdictional disputes and raids among the dozen or so maritime unions representing harbor workers on the Eastern seaboard have undermined labor unity. During the strike one of the other unions that represents tugboat crews, the Seafarers International Union (SIU), has been running boats owned by Interstate, which pays rates below those of Local 333, into New York. Further, both the SIU and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association have charged Local 333, *in the midst of a strike*, with violating article 20 of the AFL-CIO constitution concerning jurisdictional raids!

In contrast to this sordid squabbling that only plays into the hands of the boatowners, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (NMU) demanded that its union come to the aid of the beleaguered tugboatmen. The Caucus' April 26 *Beacon*, noting that merchant seamen face the same anti-labor wage controls and runaway shipping as Local 333, demanded that the NMU cease permitting its shore gangs to assist in ship docking operations, called on the union to reinforce Local 333 picket lines and demanded "a one-day protest strike by the NMU, SIU, longshoremen (ILA), and all other maritime workers in the New York/New Jersey harbor area against the anti-labor, union-busting injunctions imposed on the tug and barge workers." Such urgently needed maritime labor solidarity is the most effective way to defend the tug strike. ■

Rhodesia...

(continued from page 12)

fact. Margaret Thatcher, playing the growing racist backlash in England into votes, made no secret of her support for the white supremacist regime. And Smith well remembers the ostentatious welcome he received from right-wing Republican senators during his U.S. tour last summer. Before the elections had ended Smith and Muzorewa happily announced a military and economic assistance pact with South Africa in order to increase pressure on Carter to recognize the Muzorewa government.

Conservative neanderthals in the U.S. Congress have been doing their bit. Two Congressional efforts calling upon Carter to recognize Muzorewa and end sanctions have been launched. Carter has been trying to maintain the official U.S. position which looks to a settlement including the Patriotic Front. But in the face of the pro-Smith lobby he first termed the elections "a step in the right direction," then dispatched Cyrus Vance to Capitol Hill to plead for more time to study the "fairness" of the fraud.

More important, Andrew Young, Carter's very own black front-man, has been unusually subdued. Where in the past he had labeled the elections "illegal" and had loudly denounced the "internal settlement," Young now states "any side you get on is a no-win situation. The President's position is basically to remain neutral and that's my position." When the U.N. Security Council voted on April 30 to condemn the elections and maintain sanctions, Young abstained, as did England and France.

Sipa

Massacre in Mozambique: Rhodesian troops slaughter 10,000 a year.

But Carter knows that support to Smith during his death agony is not in the best interests of U.S. imperialism. It does Carter's "human rights" campaign no good to land foursquare in the same camp as Smith, South Africa's Botha and now Muzorewa. Racist Rhodesia, whose 4 percent white populace is shrinking fast, is doomed. Even apartheid South Africa, despite its bombastic offer to establish a white-rule defense perimeter on Rhodesia's northern border, is reluctant to risk its far more stable regime to try to save Smith's untenable position.

Moreover, Carter knows, even if some Tories do not, that both Mugabe and Nkomo are willing to horse-trade in return for a Washington-brokered deal that would install them in power. Tough talk is cheap, a hallmark of every petty-bourgeois African nationalist aspiring to state power. Both Mugabe, a practicing Roman Catholic, and Nkomo, bankrolled by Rhodesian millionaire "Tiny" Rowland, are of this ilk and have clearly indicated their willingness to deal with U.S. imperialism. The problem that worries Carter is that if he lifts sanctions and comes out in support of Smith's puppet government, it may drive ZAPU and ZANU into a military alliance with Cuban troops and the degenerated Soviet workers state.

The "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" of Smith and his paid preacher Muzorewa remains a remnant of British colonialism, an affront to the international working class and the brutally oppressed black masses of southern Africa. Blood-stained white minority rule, in all its forms, must be defeated. Military victory to ZANU and ZAPU!

But Trotskyists also forewarn that the Nkomos and Mugabes will, on the morrow of their victory, prove as implacable *class* enemies of Rhodesian workers and peasants as their predecessor white masters and black puppets in power. Only a Zimbabwe workers and peasants government, part of a socialist federation of southern Africa, will bring an end to the misery of class exploitation. ■

WL Pimps...

(continued from page 7)

mies did these writers complete their educations?...

"If the antics of the Spartacist were directly orchestrated by the FBI and CIA, they could not be more provocative. And, in fact, there is every reason to believe that they are....

"[SL national chairman] James Robertson, an unmitigated degenerate...."

These vile slanders are intended to provide a "political" cover for physical gangsterism against the SL, befitting the Qaddafi henchmen who applauded the Iraqi colonels' execution of Communist militants and who now endorse Khomeini's butchery of Kurdish nationalists in the name of preserving the territorial integrity of "Iran, Iraq and Syria, all centers of anti-imperialist revolutionary activity." These tools of the capitalist Arab dictators—the worst enemies of the Arab working masses—will stop at nothing to still the voice of authentic Trotskyism.

Lynn Marcus, Gerry Healy—Brothers Under the Skin

Of course, cop-baiting is nothing new for the Healyites, who slandered the SL as "the fingerman for the world capitalist class" as early as 1966. But the *Bulletin* article represents the full flowering of Healyite paranoia to an extent reminiscent of ex-"leftist" cultist Lynn Marcus:

> "[The SL] is a small sect that was set up by the late Joseph Hansen, the proven FBI agent who for many years ran the Socialist Workers Party, for the specific purpose of organizing provocations against the International Committee of the Fourth International and, in the United States, against the Workers League.
>
> "The activities of Spartacist are intimately bound up with the massive infiltration of the SWP by FBI agents. For many years, Hansen and other FBI agents within the top leadership of the SWP used Spartacist to carry out those sordid political operations with which they preferred not to be associated publicly.
>
> "It must also be said, that if the Spartacists did not exist, the Stalinists of the Communist Party would have had to invent them. Indeed, because of the history of the infiltration of the revisionist movements by the Soviet secret police as well as the FBI, it is not unlikely that the Stalinists did have a hand in the birth of this diseased organization...."

The present slanders thus carry forward the scurrilous campaign to smear Hansen as an "accomplice" of the Stalinist secret police in the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky. This slander campaign, ludicrously dubbed "Security and the Fourth International," has constituted the WL/IC's main activity for four years. The SL replied to these provocations with demonstrations demanding "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?"

To support this grotesque paranoid schema, the *Bulletin* must now create the SWP's Iran line out of whole cloth. As everyone knows, the SWP has enthused over Khomeini's reactionary clericalist regime in Iran with only the most perfunctory finger-wagging when the mullahs sought to reimpose the veil and suppress the national minorities. Only the WL/IC can justly claim to be more vulgarly nationalist, more slavishly pro-Khomeini, more programmatically reactionary than the reformist SWP.

And no wonder. The SWP's pro-mullah capitulation represents mere opportunism; that of the WL/IC is dictated by its sinister ties to Qaddafi. Like the Stalinists whose political line is an apology for the foreign policies of the Sino-Soviet bureaucracies, the WL/IC takes its cues from the Libyan government—with one significant difference: the regimes the Stalinists seek to defend through suicidal "peaceful coexistence" are deformed workers states; the Healyite homeland is a theocratic, militarist, capitalist dictatorship.

The Shoe Fits You, Gerry!

The May 6 SL protest demonstrations reaffirmed the SL's commitment to defend workers democracy for all tendencies in the workers movement, not only the SWP and the Stalinists but also ourselves. The chants and slogans included:

- What Keeps Billy Carter Out of the Workers League?
- WL Cheers as Iraqi Ba'athists Murder Communists
- Khomeini Attacks 'Satanic Marxism'—WL Hails Khomeini
- Lynn Marcus and Gerry Healy: Brothers Under the Skin?
- Healyites: From Political Bandits on the Left to Pimps for Qaddafi
- Gangsterism and Slander—Hallmark of Provocateurs
- For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

At both demonstrations the picketers far outnumbered the WL supporters and easily rebuffed the WL's attempts to provoke violence.

The WL/IC cop-baiting succeeds only in demonstrating how well the shoe fits *them*. Organizationally, their "method" of gangsterism and slander has long since been an open invitation to provocateurs. Politically, they sold their soul to the bourgeois "Arab Revolution" so many years ago that when it came time to auction off the stinking body, only the wretched Qaddafi was bidding. It seems likely that the present *Bulletin* attack was "made in U.S.A." (or in London) rather than in the Libyan embassy, but it's getting harder and harder to tell. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Ian Smith Holds Gun-Point Election

The "New" Rhodesia: White Supremacy in Blackface

In a desperate last effort to save his bloodsoaked white-supremacist regime, Rhodesia's Ian Smith lined up his black puppets on April 16 and pulled the strings, staging an electoral farce for the benefit of British and U.S. imperialism. When the curtain fell on April 21, Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa and his United African National Council (UANC) received two thirds of the vote total. Muzorewa thus became prime minister-designate of "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia," but the impoverished and brutalized Rhodesian blacks who voted for him did so with a battery of guns pointed at their heads. Revolutionaries denounce this fraudulent "election"—which is nothing but an attempt to mask white settler rule with black faces.

Smith left nothing to chance. Since brutal terror had not cracked widespread support for the black guerrillas of Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), Smith conducted his "free" elections under martial law. One hundred thousand troops were mobilized to herd voters to the polls at gunpoint. Significantly, many of these were armed "auxiliaries," hired gunmen of Muzorewa, tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. Campaigning by the rival figureheads was thus reduced to mutual thug assaults and endless rounds of intimidation. White employers threatened to fire their black workers who refused to vote.

When all else failed the Rhodesian police and army took charge. In the cities ZAPU supporters were arrested for attempting to organize an election boycott. Five hundred black students at the University of Rhodesia were tossed in jail after starting a protest march against the fraud. And in the bush regions, power base for ZAPU and ZANU's coalition Patriotic Front, "voters" were rounded up and herded to the polls in army trucks. A woman at one polling place explained, "We were told by the police that we had to come here and we didn't argue. We just came" (*Time*, 30 April).

With this shotgun election Smith may well be playing his last trump. His effort to curry imperialist support for the minority regime failed utterly last fall when both Washington and London rejected his "internal settlement" out of hand. Meanwhile, the minuscule power base upon which Rhodesia's white settler caste rests continues to erode. The once all-white Rhodesian Security Forces have been reduced to an all-white officer corps and several elite regiments composed of black inductees as the armed forces have expanded to meet stepped-up bush warfare with ZAPU and ZANU. Even so, most estimates place more than two thirds of the territory outside the urban areas under exclusive Patriotic Front control. So much has the self-confidence of Rhodesia's white populace been sapped that the daily flight from the country of "gentlemen farmers" and professionals, once haughtily referred to as the "chicken run," has now been renamed the "owl run," for obvious reasons.

Fraud and Terror

Desperate for any measure that will forestall his inevitable demise, Smith determined to proceed with elections in the hope that a carefully staged show of support for his hand-picked black figureheads would mobilize the right-wing imperialist bourgeoisie in his support. From the start of the five-day polling period, Smith and Muzorewa jointly embarked on a propaganda campaign to sell the "internal settlement" as the road to peace. Living up to his well-earned reputation for mouthing idiocies, Muzorewa bubbled, "What I saw today was that people seemed intoxicated with joy, that after 88 years the family of people in Rhodesia have ended their family quarrel" (*New York Times*, 17 April).

Election propaganda from all the permitted black "parties" stressed that voting itself would end the war; that the installation of Muzorewa, Sithole or Chirau would mean the end of raids by marauding Rhodesian troops who kill, by conservative estimates, over 10,000 blacks each year. A bevy of hand-picked "international observers" were brought in to sell the results. Consisting largely of Americans from the CIA-connected "Freedom House" (led by George Meany's social-democratic black mouthpiece Bayard Rustin) and British members of the House of Lords, the observers had a pleasant time sipping drinks in posh Salisbury cocktail lounges and pronouncing democratic blessings on the election. The Earl of Onslow cheerily noted, "There are more earls in Rhodesia right now than were present at the coronation of William the Conqueror" (*Newsweek*, 30 April).

Peter Jordan/Time

Bishop Muzorewa: Smith's man in Salisbury.

The results were just what Smith ordered: "63.9 percent" of the eligible voters had been marched to the polls, and Muzorewa's UANC received 51 of the 72 parliament seats reserved for "Africans." The remaining 28 seats were reserved for white voters who unanimously returned Smith's Rhodesian Front to power. Since any legislation that would threaten Rhodesia's white-owned economy or attempt to change the make-up of the constitutionally stipulated majority white officer corps, judiciary and state bureaucracy requires a three-fourths majority, Smith retains a virtual veto power to guarantee continued white rule. Before the election had ended, he renounced his promise to retire from politics and nominated himself for minister of defense or of the interior.

But Smith's carefully orchestrated effort ran into some problems. For one thing, Sithole, incensed at having to play second fiddle to Muzorewa, decided to blow the whistle, suddenly discovering "gross irregularities" in the election after unofficial totals showed Muzorewa strongly sweeping the vote. While Smith tried to ride out the ensuing furor by yelling "sour grapes," Sithole pointed to results from two Mashonaland provinces, representing the great majority of black voters, which showed returns of 108.1 and 100.8 percent of those eligible to vote!

A second problem arose when one of the "observers" forgot his script. British Lord Chitnis, having observed only a troop-coerced turnout, stated simply, "The one factor that should not be taken into account is that this was a fair and free election. It wasn't. It was a fraud" (*Newsweek*, 7 May).

Tories and Right-Wing Senators to the Rescue?

But conservative politicians in the U.S. and Britain have not forgotten their script, demanding after the "election" farce that "democratic" Rhodesia be accepted as a full member of the Western "club." When the British Labour government fell, Smith quickly advanced the date of the Rhodesian elections so as to present the anticipated Tory government with an accomplished

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Steber/Sipa

Muzorewa and "his" officer corps: "Majority rule" Rhodesian style.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 232 25 May 1979

Seize the Oil Companies!

The Great Gas Rip-Off of '79

In the confidence racket it's called the "sting" when the victim gets fleeced after an elaborate preparation of lies and deception. The American public knew they were stung as they lined up at the gas pumps. And they knew who stung them: Big Oil and Jimmy Carter. Exasperated, they sat for hours in lines that were blocks long in California trying to get to work. Some had awakened two hours early only to find a line of locked cars left the night before. And waiting in the stifling heat for hours was no guarantee that gas would not run out before it was your turn. Workers at their jobs arrived late and hungry.

The rich had their employees wait in line for them. In San Francisco college youth looking for a fast buck offered a "waiting service," but for everyone else it was a frustrating, inch-by-inch trek for gas, pumped out at nearly $1 a gallon. Tempers were as short as gas supplies in some cases, and stories of brandished knives and guns and jackhandles were widespread as motorists hattled to get their share of the stuff that makes America go. Gas station attendants were packing pistols. In Los Angeles a pregnant woman cut in line and got punched and had the air taken out of her tires; she was rushed to the hospital and went into labor. In Hollywood a man drove up to the front of the line, demanded gas and held off the outraged crowd at gunpoint.

There was a time not so long ago when American businessmen boasted about "Western superiority" by pointing to the long lines in the Soviet Union for scarce consumer goods. But they're not poking fun now, nor writing panegyrics to the "efficient free enterprise system" as the anger pours from the pumps. This spring the fundamental irrationality of the capitalist market economy, the strategic military goal of U.S. imperialism to be less reliant on politically unstable, foreign sources of crude oil, and a genuine monopoly conspiracy in the style of Jay Gould or John D. Rockefeller came together to wallop the American people where they live—in their cars.

Running out of gas in America. AP

It's a Hoax

The long lines at the pumps and the visible anger of the public unsettled Carter and Big Oil. Not that they cared very much that Americans were having difficulty using their cars, but the public had a pretty good idea of who was behind the immediate crisis. It is rare in the political life of a country like the U.S., where class consciousness is notoriously low, that the common-sense reaction is also fundamentally correct. But, that is the case today as the overwhelming majority of the American population look at the gas shortage and scream: It's a profit-gouging hoax by the oil monopolies! The most recent Gallup Poll showed that 77 percent of Americans believe the energy crisis was "deliberately" created by the oil companies (*Newsweek*, 28 May).

"They are looking for scapegoats," scolded Carter with majestic haughtiness, as the oil companies launched a media blitz about the problems of Iran, unleaded gas and "wasteful" people. But the public remained unconvinced. They had heard Carter's energy speech which promised decontrol and higher prices, and they knew the oil companies in collusion with the government were simply holding back to wait to make more profit. They weren't sure exactly how it was done—whether the oil companies were storing the gas in the tanks or exporting it or dumping it or running the refineries at deliberately reduced capacity—but they were quite sure *what* was being done and why: the oil companies were manipulating the market to extort higher prices and blackmailing the public to push Carter's plans for decontrol of oil prices. The common wisdom was most often put succinctly: "There will be plenty of gas when it hits $1.50 a gallon."

Americans remembered well the last oil shortage during the 1973-74 oil embargo. They remembered that when the gas prices went up, it became easy to fill up the tank. And they remembered too how the oil companies had purchased abandoned gas stations for the purpose of using underground tanks to store oil until the prices went up. And who could forget the profits? In 1973-74, the public may have been somewhat angrier, the lines a little longer and more widespread; but then the anger was directed mainly at "the Arabs." It was the OPEC price fixers and the embargo that caught the brunt of the outrage. It was not widely realized at the time, however, that the U.S. oil cartel which controlled refining and distribution was profiting like crazy along with the sheiks.

But this time around, the American public has caught the oil companies in an old-fashioned trust manipulation. The energy trusts and Carter have not made much of an attempt to convince anyone that there really is an unavoidable gas shortage. Instead the oil companies complain that they need "incentives," i.e., *more profit* through tax breaks, higher prices and easier environmental law. However, they have also recently declared record profits for the first quarter of the year. Exxon has had the most profitable quarter in its

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Stop the Popular Front Witchhunt in Italy!/6

Cops Shoot Eulia Love, Go Free

Jail LAPD Killers!

LOS ANGELES—Once again a rash of savage killings by L.A. police directed against the city's minority population has produced a wave of outrage here. There have been some 25 Los Angeles Police Department shootings since the beginning of the year (and 77 in 1978), the most recent coming only one day before a "police crimes tribunal" called by assorted reformist groups took place. Among the recent victims of the LAPD have been 15-year-old black youth, Carlos Washington, shot in the head by the cops on April 26 and a black truck driver shot in the neck by an off-duty cop on May 3.

The protests have focused on the case of Eulia Love, a black 39-year-old mother of three who was gunned down in broad daylight by the cops last January over the issue of an unpaid $22 gas bill. Three months later the L.A. district attorney announced that the two cops who had shot her would not be prosecuted, while an LAPD investigator declared that the cops had violated no police procedure! The uproar over the official whitewash forced the police department to reopen hearings into the case. Meanwhile, amid widespread concern that anger in the black neighborhoods over the rulings could "spark another Watts," the police have been using an unsolved shootout in which a deputy sheriff died as a pretext for flooding the ghetto with cops.

On January 3, at 11:15 a.m., Eulia Mae Love chased away a utility company meterman who had come to turn off her gas for non-payment. The press reported that she had hit him with a shovel. Later that afternoon two company supervisors returned. In the interim Love had purchased a money order to pay the bill, but the supervisors refused to accept it. Moments later the two cops drove up, found Eulia Love clipping the hedge of her lawn with a fishing knife, and ordered her to drop it. An argument ensued. White policeman Lloyd O'Callaghan chased Love up the walk to her house, knocked the knife from her hand and sent her sprawling with a second blow. Then the cops pumped eight bullets into her body.

Even as Eulia Love was dying, black cop Edward Hopson kicked her to the ground again, snarling, "Lay down, bitch," and slapped handcuffs on her. One of Love's daughters ran to a neighbor's to call an ambulance while the two cops stood laughing over their victim. Eulia Love was pronounced dead upon arrival of the ambulance.

On April 17 the D.A. ruled that not only was there no basis to indict Hopson and O'Callaghan for murder, but "the officers' conduct falls short of the aggravated, reckless and grossly negligent act condemned by case law." The testimony of Love's daughters was discounted because of their familial ties and "traumatic experience." The testimony of three other witnesses, including a gas company supervisor who swore Love was on the ground when the shots were fired, was also disregarded. And as the public outcry mounted, the cops responded with a grotesque full page ad in the *Los Angeles Times* entitled "L.A Police Victims Too," in which they complained: "We feel the sensational way this tragedy has been reported has made us victims along with Mrs. Love"!

Some 200 outraged city residents showed up the for reopening of the police department hearings on the case in early May. Even Los Angeles' black mayor, Tom Bradley, himself a former cop, felt constrained to show up and chastise the LAPD with some mealy-mouthed comments about "unnecessary force." In the main, the protests over the Love killing—organized by a coalition of groups ranging from black ministers to the Communist Party (CP) and the CP-run National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) to Democratic Party politician Michael Zinzun's Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA)—have confined themselves to liberal calls for police "accountability." With pusillanimous legalism the NAARPR called for suspending any cops who shoot "unarmed" civilians—thus washing their hands of, for example, a Black Panther or perhaps even Eulia Love! And, as might be expected, everyone from the NAACP and the ACLU to the CP/NAARPR is calling for an independent civilian police review board.

The LAPD is infamous for its dangerous bonapartist marauding. From "Dragnet" to "S.W.A.T.," its exploits are glorified on TV shows. In real life its Vietnam-style helicopter gunships are routinely used in the ghettos and the heavily armed SWAT teams stage such atrocities as the 1974 siege/immolation of the "Symbionese Liberation Army." Clearly no powerless civilian review board is going to put a stop to such legal killers. Appeals for action to the black mayor or demands for accountability to the courts are equally empty: in the past 27 years not a single policeman has been indicted in Los Angeles! And in 1976 some four tons of files of citizens' complaints of police brutality were shredded by the cops!

Hopson, O'Callaghan and all the badge-toting killers in blue should be tried and jailed for their crimes. While the Spartacist League has consistently opposed efforts to repeal civilian review boards—recognizing that the trigger-happy bonapartist cops see repeal as an open invitation to intensify their racist terror—we insist that the bosses' hired thugs can be disbanded only by victorious proletarian revolution.

In Los Angeles today, opponents of cop terror must join in powerful demonstrations mobilizing thousands of blacks, Chicanos and the labor movement, to demand: No guns for the police—Jail the killer cops! ■

Night of Wrath in S.F.

MAY 22—The huge gay community of San Francisco erupted in fury last night at news that ex-cop and former S.F. supervisor Dan White, who admittedly killed homosexual leader City Supervisor Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone, was found guilty of voluntary manslaughter rather than murder. An estimated 5,000 poured out of Castro district to march on City Hall demanding justice and angered over a surge of anti-gay harassment by the cops. When helmeted, riot-equipped police tried to bar their way, thousands of homosexuals chased the cops down the street. Behind the smashed windows and broken doors of the besieged City Hall police hid under overturned tables as street fighting raged for six hours. When the tear gas cleared, 13 cop cars had been burned, 140 people were injured and 20 arrested according to NBC News.

Dan White went on his killing spree last November after a nasty squabble with fellow Democratic officials. But for San Francisco gays there was a justified desire to avenge the murder of Milk, the man who symbolized homosexual respectability. White was transparently guilty of premeditated murder. But while we oppose the death penalty, we solidarize with the outrage, while warning that it can be exploited by law-and-order liberals. If only there had been a similar outburst of anger in New York City when killer cop Robert Torsney was let off on a plea of insanity for his cold-blooded killing of 15-year-old black youth Randy Evans, it would have been a powerful protest against racist police terror.

Letters

Deerhunter/Iran

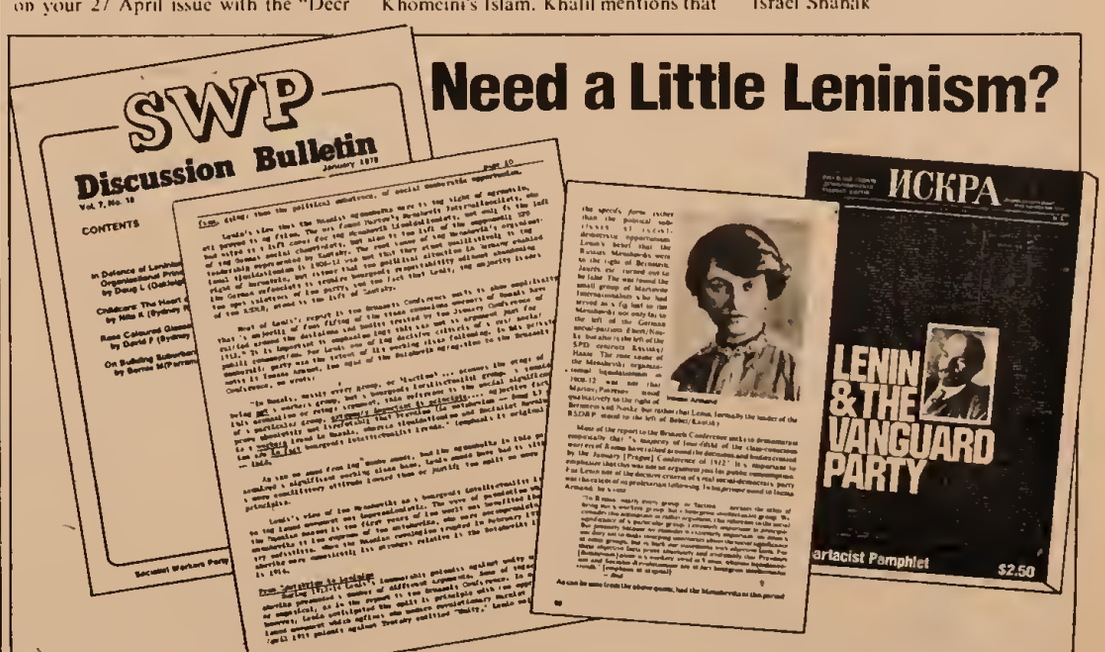
Jerusalem, Israel
10 May 1979

Dear friends of *Workers Vanguard*,

I want to congratulate you specially on your 27 April issue with the "Deer Hunter Lies" article. I have read a lot of critiques of this clever cheat, but yours is *by far the best*, in fact the only one which goes to the heart of the matter. If it is not too difficult for you, please convey my greetings to the author, Pat Kincaid. I also enjoyed Fatima Khalil's interview. Incidentally, the position of women in orthodox Judaism *is even worse* than in Khomeini's Islam. Khalil mentions that "on a legal basis two women are considered equal to one male witness." In the Jewish religious law, which legally puts the testimony of a Jewish woman on a par with a slave or a non-Jew, even a million women wouldn't equal one Jewish male!

Sincerely yours,
Israel Shahak

Need a Little Leninism?



Fake-Trotskyists know where to go for the real thing. SL pamphlet Lenin and the Vanguard Party was plagiarized wholesale by Australian SWP leader Doug L. in internal polemic.

Fake-Trotskyists Weep for Ayatollah Motahari

MAY 22—The clerical reactionaries who now hold sway in Iran have stepped up their drive to crush all opposition to Islamic theocratic rule. Having successfully muzzled almost all of the newspapers critical of the Khomeini regime, they may soon follow this up with a full-scale assault on the left.

When the mysterious Forghan terrorists gunned down both General Mohammed Ali Gharani and Ayatollah Morteza Motahari, the mullahs seized the opportunity to unleash a torrent of frenzied anti-communist propaganda. The funerals for the slain officials and also the proletarian holiday of May Day were turned into occasions for reactionary demonstrations demanding "Death to the Communists!" "Iranian Women's Day," May 17, saw another show of strength by the Khomeiniites. A hundred thousand women, swathed in *chadors* and carefully segregated from the male marchers, chanted "Islam is victorious, down with the traitors!" in a tragic display of the continued hold of religious reaction over the Iranian masses.

AP

At ayatollah's funeral fanatics chant "Death to the Communists!"

The Forghan assassinations were the spark for the regime's confrontation with the press. *Ayandegan*, one of Iran's major daily newspapers, has been a forum for mild leftist and liberal criticism of the new regime. But when the paper published the manifestos of the Forghan Fighters, which denounced the "dictatorship of the mullahs" in the name of Islam, it drew the wrath of Khomeini himself. In short order Muslim thugs destroyed or confiscated bundles of *Ayandegan* and occupied or sacked its offices across the country, denouncing the paper as simultaneously "Communist," "Zionist" and "satanic." By May 12 *Ayandegan* was forced to suspend publication.

Next came the turn of *Kayhan*, second of the three leading Teheran dailies, which had reprinted a photo of *Ayandegan*'s final front-page editorial. Heeding Khomeini's pronouncement, "If the press writes in support of traitors and criminals it is not our press," Islamic workers at the paper barred entry to 22 journalists they claimed were leftists. When the remainder of the journalists walked out in protest, the Khomeini supporters brought out their own edition of *Kayhan*, which simply regurgitated the government's propaganda handouts. But while the U.S. press has concentrated on the plight of the liberal papers, it should also be noted that the leftist daily *Peygham Emruz* and the satirical weekly *Ahangar* have been forced underground.

A Cowardly Capitulation

The situation cries out for a united-front defense of the left and all secular-democratic forces under attack by the mullahs and their "Islamic marshals." Yet only a break with the suicidal policy of giving support—"critical" or otherwise—to the "Imam" Khomeini can make possible this independent mobilization of the working class and its allies. The fake-Trotskyists of the Hezb-e Kargaran Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) have made it abundantly clear that they do not stand for such a policy of proletarian opposition to the Khomeini regime. Instead these Iranian brethren of the reformist U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have responded to the clerical anti-communist offensive by shamefully cringing before the mullahs.

The 5 May edition of the ill-fated *Ayandegan* carried a HKS statement on the assassination of Motahari which categorically declared, "The terrorist attack on Ayatollah Motahari was a counterrevolutionary act. It was an act against the toilers. The consequences of it can only be harmful to their interests" (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 May). The HKS used the traditional Marxist criticism of individual terror as an "orthodox" figleaf for *solidarizing* with the mullahs: "Reaffirming this historic position, we deplore the assassination of Ayatollah Motahari and express our sorrow at his death."

The HKS has proved to be an apt pupil of its social democratic mentors in the SWP. For in the hysteria surrounding the Kennedy assassination in 1963 the SWP caved in to the pressure of bourgeois public opinion and sent a telegram of condolences to the widow of this leader of U.S. imperialism. They conveniently "forgot" his crimes against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cuba in the rush to respectability.

The Iranian pseudo-Trotskyists warn that "Terrorist actions give the counterrevolutionary forces an opportunity to mobilize...." But it is precisely Islamic reactionaries like Motahari, for whom the HKS feels "sorrow," that are mobilizing against the Iranian proletariat! As a member of Khomeini's secret Revolutionary Council Motahari was

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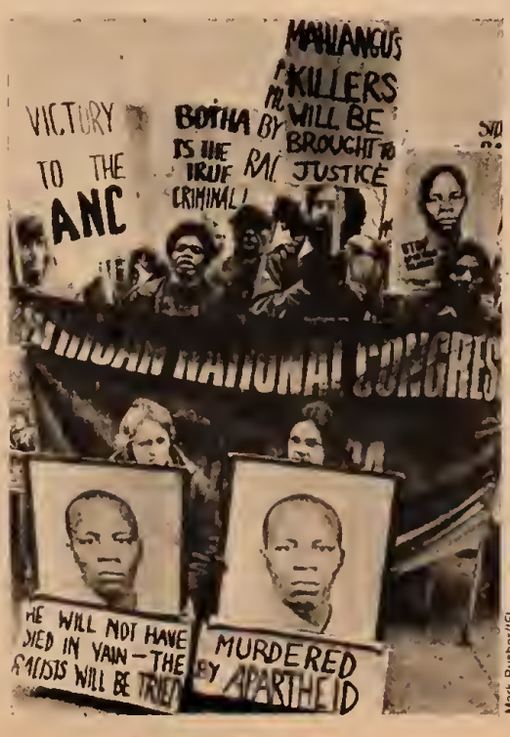
Apartheid Lynching

In the summer of 1976, 19-year-old Solomon Mahlangu was one of thousands of black South African students who joined the spontaneous anti-apartheid uprising in Soweto. Mahlangu witnessed the brutal police repression of the demonstrations and saw his fellow students beaten, arrested and gunned down by the armed thugs of the apartheid regime. Like many others, Mahlangu was driven into exile to escape the murderous repression. But Soweto had made Mahlangu a rebel and he returned to South Africa one year later—as a guerrilla fighter of Umkonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC).



Mark Rusher/IFL

Demonstrators in London protest the hanging of Mahlangu by the bloody South African regime.

Before Mahlangu and two companions could make their way to Soweto, however, they were challenged by police in Johannesburg. In the chase that followed, one of the ANC militants escaped but Mahlangu and the third youth, Monday Motloaung, were captured in a warehouse, where Motloaung shot two white men dead. Although Mahlangu had not fired a shot, an apartheid judge found him guilty by "common purpose" with Motloaung (who had been beaten so badly after his capture that he could not stand trial).

On April 6 Solomon Mahlangu was hanged in a Pretoria prison, the 37th victim of legal murder in South Africa this year. The execution of Mahlangu by the Afrikaner hard-liners rankled even the loyal opposition of white liberals, and drew pleas for clemency from Jimmy Carter and former British prime minister James Callaghan. South Africa's well deserved reputation for racist brutality, which embarrasses Pretoria's imperialist allies, means nothing to a government which hanged 132 persons last year and which routinely murders black prisoners in its torture-chamber jails.

Solomon Mahlangu, Steven Biko and all of their fellow martyrs to the cause of black liberation in South Africa will be avenged! The revolutionary victory of the powerful black working class of South Africa will bring the torturers and hangmen of apartheid to justice. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Gas Rip Off...

(continued from page 1)

history: a whopping 37 percent over last year's profits. Gulf profits were up 61 percent, Texaco and Mobil 81 percent, Standard Oil of Ohio 303 percent (*Time*, 7 May).

These astronomical levels of profit were gained through supply manipulation. But not according to Big Oil; the present gas shortage, they say, is out of their control: it is caused by the loss of crude oil from Iran, the greedy Arab sheiks, Ralph Nader, unleaded gas and so on. Yet the hard facts demonstrate that it is not the "crisis" which is out of control, but the oil majors who controlled the crisis.

- Last year there was an oil glut.
- The oil industry's American Petroleum Institute admits that imports of foreign crude for the first four months of this year *exceed* last year's level by 4.3 percent despite the decline in Iranian production (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 May).
- Production of domestic crude oil in April was 2.1 percent less than April 1978 because oil companies held back in expectation of higher prices.
- Oil company allocations of gasoline to retailers are far below 1978 levels. Exxon is supplying only 80 percent of 1978 levels (*Time*, 14 May).
- Refineries are operating at only 81.5 percent capacity according to the Department of Energy (*San Francisco Examiner*, 8 May).
- The Federal Trade Commission, noting that the reduction in gasoline production far surpassed the reduction in oil imports, conceded that "the current gasoline shortage may be contrived" (*New York Times*, 16 May).

There was not much mystery. The oil companies had been battling for a long time to shed the old Rooseveltian "controls" so they could be free to sell at the world "spot" market price which is nearly four times that of the controlled domestic "old oil" price. "Old oil" is that which comes from wells discovered before 1973. But the oil companies were already selling "old oil" in new barrels. Federal regulators charge that by selling oil discovered before 1973 at prices set for newer oil, one company—Texaco—gained $888 million in illegal profits (*Time*, 14 May).

Margaret Bourke-White

Cars and the American Dream. Bread lines in the '30s, gas lines today.

What better way for the oil giants to help Carter convince the American public that the oil companies need "incentives" to look for more domestic petroleum than by staging a shortage? In his April 5 national energy address, Carter announced the gradual phasing out of controls on domestic oil prices, which are significantly lower than world oil prices. Decontrol would start on June 1 and be completed by 30 September 1981. Carter said in his give-it-to-'em-straight pose, "Use less oil and pay more for it." (It is a statement he may regret come 1980 as his rival Ted Kennedy quickly distanced himself from the Carter talk-tough program.)

Carter is in the pocket of the oil companies perhaps deeper than any major political contender in Washington except John Connally. But he tried to play the populist in his speech with talk of "oil company rip-offs." He proposed a windfall profits' tax on superprofits the oil companies would gain through decontrol. It may be that the government wants a slice of that windfall which the British Tory journal, the *Economist* (14 April), predicts could be upwards of $30 billion by the end of 1982. But it was clear that the oil companies, which are the foremost experts in avoiding taxes, would not be stung on the proposed tax. In fact there is already talk about a dollar-for-dollar rebate on the tax for "exploration, investment and research." Those who know the oil companies will not be surprised if the "research and exploration" takes the form of buying copper mines in Chile.

Time

Big Oil company executives face Senate investigation following 1974 "crisis."

The Imperialists' MEOW

The public anger has been met with limitless arrogance and patrician hypocrisy by Carter and the oil billionaires. How dare the American people not believe them? An increasingly petulant Carter has taken to rebuking the American people. Speaking to a gathering of business leaders in the White House on May 15, the peanutgate millionaire whined that "the American people refused to face the inevitable prospect of fuel shortages" (*New York Times*, 16 May). The house organs of the bourgeoisie chimed in, with *Newsweek* (21 May) writing: "The public blindly refuses to believe that the crisis is anything more than an industry plot." And *Time* is full of finger-wagging journalese about the public's "prodigal way of life" and the "great summer driving orgy."

"Sacrifice," says Carter. He declared it in 1977 when he proclaimed the energy crisis was "the Moral Equivalent of War," or MEOW as the acronym of this presidential imperative is known around Washington. But on the same day the president railed against "gas guzzlers" and condemned the "panic" on the long lines at the pumps in California, he flew off in his helicopter for a mini-vacation at Virginia Beach, fishing off his cabin cruiser.

For Carter the energy crisis is no small political matter. From a certain point of view it *is* the imperialists' MEOW. The psychology of sacrifice and the austerity program it serves is necessary to the Carter drive to gear up for imperialist war to save U.S. capitalism—a goal requiring the development of more reliable domestic energy resources. In this effort Carter has the backing of California governor Jerry Brown who, despite his attempts to gain media points for the upcoming Democratic Party presidential race, shares the same goals. So far, however, the working class has felt no desire to "sacrifice" for "energy independence" despite the scoldings from the president. And feeling the heat at their backs, Congress killed Carter's stand-by gas rationing bill.

Ideological rearmament for his military build-up has been the main purpose of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. But there has also been a steady undercurrent of the "new conservatism," which he has attempted to offer as a basis for the austerity. If the capitalists can supply less at higher cost, then less is good, say the new ideologues of "no growth" and "no use." Americans are too wasteful. Therefore prices must be raised to "help" these compulsive, voracious consumers. As Carter put it in his energy message, if too much gas is being used by federal employees, then end free parking. California senator S.I. Hayakawa, typically, expressed what millions of Americans felt: let there be gas—damn the price—but make it flow 24 hours a day, seven days a week. And a willing Congress responsive to a middle-class constituency will make Hayakawa's "screw-the-poor" sentiment the law of this gas-thirsty land. And NYC's profit-gouging blackout utility, Con Edison, has attempted to justify a 22 percent summer increase on the basis of its "social conscience" in helping to keep down energy levels of air conditioning!

The eco-faddists have provided the most popular base of ideological support for this austerity masked as conservation. When Carter lambastes the "gas guzzlers" or his wife tells workers they ought to "try walking," they have ready listeners among the no-nuke flukes who came to Washington to demand "Less Electricity." In San Francisco a small band of these people who long for a return to pre-industrial society demonstrated under the slogan "Drive Less." Instead of attacking the corporations who suck the lifeblood out of the masses with their extortion schemes, the antinuke crowd sees the enemy as gasoline, automobiles, highways.

"Let 'em Walk"

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Sen. S.I. Hayakawa, R-Calif., says he has a solution to the gas shortage: let the price soar so high that only the rich can afford to drive cars.

"The important thing is that a lot of the poor don't need gas because they're not working," Hayakawa told reporters Wednesday after the California Congressional delegation met with President Carter to discuss the gasoline shortage.

The senator said the wealthy would drive their Cadillacs "whether they have to pay 95 cents for gas or $2 to $3 for gas."

"That's what it means to be wealthy," he said.

But he said the poor would cut back on gas purchases as prices rise. "Let the price of gas go up—$1.25, $1.50, $2, or $2.50," he said.

A Necessity and a Dream

The slogan "Drive Less" is going nowhere in America. While there have been periodic "crises" caused by short-term capitalist profit considerations like the "natural gas crisis" of the winter of 1977, this one touches the heart of the American Way of Life—the car. No wonder the population is enraged. By what right does this peanut swindler order them to use less gas?

The car is a necessity of modern life in America. People need their cars to get to work, to go shopping, to go to the doctor and so on. The entire economy depends on cars. The distance between working-class neighborhoods and the factories demands them. California is only an extreme example of what exists throughout the country, particularly exaggerated in Los Angeles, where GM and Standard Oil long ago effectively conspired against mass transportation. The same auto companies who help to scuttle buses and subways then build plants 30 or 40 miles outside the major population centers. Now they say, "Let

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Class-Struggle Opposition at ILWU Convention

Not a Penny for the Pentagon!

SAN DIEGO—The 23rd Biennial Convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) which met here late last month was the first in the union's history not to be held under the leadership of Harry Bridges and Lou Goldblatt. Bridges and Goldblatt were eased into retirement in 1977 and with them went much of the Stalinist and social-democratic veneer which was the hallmark of the ILWU since its founding. Toning down the reformist rhetoric and stepping up repression on dissent, their successors are doing their best to look like any other mainstream liberal union leadership.

The convention met under the threat of a massive employer assault against ILWU and Teamster warehouse workers when the Northern California Master Contract expires June 1. The union is also confronted with a lack of jobs in every division. But instead of mapping out a militant strategy of union struggle for job guarantees and safe conditions along with an extensive organizing campaign, International president Jimmy Herman opted for the defeatist policy of begging the capitalist government for legislative relief. And while saddling the membership with a series of contracts below Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines, the bureaucrats voted themselves a hefty 29 percent pay raise, by far the largest in the union's history.

In a departure from the past ILWU practice of limiting the role of bourgeois politicians at International conventions, Herman brought in two liberal California Democrats—Leo McCarthy and Ron Dellums—to give major policy speeches. Their anti-Carter sallies suited the mood of the delegates perfectly, but their anti-Brown cracks made it clear that they were posing as stalking-horses for Teddy Kennedy. This was a switch from Bridges, who used to lecture the union on the virtues of the dictatorship of the proletariat while selling out jobs to the employers' Pacific Maritime Association. Herman only claimed he was a socialist in his closing remarks, and then mainly to justify a redbaiting attack on the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League, accusing them of "trying to impose their program on the union."

The nakedly class-collaborationist policies of the International tops were challenged at the convention only by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, editors of the "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle opposition newsletter in San Francisco Local 10 which is also linked to the Militant Caucus in Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse). In a minority report on warehouse, Gow stressed the need to mobilize the entire ILWU against the employers' union-busting challenge. "The officers are saying that no strike is necessary and instead are telling the membership that capitalist politicians like McCarthy and Dellums can defend the union. In fact, the officers are preparing what may be the biggest giveaway of ILWU jobs and conditions since the M&M [Mechanization and Modernization] contracts which cost us longshoremen half our jobs."

Gow proposed that no ILWU local handle any scab goods or cargo, that ILWU members be organized to assist warehouse Locals 6 and 17 in mass picketing to combat police scabherding, and that longshore and warehouse locals stand ready to take sympathy strike action if necessary, particularly in the event of attempted government strikebreaking. The minority report forced International secretary-treasurer Curtis McClain to respond, precipitating the only serious debate on policy at the convention. When the officers' report was finally voted, fully 50 percent of the delegates abstained. Subsequently it was reported that at the Longshore Caucus several delegates voted for Gow's position, opening the possibility that should the warehousemen come under heavy attack, working longshoremen could be rallied to their defense.

Gow and Keylor distinguished themselves from all the shades of reformists at the convention in particular by their principled opposition to the bureaucrats' resolution on military spending, which called on Congress to "reverse the priorities established in President Carter's budget proposal" and held that "some $18 billion could actually be cut from the current military

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Stan Gow and Howard Keylor WV Photo

Inco Strikers Clobber Sellout

TORONTO—After eight winter months of a bitter strike against the International Nickel Company, 11,700 Sudbury miners have courageously rejected a lousy settlement, vowing to continue their struggle against this huge multinational metal producer. The miners, organized into United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 6500, voted 5,463 to 4,058 to reject a settlement which the Local's negotiating committee had accepted earlier this month in a 16-to-2 vote. The Local leadership and the bigwigs of the USWA bureaucracy hailed the tentative agreement with Inco as a "victory"; the bourgeois press ran stories on the "history" of the strike, and management began making preparations to resume production. But in an act of defiance which surprised even many of the miners who voted for rejection, the strikers threw the sellout back in the face of the nickel bosses and the USWA tops.

When the strike started last September, Inco, sitting on a stockpile of 300 million pounds of nickel, was positive it could starve the miners into submission and saddle them with a contract that would take away their cost-of-living allowance, their grievance procedure and give them an insulting 10-cent wage "increase" spread over three years. Having already slashed the workforce in Sudbury by 2,800 in the mass layoffs of April 1978, Inco sought to use the threat of further unemployment to force those miners who still had jobs to accept the company's terms hat in hand. Sligbtly better versions of the original offer made to the Sudbury miners were accepted by Inco workers at the Port Colborne, Ontario refinery and the Thompson, Manitoba mines. Stuart Cooke, USWA District 6 director, told the miners that any strike would lose. Nevertheless, isolated and facing great odds, the Sudbury miners stood up and fought back.

With nickel prices skyrocketing and company stockpiles diminishing at a rate of 20 million pounds for every month the strike continues (Inco's inventory is now down to around 100 million pounds), the mine barons now want their Sudbury facilities back in operation. The company managed to buy off the bargaining committee by offering a miserable 71 cents an hour over three years and dropping its demands aimed at crippling the union's grievance procedure. As part of the tentative settlement the nickel bosses offered to introduce supplementary unemployment benefits for miners who are laid off after two years' service. But the offer of $40 a week SUB pay is purely token especially when compared to far greater benefits won by workers in auto and steel. Given the massive job loss at Inco in Sudbury a majority of the miners have spent more than ten years working under dangerous and grueling conditions underground. Thus pensions are of great importance. The company offered "35 and out"—retirement with pension after 35 years—knowing full well that few survive that long in the industry.

Local 6500 president, Dave Patterson, described the tentative agreement as "benefits that workers in other industries have enjoyed for 25 years." USWA bureaucrats hailed the company's contract offer as a "victory for Canadian labor." But winning demands other unions won a quarter century agn was not seen as any victory on the Sudbury picket lines. The strikers were bitter and angry. Just when their long, hard strike was finally hurting the company their bargaining committee was ready to settle for a little more than what was accepted at other Inco installations without a strike. As an omen of the impending rejection, Local 6500 stewards voted 100 to 2 to reject the agreement.

When the bargaining committee convened a union meeting to try and sell the agreement to the membership, 2,000 angry miners turned up. Bargaining committee members who recommended acceptance were booed off the stage. One miner jumped onto the platform and took a swing at Patterson. When the fighting spread throughout the hall the meeting was adjourned. However, according to the USWA supervisor for northeast Ontario, Gib Gilchrest: "It was a pretty quiet meeting compared to 1966." At that time striking miners stormed the stage and threw chairs at Lyn Williams, who has subsequently been rewarded for his support to USWA International president Lloyd McBride with the post of International Secretary, the No. 2 man in the USWA bureaucracy. The miners also learned a bitter lesson from the 1958 strike, during which Inco combined with local politicians and the Roman Catholic church to organize a back-to-work movement among the strikers' wives. In the present struggle not only have the miners' wives set up their own strike support group, Wives Supporting the Strike, but they spoke up strongly against the tentative agreement and pledged their continuing support if the offer was rejected.

When the rejection vote was announced on the night of May 12 a spontaneous celebration broke out at the Local 6500 union hall. Conspicuously absent from the celebrations was the Local president. Patterson later told the press that he didn't know what kind of "reception" he would get. In the last USWA presidential election, Patterson

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Release the Red Brigades and Far-Left Militants

STOP THE POPULAR-FRONT WITCHHUNT IN ITALY!

In the middle of Italy's parliamentary election campaign another Roman square gained international notoriety: Piazza Nirosia, where on May 3 a Red Brigades commando seized local Christian Democratic (DC) party headquarters in broad daylight, destroying it with powerful bombs and then escaping without leaving a trace. On the walls, their signature: "Transform the electoral swindle into class war." The result: 50,000 soldiers mobilized together with police and carabinieri to enforce capitalist "law and order" during the campaign.

Ever since the kidnapping of Aldo Moro on Rome's via Fani a year ago March 16, and the subsequent execution of the DC chairman by his Brigate Rosse (BR) captors, Italian politics have been dominated by left-wing terrorism and bourgeois repression. The "hawks" have been the leaders of the Communist Party (PCI) with their repeated calls for streamlining the repressive apparatus of the "democratic state." And while the Red Brigades continue to confound the authorities, it is the "far left" which suffers the blows of the popular-front witchhunt.

To their shame, virtually the entire Italian ex-New Left milieu has fallen into step with the PCI's "anti-terrorist" hysteria. But as the centrists howl with the wolves, genuine revolutionaries continue to defend the left against the capitalist state while warning against the Red Brigades' suicidal program of individual terror. We print below a report from a correspondent in Rome, written in collaboration with comrades of the Lega Trotzkysta d'Italia.

* * * * *

Cambio 16

Paterno/Agf

Repression following Moro's kidnapping in 1978.

ROME On April 7 state attorneys in Rome and Padova ordered the arrest of the principal leaders of the so-called Autonomia Operaia (AO—Workers Autonomy) "area." Among those jailed are political science professor Antonio Negri, Milano *autonomo* leader Oreste Scalzone, Emilio Vesce, Giuseppe Nicotri and eleven others, including almost the entire political science faculty of Padova University. In addition, the police are actively searching for other AO leaders, among them Franco Piperno. The accusations against Negri, Scalzone, Piperno and the other *autonomi* range from "subversive association" to "aiding in the formation and participation in an armed band," "assault on the state constitution" and "armed insurrection against the state power."

The fundamental charge by the government is that the Workers Autonomy leaders are really the "brains" behind the Red Brigades, that their writings provide the "theory" and that several of them were directly involved in the kidnapping/killing of Aldo Moro. After months of drawing blanks, the judicial investigators now claim to have "cracked" the BR at the very top. The contention of the prosecuting attorney in charge of the Padova investigation, Pietro Calogero, was succinctly stated in an interview a year ago:

> "There is a single leadership of terrorism in Italy. One single organization links the BR and the armed groups of Autonomia Operaia. One single destructive strategy inspires the attack on the heart of the state."
>
> —quoted in *L'Espresso*, 22 April 1978

Of course, the state faces the impossible task of explaining away years of polemics between the *autonomi* and the Brigate Rosse. The idea that the well-known professor Negri would telephone BR ultimatums to Mrs. Moro is patently absurd, and the charge of "insurrection" so outlandish that it has not even been raised against jailed Red Brigades leader Renato Curcio (or, for that matter, against participants in a 1970 coup plot led by the "Black Prince," Vittorio Borghese). But these may be inconsequential flaws for the real purposes of the frame-up: to score a publicity success in the "war on terrorism" and put the bothersome Workers Autonomy "movement" out of action.

"But the proof. Where is the proof?" asked the weekly *L'Espresso* (20 May), expressing the concern of many Italian liberals. The Radical Party-linked daily *La Repubblica* points out that under the draconian Reale Law of 1975, Negri and his comrades can be kept in jail for up to two years of "preventive detention" without ever being formally accused of a crime. Even if they are found innocent the imprisonment can be extended for up to an additional six years through various appeals. Meanwhile, the prosecution has neither charged the arrested "suspects," produced one shred of evidence or a single witness linking them to the Red Brigades.

The accusation of "subversive association" consists in having formed the Potere Operaio (PO—Workers Power) group, which fell apart a good six years ago! The charge would be absurd if it wasn't so dangerous to the left. PO was formed in 1969 and grew in 1970-71 to a thousand or so members and several thousand supporters, but split in 1973 following a deep crisis due to lack of a perspective and strategy. This took the form of a dispute between those who sought to abandon organized group activity (Negri and Vesce) and those who wanted to found a more structured organization (Piperno and Scalzone).

The prosecuting attorney bases his case on the claim that the dissolution was simply a ploy, that in reality a part of PO became the Red Brigades and another became Autonomia Operaia, which would serve as a front for the BR. But not only have the Brigate Rosse existed since 1970, and their leaders are Curcio and Franceschini (who come from Trento rather than Padova), but the various groups which could be considered part of the "AO milieu" have for years accused the Red Brigades of being "militarists," "inveterate Bolsheviks" and the like. What, therefore, is the objective of the bourgeoisie in this repressive campaign?

It escaped no one's attention that the arrests came just a few days after the dissolving of parliament, which led to the calling of national parliamentary elections for June 3/4, and the hypothesis has been advanced that the whole business is a Christian Democratic electoral maneuver to win votes at the expense of the PCI. (The latter, presumably, would be associated in the public mind with the *autonomi* and the BR because of their common formal "communist" label.) But if this is the case, the Communist Party seems none too worried. It has thrown itself into the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt with such enthusiasm that it is attacking *from the right* the liberals worried about prosecuting crimes of opinion.

In point of fact, the accused AO leaders are almost all university professors, teachers and journalists, and the accusations against them are based essentially on their books and writings in such magazines as *Rosso*, *Autonomia* and *Controinformazione*. The first questions during the initial interrogation of Negri, moreover, concerned the theories put forward in his books, which have also been translated and published in Germany and France (where he has taught in Parisian universities). So it is likely that the eventual trial will look strangely like the medieval Inquisition.

This does not bother the PCI, which may have provided some of the dossiers on which the state attorneys are basing their case against Negri et al. So what if the arrested were not the heads of the Red Brigades, reason the Eurocommunist Stalinists, they are still "criminals" who carried out attacks on the "democratic state born of the Resistance." Thus while the popular-front parliamentary majority, extending from the DC to the Communist Party, which was sealed a year ago over the still-warm body of Aldo Moro, has come apart, its spirit lives on in the present witchhunt. The PCI's "Historic Compromise" with Italian capitalism is alive and well in the domain of the political police!

The targets include not only AO but

L'Express

"Diffuse terrorists" of Workers Autonomy in Milano.

all organizations to the left of the PCI, in particular the Democrazia Proletaria (DP—a centrist electoral coalition) and the milieu around the daily *Lotta Continua*, which runs the gamut from leninists and ecologists to "critical supporters" of terrorism. Caught by the kidnapping/killing of Moro between the hammer of the BR and the anvil of the state and the Communist Party, this "far left" sought to take the heat off by raising the cowardly slogan, "Neither with the state nor the Red Brigades Against the state and the Red Brigades." Now, faced with the new "anti-terrorist" crackdown, they are totally inert and impotent. From the DP to Autonomia Operaia itself, the "defensive" line consists of simply demanding from the bourgeoisie "proof" of the guilt of the arrested AO leaders.

The crisis of the entire left-of-the-PCI milieu is probably close to an explosion. After this massive repressive operation many of those who today consider themselves part of this "dissenting left," which has been and remains totally incapable of presenting a genuine class opposition to the class-collaborationist popular front, will go over to supporting the PCI, through the intermediary of its handmaidens of the PDUP (Party of Proletarian Unity) and the *Manifesto*, or else will simply leave political life altogether—while still others go over to clandestine "armed struggle" in the orbit of the Red Brigades. Both Christian Democrats and the Communist Party seem willing to risk a short-run increase in terrorist activity in the hopes of obtaining a "normalization" not only in the universities but also in the factories and the streets. They hope to build a wall of fear around the BR, who up to now have taken advantage of the existence of a milieu of tacit and sometimes open support to "armed struggle."

Autonomia Operaia: From Workerism to Lumpenproletarian Banditry

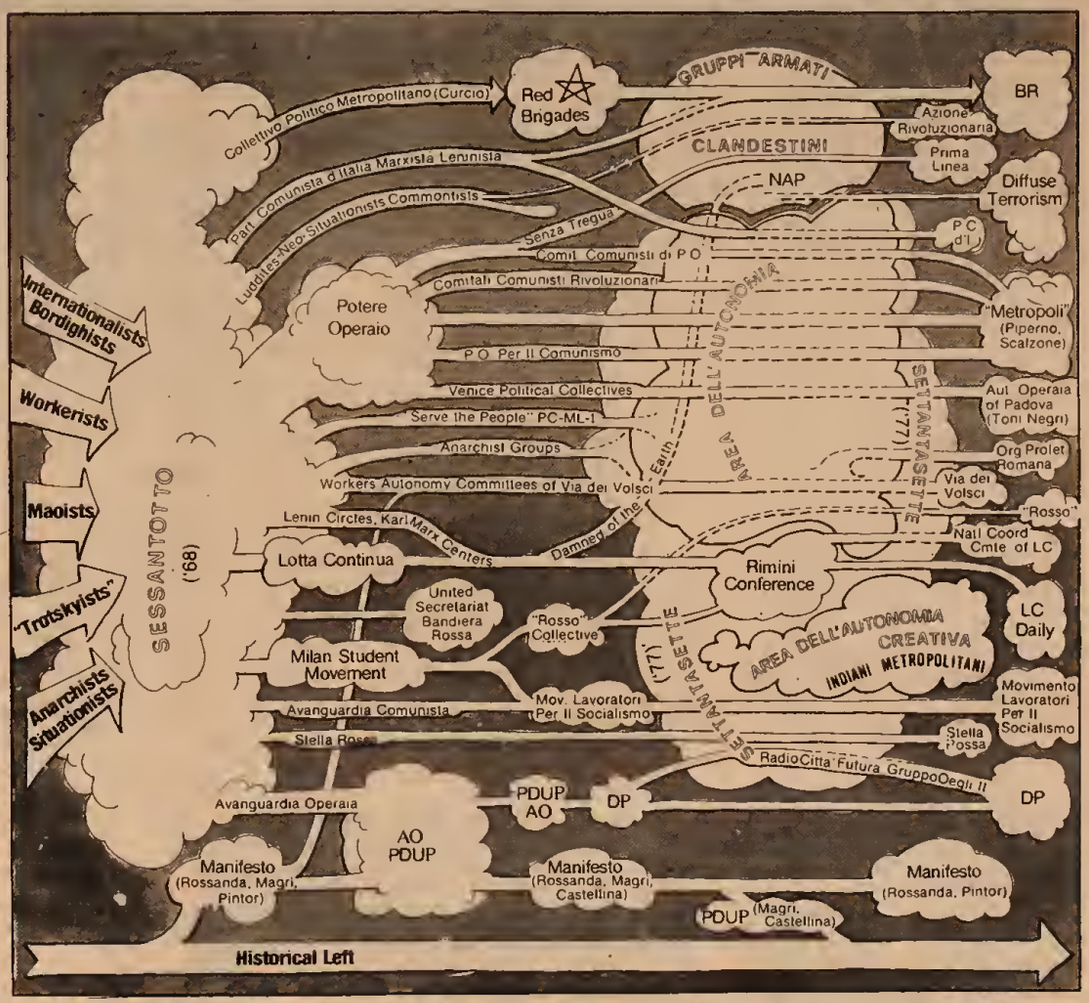
Workers Autonomy is not an organized group, not even a set of collectives grouped around a newspaper which "lays down the line." The "Autonomia" label groups together various collectives and committees of different origins and involved in different activities. The arrested AO leaders were all leaders of Potere Operaio, but PO did not generate Autonomia Operaia. In Rome, the workers committees of Via dei Volsci, the Policlinico and ENEL (electricity company) came out of Il Manifesto around 1970; in the North some AO collectives came from Lotta Continua (LC), others from diverse anarchist and Maoist groups (see accompanying diagram from *La Repubblica*). As for AO's theoretical "fathers," they can be traced back to the workerist formations on the left fringe of the Socialist Party.

Potere Operaio and Lotta Continua were founded as products of a split inside the workerist groups that sought to organize the most combative sections of the working class "outside of and against" the trade unions at the start of the *Autunno Caldo* (Hot Autumn) of 1969. The main difference between PO and LC was the former's greater organizational centralization and the latter's glorification of spontaneism. They both opposed the Leninist strategy for proletarian revolution; both had a program of refusing to work (wildcat work stoppages) and enthused over instances of sabotage in the factories and lumpenproletarian rebellions in the South. Internationally they both looked to the guerrillaism of Al Fatah, the Chilean MIR, Argentine ERP, Uruguayan Tupamaros and the IRA.

Over the last ten years the Italian working class has continued to struggle under difficult conditions as the main reformist party, the PCI, now openly champions "austerity" measures and the Red Brigades are locked in the dead end of individual terrorism. Meanwhile, growing sections of AO have looked to social strata extraneous to the working class: the "angry youth" who spawned the large demonstrations and clashes of 1977, the lumpenproletariat of the large urban centers. Speaking for social layers excluded from the productive process—which they called the "second society," in counterposition to the first in which salaried workers predominate—the AO leaders' theories turned increasingly to "proletarian expropriations," "mass illegal behavior," "diffuse violence" and "assaults on capitalist social wealth." In other words they offered a "theoretical" justification and "strategy" for common criminality by the social refuse of the capitalist crisis. Thus some Milanese

> Nothing better than this continuous activity as a guerrilla operative, saboteur, absentecist, deviant, criminal that I find myself experiencing. Immediately I feel the warmth of the working-class and proletarian community every time that I pull my mask over my face... Nor does the possible risk bother me: on the contrary, it fills me with feverish emotion, like waiting for a lover ...
> "...the connection between self-awareness and sabotage does not allow us to have anything to do with 'socialism,' with its tradition, and even less with reformism and Eurocommunism. Jokingly, it would really be appropriate to say that we are another race."
> —Antonio Negri, *Il dominio e il sabotaggio* (1978)

Here we see the trajectory of worker-



Fallout from Italian "far left." Satirical diagram from bourgeois daily La Repubblica pokes fun at left-of-the-PCI milieus.

autonomi, the Barona Collective, carried out robberies against small local merchants, proposing an alliance of "revolutionaries" and delinquents.

According to Autonomia Operaia the "new revolutionary subjects" must be looked for outside of the factories, the PCI and the trade unions. Even where AO has support in the working class it tends to use it above all as a base for "diffuse terrorism" directed at society in general. And given that AO considers Communist Party workers to be integrated into the regime by now, some Workers Autonomy collectives in Rome have assaulted PCI locals, criminally lumping the PCI together with the state repressive apparatus. AO's political activity consists of arming an array of lumpenproletarian elements (but unfortunately also hundreds of subjectively revolutionary militants) with anti-proletarian conceptions, starting them on the road of semi-clandestine urban guerrillaism. The cardinal points of AO's "theory" are in reality *pre*-Marxist, and the classic hero of the *autonomi* is not the Petrograd working class that conquered state power in October 1917 but peasant brigands like Robin Hood.

Antonio Negri expressed these conceptions with striking clarity:

> "...nothing reveals better the enormous historical positiveness of working-class self-awareness as does sabotage. ism that has lost faith in the working class, searching for "new revolutionary subjects." The path along which AO is moving is taking it outside of the workers movement into armed lumpenproletarian desperation. Only a party armed with the Leninist program of proletarian revolution can rescue the scores and hundreds of courageous militants who are prepared to sacrifice their lives on the altar of the Molotov cocktail and the P-38 pistol. Only the Trotskyists can expose the anti-Marxist garbage in the "theoretical" writings of Negri, Scalzone, etc., and denounce their responsibility for having misled these militants into a deadly blind alley. In the meantime these leaders of AO must be defended against the bourgeoisie's persecution and released from the prisons where their lives are in danger.

Red Brigades: Reformism Out of the Barrel of a Gun

Unlike the ex-New Leftists of Workers Autonomy, the Red Brigades trace their roots back to the Stalinist partisans of the World War II Resistance and the immediate post-war years. During the Resistance the Gruppi di Azione Patriottica (GAP) and the Squadre di Azione Patriottica (SAP), controlled by the Stalinists, sowed terror in the ranks of the enemy army without ever attempting to split the German Wehrmacht or even Mussolini's draft army along class lines. (In contrast, the French Trotskyists published a clandestine newspaper in German, *Arbeiter und Soldat* [Worker and Soldier], and succeeded in organizing a few cells in the German navy before they were harshly suppressed in 1944.) As their names show, GAP and SAP were nationalistic formations dedicated to the physical elimination of "foreigners" and fascist "servants of foreigners."

In the post-war period the most famous and important example of Stalinist partisan activity was that of "Volante Rossa" (Red Strike Force), which operated in Milano until 1949. Its actions ranged from execution of known torturers and fascist leaders spared in the purges to furnishing military cover for demonstrations organized by the PCI. A few dozen men, well-armed and militarily organized, function in semi-clandestinity as a group subject to the discipline of the PCI, of which they were all members, but without having an officially recognized existence, much less open ties with the Stalinist party. And not only do the Red Brigades look back to the Stalinist partisan traditions, an important section of its founders comes from the PCI:

> "The Genova column is historically the first column of the BR, the direct inheritor of Feltrinelli's GAP and the 22 October Group...formed by a split in a working-class section of the PCI. In the Genova BR there is the highest percentage of discontented ex-Communists, of ex-partisans who have remained cut off from reality, of veteran Stalinist workers and 'ever angrier youth.' It is probably an organization with many 'irregulars,' i.e., non-clandestine militants who lead a double life. Their infiltration in the big factories is no mystery (as is proven by the detailed document-accounts about the Ansaldo and Italsider plants)."
> —*L'Espresso*, 4 February

Ideologically, the Red Brigades remain in the Stalinist-Togliattian mold of the GAP/SAP and Volante Rossa. It is significant that with all their "Mao-

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Popular Front Witchhunt...

(continued from page 7)

ism," the BR have never placed the (presumably "social-imperialist") USSR on the same plane as the United States, and their strategic perspective remains that of operating as a pressure group on the PCI. Thus they insist on the "duality" of the Communist Party, its "two souls"; that of the Berlinguerists, completely committed to the "Historic Compromise" with the DC; the other, prisoner of the first, which is supposedly still committed to revolution. Watchful of the moods of the PCI's working-class base, thanks to a capillary net of contacts in the most important factories of the North, the Brigate Rosse want to prevent the consolidation of the PCI alliance with the Christian Democracy.

The Red Brigades' methods resemble those of anarchist terrorist groups of the 19th century—starting from "exemplary actions" against foremen hated by the workers, through attacking fascist leaders to killing ministers of the bourgeoisie. According to the BR, repression can only accelerate the authoritarian dynamic of the regime, and this, in turn, will accelerate the development of class consciousness and hasten the hour of mass guerrilla warfare. Nevertheless, their strategy is no less reformist than that of the PCI—e.g., their political focus on the "domination of Italy by the multinationals," and their current "election campaign" directed only at defeating "Christian Democratic power" (thus leaving the door open for a "left government" or similar popular front).

But this does not prevent the BR from being drawn into dangerous and reprehensible actions with anti-working-class overtones. In particular, with the Communist Party increasingly drawn into the functioning of the state apparatus, there is a potential for a vendetta between the PCI and the Red Brigades with the northern factories serving as the battlefield. At the time of the Moro kidnapping, Communist Party leaders from Enrico Berlinguer on down called for "vigilance" in the factories—i.e., turning party members and trade-union officials into auxiliary spies for the cops. The PCI tops agreed with the *New York Times* (25 January) that, "One of the difficulties of the police in fighting terrorism in industry has been workers' reluctance to act as informers."

Last October saw the first instance of this PCI-encouraged informing when Guido Rossa, a member of the factory council at the Italsider steel plant in Genova, saw a worker putting up Red Brigades leaflets near a coffee machine. Rossa reported the incident to the factory council, which notified the police. He also testified at the trial where the worker, Francesco Berardi, was found guilty and sentenced to four and a half years for "membership in an armed band." A few weeks later, on January 24, Rossa was shot to death in his car while going to work. A telephone call to a news agency claimed the attack as the work of the BR: "Red Brigades—we have just shot Guido Rossa, a spy for Italsider." It was the first time the BR had struck at a PCI worker and the ominous implications were obvious to everyone.

For revolutionaries the attack on an informer is not a morally reprehensible act, however excessive. By turning in Berardi, Rossa was committing a crime against the working class. No matter that he may have thought he was "defending democracy"—no doubt during the thirties many honest Stalinist workers thought they were striking at Hitler's "Fifth Column" by beating up and even killing Trotskyists. Guido Rossa acted as a police spy and the labor movement has a standard response to such links: drive them out of the working class. Trotskyists at the Italsider plant would have demanded that the informer Rossa be expelled from the union and the factory. While clearly stating that terrorism is a road to defeat, they would condemn the PCI-called "anti-terrorist" strikes and demonstrations as class treason, voting and seeking to organize the workers against these reactionary actions.

At the same time, the killing of Rossa was a violation of workers democracy. Rather than the action of an enraged worker at the time of Rossa's finking, this was a premeditated act by an organization which has set itself up as self-appointed enforcer of class justice. Moreover, the Red Brigades themselves showed an awareness of the disproportion between the crime and their would-be "exemplary punishment": a later BR communiqué stated that the original intention had been to "knee-cap" Rossa, thereby crippling him, but that he fought back and was killed in the scuffle. Refusing to join in the Stalinists' anti-BR hysteria, Trotskyists would nevertheless oppose this excess and have nothing to do with people who carry out such acts of vigilantism.

Guido Rossa: The Fate of an Informer

ANSA

But more than that, the killing of Rossa was politically an extremely destructive act, uniting the Communist Party's ranks with their treacherous leadership and playing into the hands of the DC government's counterrevolutionary plans. For Trotskyist revolutionaries the killing of Rossa was not the same as attacks on random members (or leaders) of the PCI, such as various AO groups have engaged in, and which must be unreservedly condemned. But it is not simply the execution of an agent of the bourgeois state either, because his role as informer is intertwined with his membership in a working-class organization. In fact, the incident reportedly provoked disputes within the BR leadership, precisely for this reason. "One cannot ignore the real rapport between the Communist Party and the working masses," said an internal document circulating in Genova, and this tie "cannot be ripped apart by pistol shots" (quoted in *L'Espresso*, 22 April).

The Rossa incident could have become the opening shot in a feud between the PCI and the Brigate Rosse. If that has not occurred, it is partly because the BR have not repeated the action, and also because the policy of Berlinguer & Co. of turning the trade unions into an appendage of the police has not found widespread support. The Italian working class, even though it is still dominated in large part by the Communist Party, is not made up of informers!

For a Trotskyist Party!

While denouncing the "Historic Compromise" of austerity and repression, Italian revolutionaries must also conduct a relentless struggle against the "diffuse terrorism" of Workers Autonomy and the "armed party" of the Red Brigades and other terrorist groups that model themselves on the BR, such as Prima Linea (Front Line). Such a struggle is, in the present phase, essentially a *political struggle*, consisting of presenting to the masses of workers, students and unemployed a Leninist-Trotskyist party with a proletarian-revolutionary program to sweep away the bankrupt Italian bourgeoisie. The central axis for forging such a party today is intransigent opposition to every popular-front coalition, whether it be the PCI's "government of national unity" or the "left government" proposed by Democrazia Proletaria. Important points of its program would include the demand for freedom for the hundreds of militants victimized in the popular-front witchhunt, abolition of reactionary repressive laws (Reale Law, Rocco Code, etc.) and of all special repressive apparatuses of the state (DIGOS, Antiterrorist Inspectorate).

Among the various Italian pseudo-revolutionary groups which have shown themselves incapable of defending the Red Brigades against repression, the behavior of many who claim to be followers of Leon Trotsky has been particularly wretched. The Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR, Italian Section of the United Secretariat [USec] of Ernest Mandel) fell to their knees as soon as the bourgeoisie raised its voice. And yet the historic leader of the GCR, Livio Maitan, is famous for his theorizing on the role of "revolutionary violence" and "armed struggle"... as long as they remain far away from home. During the late sixties and early seventies, the years of guerrillaist euphoria, Maitan's group displayed the likeness of Che Guevara everywhere. Here is what was written at the time in the theoretical organ of the GCR:

> "ARGENTINA: DARING ACTION OF THE ERP....
> "The action of the ERP [Revolutionary People's Army, a Castroite group then affiliated with the USec]...the kidnapping of the industrialist Sylvester and his subsequent release...has demonstrated what is the only way to *correctly* link vanguard action (e.g., kidnappings) with mass action." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Quarta Internazionale*, June 1971

But today, when the adoption of Maitan and Mandel's line in Latin America has by now cost the USec its Bolivian and Argentine sections (not to mention the lives of courageous militants), and thus is revealed to be "unproductive" for these ex-guerrillaists with pipe and slippers, today the GCR writes that "the militarists [Red Brigades et al.] are enemies of the organized workers movement." The GCR's capitulation was most dramatically expressed in response to the killing of Guido Rossa. In a press release published in *Bandiera Rossa* of 1 February these pseudo-Trotskyists say not a word about Rossa's actions as an informer, and instead write:

> "The assassination of Comrade Guido Rossa is an attack directed against the workers movement, against all workers...
> "No witchhunt: the ground can be cut from under the Red Brigades and other terrorist groups...by expanding workers democracy to the maximum...."

For genuine Trotskyists the fink Rossa is *no comrade*, and we, at least, do not counsel the bourgeoisie on how to best suppress left-wing terrorists.

In the following issue, the GCR's grovelling is even more despicable. Not only is Rossa's informing unimportant, he is an example to be emulated:

> "Whether or not Guido Rossa, assassinated in Genova, was an informer or not is a false and misleading debate. [PCI leader] Pajetta says: 'So we're spies—so what?'....
> "Guido Rossa was one of those comrades...who believed in defending a gain of the workers movement, but who at the same time are proud of defending it themselves, without delegating the inquiries to a police force they don't trust. Comrades like Guido Rossa are...a pride and joy [un patrimonio] of the class."

No doubt these clowns would have considered Ramón Mercader a "pride and joy of the class" because he didn't rely on the police to assassinate Leon Trotsky! In another article in the same paper Maitan & Co. read the Red Brigades out of the left and declare their solidarity with the PCI's "anti-terrorist" mobilizations:

> "The latest evolution of the militarist formations in Italy makes it necessary

AP

Christian Democratic Chairman, Aldo Moro, left, and imprisoned Red Brigades chief Renato Curcio.

Epoca

... to definitively deny that these are 'erring comrades.'...

"At a time when the workers movement is mobilizing against the attacks by the terrorists (and this attack is against the workers movement not only when Guido Rossa is shot!), revolutionary Marxists mobilize together with their comrades at work, with the class. But within these mobilizations, we do not fall into the bourgeois trap or the reformist swindle."

—*Bandiera Rossa*, 2 February

As if these treacherous actions were not *themselves* a bourgeois trap and reformist swindle! *Livio Maitan: you are a coward!*

The Lega Socialista Rivoluzionaria (LSR), the other Italian organization adhering to the supposedly "United" Secretariat, has positions which are even more openly capitulationist (if this is possible):

"We do not have proof that the bourgeoisie directly has people inside the Red Brigades, nor that it might even control its leadership. But this is unimportant; what is essential is that the Red Brigades' policies coincide not only with the 'line' of the bourgeoisie, but even with that of its most reactionary sectors."

—*Avanzata Proletaria*, 29 October 1978

Thus the LSR, whose international mentor is the Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno, practically accuses the Brigate Rosse of being cop agents or fascist provocateurs. As for the Italian supporters of the phantom "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" (dominated by the French OCI), they follow a line almost identical to that of the Morenoite LSR:

"The Torino trial [of Curcio and Franceschini] has established that since 1974 the Red Brigades have been infiltrated by the police. But at some point we can no longer be satisfied with speaking of infiltration.... Therefore, it becomes comprehensible that from the gunmen to the kidnappers, all threads invariably lead back to the heart of a gangrened state appartus and to the clerical party which is its key."

—*La Vérité*, No. 582, June 1978

In stark contrast to these cowardly capitulations, the only organization in Italy which has put forward a principled line on the question of terrorism is the Lega Trotskysta d'Italia (LTd'I—Trotskyist League of Italy). The founding nucleus of the LTd'I was expelled from the GCR in 1976 because of Maitan & Co.'s capitulation to the popular front (the GCR gave uncritical support to Democrazia Proletaria and the call for a "left government" à la Allende's Chilean Popular Unity coalition). Already a year ago, at the time of the kidnapping and execution of Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades, the LTd'I (then called the Gruppo Bolscevico-Leninista d'Umbria*) was the only organization in Italy that refused to capitulate in the face of the witchhunt unleashed by the popular-front coalition, insisting on the need to defend left militants against bourgeois repression while pointing out the bankruptcy of the terrorist strategy.

The LTd'I recently reiterated the position of Leninist-Trotskyist revolutionaries on the question of terrorism, in the context of a resolution approved as the basis for undertaking joint work in Italy together with the international Spartacist tendency (iSt):

"The current resurgence of left-wing terrorism (in Italy most notably the Red Brigades) is born out of petty-bourgeois despair and lack of confidence in the ability of the organized proletariat to make a successful proletarian revolution. Trotskyists categorically reject terrorism as a systematic political methodology. As Trotsky said, terrorists are bureaucrats in reverse. However, leftist terrorists believe they are acting to overthrow capitalism and revolutionists must defend them against persecution by the bourgeois state for attacks on symbolic targets or direct agents of the capitalist system and call for freedom for those militants imprisoned as a result of such persecution. At the same time, Trotskyists cannot defend indiscriminate terrorist attacks on the civilian population or against other organizations on the left, just as we condemn violence within the workers movement."

For immediate release of the Workers Autonomy leaders! Drop the frame-up charges! Freedom for the Red Brigades and all left militants victimized by the anti-communist "anti-terrorist" witchhunt! For the construction of a Trotskyist party in Italy! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

*Not to be confused with the Gruppo Bolscevico-Leninista d'Italia, which calls for electoral support to reformist parties even when they are part of a bourgeois formation such as a popular front.

WV Photo

NY Metro Postal Workers Demand Safety, Amnesty

"No OSHA, No Morgan!" More than 500 members of the New York Metro Area Postal Union chanted this slogan as they demonstrated May 9 at the NY General Post Office for safe working conditions at the renovated Morgan Station. The Postal Service has spent $70 million to rebuild the station, which was gutted by fire in 1967, and plans to put 7,000 NY Metro members and other workers in it this year. However, Postal officials have refused to allow Occupational Safety and Health Administration inspectors inside the building.

Congressional investigations sparked by union protests have revealed gross safety hazards at Morgan that will take $30 million more to correct. Fire safety is so bad at Morgan than NY Metro president Moe Biller warned at the rally, "If anything should happen, it would make the Triangle fire look like amateur night." NY Metro leaders have instructed union members not to work any mail at Morgan until OSHA gives it a clean bill of health.

Many workers at the demonstration also raised the demand for amnesty for the 200 postal workers fired in the wake of last summer's wildcat strikes in New Jersey and California. Union militants should demand that NY Metro and the national postal union take all necessary measures, up to and including strike action, to win back the jobs of these fired strikers. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 3)

responsible for the arrest of leftists, attacks on women's rights and the massacring of Kurdish civilians. The other target of the Forghan group, General Gharani was simply the military instrument of the ayatollahs' suppression of the Kurds—does the HKS express its sorrow at *his* death as well?

The Forghan Fighters claim to be anti-clerical Muslim populists. This is a shadowy organization and we have no way of knowing whether or not it has ties to shah-loyal forces. However, the Khomeini clique will claim that *all* oppositionists are SAVAK agents.

What is clear is that the Forghan's assassination campaign served as a pretext for the mullahs' stepped-up campaign against the left. When the "Islamic Republic" is dispersing the protests of the unemployed, breaking up the factory committees, attempting to disarm the masses and suppress the national minorities, it is positively obscene to single out the assassination of Motahari, *an enemy of the Iranian toilers*, as a counterrevolutionary act.

Genuine Trotskyists recognize that the strategy of individual terrorism is at best one of petty-bourgeois despair, counterposed to the actual revolutionary mobilization of the working class to overthrow its oppressors. The international Spartacist tendency stands for a workers revolution by the millions-strong Iranian proletariat, supported by the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities, to overthrow Khomeini's reactionary "Islamic Republic." We stand with the women who protested the imposition of the veil and were assaulted by Islamic goons. We demand freedom for the Fedayeen guerrillas arrested by the "Islamic Republic." And we mourn the Kurds slain by Gharani's helicopter gunships. Unlike the HKS we do *not* mourn the class enemy! ■

CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (*WV* No. 231, 11 May) in the article "Portrait of a Healyite as a Scab/Spy" we attributed to the Workers League (WL) San Jose, California organizer the report that "Tim Nichols" had been asked to resign from the WL in 1975 for committing racially provocative acts. The article should have referred to the *former* WL San Jose organizer as the source of this statement.

In the same issue a photo caption on page 9 refers to a Spartacist League/Britain contingent under attack by the fascist National Front at a London demonstration last July. The photo, which was published in several newspapers, was of a demonstration in *January* on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland.

Finally, the article "No Nuke Flukes Flood Washington" carried a statement by SL spokesman Marjorie Stamberg, an excerpt of which was broadcast over educational television stations around the country. The live coverage of the May 6 no nukes march in Washington, D.C. was prepared by the Public Interest Video Network (not the Public Broadcasting Service as we reported) and carried on more than 20 PBS stations.

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Gas Rip-Off...

(continued from page 4)

'em walk." But it can't be done, and the capitalists know it.

For America, the car is more than a necessity; it is a way of life and a tradition. From Marlon Brando's motorcycle to Steve McQueen's racing cars it is gasoline which powers the American dream. The car is the high-speed carrier of the national fantasy life of American capitalism. It is a "self-evident truth," carefully nurtured by the auto industry, that a hard-working man is entitled to a car, a woman and a gun. The featured object in the American courting ritual, the car is a sex symbol for teenage cruisers. And while it is less true for the present "liberated" generation of young people, the car was the only private place adolescent Americans ever knew. So much to the joy of the capitalist auto industrialists, the car in America is practically a secular object of worship.

In the most mobile society in the world, the car is also the major means to relax from the work-a-day grind. In more than any other advanced country, Americans pile into the family car for day trips to the beach or the park. They cannot afford helicopters or cabin cruisers, but if they have an outboard motor on their fishing boat they need to get the gas to use it. Millions of American workers have been sold recreational vehicles of all sorts. Private transportation and the appeal of the open road mean the myth of freedom. Now they are being told that their most important investment (second only to the home if they own it), that shining efficient home on wheels that was meant to carry the family to Yellowstone, is not an Airstream, but a "gas guzzler." Now with Memorial Day weekend about to inaugurate the summer driving period, the president orders the American vacationer to stay home. And if he is not responsible enough to stay home, if he continues in his "blind refusal" to recognize the "energy crisis," then the gas will be taken away and priced out of range. The anger of the American masses is fully justified; they are absolutely right to demand to use their cars, camper trucks, dirt bikes, snowmobiles and whatever else has been sold to them without suffering a gas-shortage hoax.

Seize the Gas, the Wells, the Refineries!

Running out of gas in America has the impact of a national blackout of electrical power or cutting off the water supply. It is simply intolerable—the minimal administration of society demands that gas be available. The problem in California is not a phony crisis, but a *manipulated* crisis. The shortage may not be necessary, but the injury to the population is real. Daily existence becomes increasingly unacceptable as millions fight just to make it to work and home; vacation plans fall apart for lack of fuel. Most important, layoffs and firings increase because of the fuel shortage. In short, an *emergency* exists in the state of California.

The White House

Gone fishin'. Carter orders sacrifice from his luxury cabin cruiser.

Californians have a right to expect local government to step in to this emergency situation, just as it could in a blackout if the electrical utility companies refused or were unable to get the power back on. It is quite legitimate to demand that the government act to maintain the necessities of life even under capitalism, with all of its inequities and class biases. But Governor Brown, who has tried to institute an annoying odd-even gas plan (which hardly meets the situation), will certainly not call out the California National Guard to seize the primary gas depots, the oil wells and the refineries and distribute the gas to the local dealerships. Although such action might be justified even within the framework of capitalism, it would put too big a dent in the sanctity of "private property" for the governor. He would rather see the gas cease to flow.

WV Photo

NJ auto workers protest gas swindle.

Such action would take place only under tremendous pressure from the working class. Trade unions could call massive strikes to demand gas as some West Virginia miners did during the 1973 oil embargo. But the working class is hamstrung by its parasitic bureaucracy which has stood in the way of any counteroffensive against the Carter/Big Oil austerity plans. A case in point was the May 21 demonstration against decontrol in front of the Exxon Research Center in Linden, New Jersey, called by the industrial department of the Jersey AFL-CIO. Although shot through with populist rhetoric, the speeches of the day made no call to use the industrial power of the working class against gas price gouging. Instead the speakers urged labor to back assorted liberal Congressional schemes to "control" the energy trusts. While auto workers may face massive layoffs, in part due to the gas shortage, Solidarity House remains politically paralyzed.

The oil Robber Barons are playing with political fire when they tamper with America's use of the car. And they are increasingly isolated in what has been so far fundamentally an intra-capitalist dispute. It is not only the mammoth auto industry, but trucking, tourism, farming; virtually the entire economy is affected. In many quarters of the capitalist class (with the notable exception of Jimmy Carter) there is an anti-oil-monopoly fever. Even Republican senator and presidential hidder Howard Baker has uttered the word, "nationalization" with regard to the oil trusts.

But for Baker and the rest of the capitalists, the spectre of nationalization is merely used to taunt the oil companies into more "responsible" capitalist behavior. If the working class ignites on this issue, it will not stop with the demand for nationalizing the oil trusts. The mobilization to seize the wells and refineries must become part of the class struggle for a workers government which alone can begin the task of rational economic planning that will truly resolve the "energy crisis"—through socialist revolution. ■

Inco...

(continued from page 5)

gave his support to Ed Sadlowski. Like Sadlowski, the Local 6500 president is one of a new generation of ambitious union bureaucrats who hope to build their career against the conservative, corrupt and ossified incumbents with vague talk of democracy and "rank-and-file militancy." But, like Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers, Patterson has shown that despite their occasional rhetoric the "new boys" are just as willing as the Boyles and McBrides to do the companies' bidding. Just when the miners' grip was tightening around the nickel bosses' throat the self-proclaimed "maverick" caved in and accepted the company's paltry offer. As the local president, Patterson was under even less pressure than Miller to capitulate. Today, he is almost as despised as the hated misleader of the mine workers.

The courageous example of the Inco strikers could be key to unlocking the bureaucrats' stranglehold and inspiring the rest of the working class to resist the Trudeau government's union-busting attacks. Despite the treachery of the trade-union bureaucracy the miners' eight-month battle against the Inco bosses has evoked deep sympathy and support in the ranks of the Canadian labor movement. Plant gate collections have been taken at industrial work locations across the country and thousands of dollars have poured into the union's strike fund from unions and labor federations.

This support must be translated into concrete actions of labor solidarity! Inco workers at Port Colborne and Thompson must throw out their rotten settlements and go out together in a single solid offensive. Transport workers must ensure no scab nickel is moved, by "hot-cargoing" Inco stockpiles. With the powerful backing of industrial action by their fellow unionists the miners can win demands that answer their real needs: a full pension indexed to the cost of living—retirement after 20 years in the union at full pay; a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to combat the layoffs that have been ravaging the mining industry; the unlimited right to strike and union control over safety and working conditions; a full cost-of-living allowance and a hefty wage increase.

The contract rejection came in the midst of the Canadian federal election campaign. Hoping to capitalize on the labor bureaucracy's electoral support for Canada's right-wing social democrats of the New Democratic Party, NDP leader Ed Broadbent made a stopover in Sudbury where he campaigned for "Canadian" ownership of the nickel industry. But Inco is already more than half Canadian-owned and Canadian bosses have mercilessly cut the jobs and attacked the nickel miners' living and working conditions. The miners must reject the reactionary economic nationalism of the NDP and fight for the expropriation of Inco without compensation. Key to this struggle is the replacement of sellouts like Patterson with a leadership committed to a program of irreconcilable class struggle. ■

Women & Revolution

New York Spartacist League Class Series

The formation of an "Islamic Republic" in Iran, pledged to subjugate women through a return to 7th Century Koranic law and the imposition of the veil, has focused renewed worldwide attention on the question of women's oppression. The Spartacist League, a revolutionary socialist organization, is sponsoring a bi-weekly class series to explore the sources of and solutions to the historic exploitation and special oppression of over half the world's population.

- Women's Oppression Today (May 29)
- Marxism and Women's Rights (June 12)
- The Russian Revolution and Working Women (June 26)
- The Revolution Betrayed: The Rise of Stalinism (July 10)
- Organizing Against Special Oppression: A Working-Class Program for Victory (July 24)

TIME: 7:30 p.m. **PLACE:** New York University, Meyer Hall of Physics (Rm. 122), 4 Washington Place (two blocks east of Washington Square Park)

For readings and more info, call 925-5665. Sponsored by NYU Friends of the Spartacus Youth League

Defend Keith Anwar...

(continued from page 12)

the membership had opposed the leadership—the executive board motion carried by 45 to 26.

What preceded this revealing vote rendered even clearer the hypocrisy of the Local 1010 leadership. A request was received to help subsidize a trip of retired Steelworkers to attend a "Senior Citizens Day" baseball game of the Chicago White Sox in California, but objections were raised from the floor because the umpires are on strike. Many members didn't think the union should finance a trip that would cross picket lines. Yet one outraged steel worker rose to point out that 1010 members were daily crossing the balers' picket lines; another repeatedly shouted, "What about Keith?"

Prominent among those defending the lines of umpires 2,000 miles away but refusing to vote for the Anwar resolution was Environmental Committee chairman Mike Olszanski, past darling of the I.S. who has been assiduously courted by the SWP. As for the Balanoff/Sadlowski "opposition," their continued refusal to employ labor militancy and their shameless scabherding should tell steel workers that they haven't the slightest intentions of fighting for the right to strike.

The company must not be allowed to trample labor solidarity and victimize militants with impunity. Defense of Keith Anwar is a defense of the union principle that every pioneer CIO militant knew well—picket lines mean don't cross! ■

UAW Fake-Lefts: Reformist Do-Nothingism

While Fraser and his gang do nothing, they face little in the way of organized opposition in the UAW. In recent years the bureaucracy has closed ranks and even the semi-oppositions have either collapsed like the United National Caucus (UNC) or been householoken like the Brotherhood Caucus in the Fremont GM plant. Most of the fake socialists in the UAW also seem to be wandering about aimlessly, trying this gimmick here and that phony coalition there. Their stock-in-trade is peddling "reform" bureaucrats—like the Mine Workers' Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski in steel—to the discontented ranks of labor. But the UAW at present offers little opportunity for such fakers, as it already has such minimal democratic rights like the right to ratify contracts which—along with bringing in the bosses' government to "clean up" the unions—are the sole content of the programs of the Miller/Sadlowski "reformers."

The UAW also has its house militants, like Cadillac Local 22 president Frank Runnels, head of the Shorter Workweek Committee (SWWC). But Runnels does not even make a pretense of opposition to Fraser, and the SWWC is largely a paper committee devoted to the useless task of pressuring capitalist legislators in Congress to pass various "full employment" bills.

The latest entry is the Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC), whose prime mover is Pete Kelley. Kelley is also head of the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), an outfit oriented toward defending skilled trades exclusivity and privileges, and a former leader of the now-defunct UNC. While the UNC was primarily a lash-up of small-time bureaucrats, it at least included the demand for a labor party and made an occasional pretense of opposition to the UAW International. ABC has dropped even this in its hopes of a broader appeal to bureaucrats, although so far it has netted only the usual phony radicals—including supporters of the International Socialists, the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party (M-L), assorted "critical Maoists" and the Revolutionary Socialist League—and Hugh Oginsky, head of a pressure group for retirees. Oginsky, like Runnels, has always been a supporter of the International, voting for both Woodcock and Fraser for president.

The ABC program is notable only in that it fails to demand an industrywide strike—or any strike at all—and contains no mention of any criticism of the UAW bureaucracy. Not surprisingly, both ABC and the fake lefts generally have demonstrated the same slavish capitulation to capitalist property relations and the same refusal to fight layoffs as Solidarity House. Thus the Communist Labor Party's (CLP) May *Truck Tribune*, issued to Dodge Truck Local 140, after quickly passing over the impending mass layoffs, urges the (remaining) workers to prepare for the contract by "laying aside some extra cash and putting off some installment purchases in order to be financially prepared for some time in the street." Even this pompous advice may be unnecessary, as these phonies assert, "In the fall our tactical situation may be such that a formal strike is not in our own best interests." Some militants, who won't even call for a strike!

The ABC coalition raises the slogan of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, but its failure to call for strike action renders this demand as hollow as when Fraser and the UAW International occasionally give it lip service. ABC also calls for "voluntary inverse seniority"—a softened version of the demand for preferential seniority. Such schemes, supposedly in the interests of younger workers, blacks and women, only pit one section of the workforce against another in a fight for a declining number of jobs. Of course, these wretches do not explain why any worker would "volunteer" for unemployment with almost certain cutoff of SUB benefits!

For the May 18 Dodge Truck union meeting, a group called Local 140 Members for a Better Contract, affiliated to the ABC coalition, distributed a leaflet entitled "Take Action Against Layoffs." In fact, its substance was to *do nothing* about the layoffs. While it ritualistically tacked on the demand for "30 for 40," the main points were calls on the local bureaucracy to oppose overtime and speedup *after* the layoffs were implemented, with not a word on how to fight the job cuts. However, union members told *WV* reporters that at least some workers had intervened at the meeting to lay out a fighting strategy to combat the layoffs. These militants demanded coordinated plant sit-ins as a first step in a union counteroffensive to win jobs for all.

The direct counterposition of profits for the bosses versus jobs and decent living standards for the working masses stands out starkly at Chrysler today. Chrysler workers, including some of the most militant sections of the Detroit proletariat, could provide a tremendous impetus in unchaining the enormous power of the UAW and the entire American labor movement. But more than ever this means junking the class-collaborationist policies of the labor fakers and their "left" apologists, and the forging of a militant leadership that will fight not only against layoffs and speedup but against the capitalist system that produces them. ■

Mass Layoffs...

(continued from page 12)

it was coming into the auto depression of 1974-75.

What has particularly fueled both the anger and fear with which the announcement of the indefinite layoffs was received at Dodge Truck is the widespread awareness that the Chrysler Corporation is in deep trouble. The string of layoffs was initiated this winter, at a time when the rest of the auto industry was still operating at a feverish clip. And while General Motors and Ford both posted record-breaking profits in 1978, garnering $3.5 billion and $1.6 billion respectively, Chrysler was losing $205 million, its worst performance since the hust year of 1975. Chrysler has also continued to slide steadily in terms of its share of the American market: from 1977 to 1978 it fell from 12 percent to 11.1 percent, and it dropped another full percentage point for the first quarter of 1979.

The decline of Chrysler is part and parcel of the decline of American imperialism. With the oil embargo five years ago the American automobile companies, finding themselves increasingly unable to compete with European and Japanese corporations in the small-car market, screamed for protectionist import quotas. Chrysler, the weakest of the Big Three, was the most vulnerable and teetered on the verge of financial collapse at the time of the 1974-75 depression. Though buoyed up since by the resurgence of auto production and the financial cushion provided by its foreign operations, Chrysler has nonetheless lagged far behind its competitors in downsizing its cars and retooling for new fuel and emission standards. In 1978 Chrysler sold off its European plants to Peugeot-Citroën, as well as several South American plants to GM, in order to pump more cash into its domestic operations.

Thus Chrysler has essentially eaten away its reserves, and in the face of new difficulties has been forced to cut into its North American operations. And while Chrysler president Lee Iacocca was moaning at a stockholders meeting last week that "'78 and '79 look rough, and after the last six weeks they look rougher," the real losers are not the coupon clippers but Chrysler workers. It is extremely unlikely that many of the Chrysler workers currently being laid off indefinitely will ever be called back, as Chrysler seeks to stabilize its financial base by scrapping its least profitable operations.

UAW Inaction

Despite their attempts to cultivate an image among liberals as socially concerned "progressives," United Auto Workers (UAW) head Doug Fraser and Solidarity House are as much integrated into the capitalist order as any other section of the trade-union bureaucracy. Fraser in fact was one of few major union leaders to promise support to Carter's by-now tarnished wage guidelines when they were announced last fall. Thus, it is no surprise that the UAW leadership has responded to the Chrysler layoffs with stony silence.

Almost six years ago the UAW tops embarked with great fanfare on a campaign to win a shorter workweek for auto workers. The 1973 negotiations brought the thoroughly fraudulent "voluntary overtime"—which in fact only codified the 50-to-60-hour weeks prevalent in the industry. In 1976 came "paid personal holidays"—a paltry handful of additional days off a year. None of this has altered the hellhole reality of the assembly line—long, grueling hours just barely to keep pace with soaring inflation. Every auto worker has experienced firsthand the increased overtime and speedup that lies behind the government's employment statistics: in 1978 roughly the same number of passenger cars were produced in the U.S. as in 1973, but with 20,000 fewer workers in the assembly plants alone (and probably more than double that figure for production workers for the entire industry)!

The sacked Chrysler workers must recall with bitterness the long hours of overtime they have put in over the past three years. In fact even in those plants where there have been recurrent layoffs, the workweek has generally not been cut, and work schedules of up to 60 hours a week are not unusual. But the UAW bureaucracy, with its class-collaborationist philosophy that more profits for Chrysler is the key to more jobs and better wages and conditions, has not lifted a finger against this massive exploitation. And now Chrysler workers see themselves thrown on the scrapheap—so Chrysler can make more profits.

The labor movement must not stand by passively in the face of such wholesale victimization resulting from the anarchic workings of capitalism. In defense of the unemployed, class-struggle militants raise such demands as unlimited unemployment benefits, government takeover and financing of bankrupt SUB funds, and unlimited right of recall for those laid off. In the event of large-scale plant closings, militants would demand government takeover of the plants and nationalization of Chrysler without compensation.

But such demands cannot be won without sharp class battles. Militants in the United Auto Workers, particularly the Chrysler division, must demand that the union mobilize its membership for effective and coordinated *plant occupation* where there are mass layoffs, in order to insure that no worker loses his job and that demands in defense of the unemployed are won. Such a struggle would provide a powerful impetus to launching a struggle for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. With the UAW contract expiring this fall—and with the recent oil price-gouging accelerating a deepening economic downturn—the fight for jobs must become a rallying point to mobilize the full strength of the UAW. ■

Not a Penny...

(continued from page 5)

budget without severely impairing the ability of the U.S. to defend itself or its allies." Dave Arian, a delegate from Los Angeles Local 13 who is regularly hailed by the Communist Labor Party's *Western Worker*, sought to amend this social-patriotic resolution by saying that more money for education and other social needs "can only strengthen America." Joe Lindsay, a supporter of the Communist Party's *People's World*, made his "contribution" by calling the question, whereupon all the Stalinists present voted for the motion.

Not one self-styled supporter of the Soviet Union, in this union founded by Stalinist and fellow-traveling "friends of the USSR," rose to defend it against the Pentagon and Carter's "human rights" propaganda. Only Howard Keylor, alternate delegate from Local 10, took the floor to oppose contributing "one penny for the imperialist military machine which brought us Vietnam, the Chilean coup and the shah of Iran. The same war machine which was used in the sixties against black ghetto uprisings, the same imperialist war machine which was threatened to be used to force Taft-Hartley against the Mine Workers." At the same time he pointed out that despite decades of bureaucratic misrule, the Soviet Union, the product of the only real workers revolution in history, is still the main bastion against a U.S. nuclear adventure:

> "To demand that the USSR disarm in the face of Carter's openly imperialist, anti-Communist 'human rights' campaign would be like demanding that the unions in the U.S. in the midst of an employer-government anti-labor offensive give up the right to strike in the name of social peace....
>
> "Both the main resolution and Brother Arian's report hold up a fallacious 'jobs for peace' program—that somehow or other by cutting back the military budget we're all going to have jobs. We should not be sowing illusions about a peaceful reconversion of the U.S. capitalist economy. The only way we're going to create some jobs is through militant union-wide strikes for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. And finally, we'll have full employment only when the working class has political power and throws out the employers." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Must Call Sit-Down Strikes

Chrysler Orders Mass Layoffs

DETROIT—In recent weeks mass layoffs have spread throughout Chrysler, smallest of the Big Three auto companies but the one most central to Detroit. Latest to join some 15,000 jobless Chrysler workers are over 3,000 workers at the Dodge Truck plant in Warren, Michigan. Last week local union officials issued an informational bulletin informing the membership that the company was shutting down the main complex in July and that thereafter the second shift would be laid off indefinitely.

The 15 percent of the Chrysler workforce already on layoff includes some 1,700 workers at Dodge Truck in St. Louis; 700 workers at Lyons Trim Plant, closed one month ago; some 1,200 at the Hamtramck plant; and workers at numerous other assembly and parts plants. At Trenton Engine workers who have been without jobs now for 26 weeks were just informed that their unemployment benefits had been cut off. And there are further reports that Dodge Main will cut one of its two shifts next week.

The boom-and-bust character of the capitalist economic cycle, so readily apparent in the American automobile industry, is familiar to even the relatively young workforce at Dodge Truck, where half the workers have been hired in since 1972. Many grew up in homes where parents or relatives employed by Chrysler were laid off for as much as two years at a time. And thousands of Dodge Truck employees bitterly recall the massive layoffs in 1975, when supplementary unemployment benefits provided by the union's SUB fund ran out after nine weeks, leaving workers to fend for themselves on measly state unemployment checks. This year the Chrysler SUB fund is only half as big as

continued on page 11

Brothers/Detroit News

Plant occupation at Chrysler's Detroit Jefferson Avenue factory in July 1973 sparked sitdown strikes in the Detroit area.

Defend Keith Anwar! Defend the Picket Line!

Steel Worker Won't Cross, Threatened With Firing

CHICAGO—Keith Anwar, an apprentice millwright and union militant at Inland Steel Company in Hammond, Indiana, is facing a firing for his refusal to cross the picket lines of striking United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8180 at Inland's plant No. 2.

Anwar, a member of USWA Local 1010, which represents most of Inland's 18,000-member workforce, has been honoring 8180 lines since they went up May 1. On May 10 he was suspended for "five days subject to discharge." Then Inland arrogantly turned down his request that his hearing—which normally would be held on company property, behind the picket lines—be either postponed or held off Inland property. Knowing full well that he will not cross picket lines, Inland is trying to ram the firing through without even permitting him to appear in his own defense.

This represents the second attempt by Inland to victimize Anwar for respecting picket lines. Last summer he honored Bricklayers Local 6 picket lines and successfully beat back a company attempt to discipline him (see *WV* No. 210, 30 June 1978). Anwar participated in mass picketing by the bricklayers who shut down construction work at Inland and won the strike.

Although both the striking USWA Local 8180 and the Bricklayers local have issued written statements endorsing Anwar's defense, his own Local 1010 has refused to take even such a minimal step. With the Sadlowski/Balanoff forces who run Local 1010 (and who hypocritically claim to support the "right to strike") cowering before the company and refusing to honor the lines or vigorously defend Anwar's job, it is imperative that union militants back this courageous worker whose "crime" is to respect a Steelworkers picket line.

Initially, at the May 3 union meeting, Anwar presented a resolution calling on Local 1010 to honor the strike lines of their fellow USWA members. The strikers, employed by Apex Baler Company (which contracts jobs inside the plant from Inland), work alongside 1010 members but average $2 per hour less. Apex locked out Local 8180 when it refused to extend its contract. Three years ago the balers waged a losing four-week strike. Although once again it was clear that Local 8180's chances of victory depended in large measure on the willingness of the much larger Local 1010 to observe labor solidarity, Anwar's motion was ruled out of order by the Local 1010 bureaucracy run by the "Rank and File Caucus" of president Bill Andrews. This stab in the back was supported by the entire fake left in the plant.

Then, at Local 1010's May 17 local meeting, the bureaucracy did itself one better. Anwar submitted a resolution calling for the local to "demand that Inland immediately rescind the suspension and threatened discharge," and that any other victimized member "receive full Local 1010 support." The local executive board countered with its own motion, to the effect that the union would fight Anwar's grievance, and his defense resolution was therefore "unnecessary." Anwar later told *WV* that local officials had confirmed to him that the real motive for this cowardly maneuver was that the leadership did not want to go on record in defense of honoring picket lines—a fact which renders completely hollow its claimed "support" to Anwar.

When a close voice vote forced a standing count, it turned out that some Rank and File Caucus members, members of other caucuses and even supporters of the International Socialists (I.S.) supported the Anwar resolution while the entire local leadership and their aspiring waterboys of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) voted with the executive board. Supporters of the Communist Party and assorted Maoists, apparently frightened of taking a stand on elementary union solidarity, boycotted the meeting. When the votes were counted a significant proportion of

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WV Photo

Inland steel worker Keith Anwar joined Bricklayers' mass picketing, June 1978.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 233 | 8 June 1979

Get Big Oil!

The oil billionaires are making life increasingly miserable for the American working people, even driving a few into a mad rage as they wait for hours in the baking heat of endless gas lines. First it was California, and then in Brooklyn last Friday a young man was shot and killed in front of his pregnant wife after he and another man jockeyed for position at an Amoco station.

Meanwhile the oil magnates get all the gas they need for their limousines, yachts and private planes. With Carter in their pocket, they have a decontrol plan that, according to the Congressional Budget Office, will net the oil trusts an extra $94.6 billion in "windfall profits" over the next five years.

There is a tidal wave of anger against Big Oil growing among the American people. We need our gas and we need our heat. But the capitalist politicians of both parties have a deal with Big Oil to get big profits for the sake of imperialism's strategic military plans. Were it not hamstrung by its pro-capitalist bureaucracy, the trade-union movement could lead the overwhelming majority of the population in demanding: Expropriate the oil industry—Smash the energy trusts!

Down with the Republicrats—For a Workers Party!

Hate Carter

"He and the country are no longer speaking because of gasoline."
—Mary McCrory, *New York Post*, 2 June

Toward the end of his reign Lyndon Johnson was afraid to set foot outside the White House. Richard Nixon couldn't show his mug on a college campus. And while active hatred of Jimmy Carter has not reached such proportions, there's little love left for the sanctimonious businessman-Sunday school teacher who scolded America for guzzling gas. Not since Gerald Ford has the country had such a mediocre president—even Lillian Carter says Billy is the smarter of her two sons.

The working people have plenty of reasons to hate Carter. In June inflation hit a record annual rate of 14.4 percent, the highest level in the past 30 years. Across the country people in gas lines correctly aim their fury at the president whose "energy conservation" plan, for all his populist rhetoric, amounts to a $100 million gift to the oil companies. And although Carter ran for president on a program of putting morality back into government, continuing "Peanutgate" revelations show that Mr. Clean has dirty hands. The stench of hypocrisy coming from the White House has nearly everybody holding his nose.

Carter's plummeting ratings have had Washington abuzz for weeks with rumors of impending cabinet resignations and talk of "battle fatigue" in the administration. In particular, Carter has repeatedly struck out on Capitol Hill—in late May Congress defeated his demand for extension of Rhodesia sanctions and smashed his energy program to smithereens. Not only did the legislators refuse to pass Carter's standby gasoline rationing plan, but despite three solid days of White House lobbying, the House Democratic Caucus trampled over his oil price-decontrol plan. It was, said Representative Edward J. Markey of Massachusetts, "a complete and total repudiation of the President by his own party." every politician thinking about reelection knows that the American people want their gas and they are not about to hang themselves for Carter and Exxon.

Korody/Sygma

Mr. Clean has dirty hands.

That same week some five Democratic Congressmen publicly announced they would not support Carter's renomination. "Draft Kennedy" committees sprang up in 15 states and a newly released California poll had Teddy beating Jimmy by a 70-to-20 percent margin. To top things off, it was announced in Atlanta May 24 that a federal grand jury had indicted Carter's old buddy, Bert Lance, along with three of his cronies on 33 counts involving some $20 million in fraudulent loans. Among other things the report charged that Lance's suspicious dealings continued during his seven-month cabinet tour, a claim denied by the government at the time.

Economy on the Rocks

Behind the draft Kennedy movement is the pervasive hostility to Carter from Democratic Party-loyal stalwarts among labor officialdom and black organizations. While Carter self-righteously says he promised nothing in his campaign (true enough), it was these labor and black lieutenants of the liberal capitalists who brought out the last-minute votes allowing Carter to slip by Ford in November 1976. Since then Carter has given nobody nothin'. Not labor-law reform, not poverty programs, not government-spending programs to provide jobs for the unemployed, not housing projects for the cities.

On top of this the economy is shot to hell. Of course, Carter's men keep whistling cheerily along that there is nothing seriously wrong and even have the gall to say that the present decline is a good thing because it will eventually reduce inflation. Thus Federal Reserve head William Miller recently told a Senate subcommittee:

"The good news is that the economy is slowing down. There will not be a recession, but rather, a pause and consolidation."
—*New York Times*, 25 May

American workers now face both accelerating inflation and an economic downturn. The Commerce Department's Index of Leading Economic Indicators has fallen for the last four straight months. In April industrial production plummeted by 12 percent on an annual basis. Retail sales have also dropped steadily since New Year's, and April orders for non-military goods fell by a whopping 14 percent. Some business economists believe that recession has already set in.

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Persian Army Attacks Arab Minority/6

Free Tommy Lee Hines!

Blacks Face Klan Guns in Alabama

On May 26 Ku Klux Klansmen opened fire on an unarmed demonstration in Decatur, Alabama. Over 20 shots were fired, and when it was over, two blacks and two Klansmen lay wounded, including KKK "Exalted Cyclops" David Kelso, shot in the chest. It was undoubtedly only the Klansmen's realization that they were themselves taking casualties that averted a worse bloodbath, since the Decatur police, who were supposedly protecting the marchers' "constitutional right" to demonstrate, did nothing whatsoever to stop the KKK's murderous assault.

The demonstrators, led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), were protesting the frame-up conviction last summer of Tommy Lee Hines for allegedly raping a white woman. Hines is still in prison in Birmingham, serving a 30-year sentence and facing trial for two more rapes and a robbery. Testimony at the trial made it clear that the mentally retarded young black man couldn't possibly have committed the crimes of which he is accused: he has the mental age of a six-year-old and can't even ride a bike, let alone drive the car he was supposed to have used (see "Tommy Lee Hines is Innocent!," *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). Meanwhile, the cops obviously don't give a damn that the real rapist is still on the loose.

The May 26 march on Decatur city hall, marking the first anniversary of Hines' conviction, was the culmination of a year of escalating violence against the overwhelmingly black protesters, including Klan cross burnings, counter-mobilizations, and "anonymous" sniper fire. This time the group of about 100 started out from a church and headed into town. When they arrived downtown they were met by a gang of 50 to 100 Klansmen—many of them robed and carrying clubs—who were blocking the road. The Klan advanced—right through a weak, token line of police—and KKKers in a truck began shooting.

The next day, 75 Klansmen burned a cross on the spot and invaded city hall shouting "White Power!" They forced the release of one of their members, arrested under a city ordinance forbidding carrying a gun near a demonstration (he had a rifle with telescopic sight attached), and Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson told his boys to "give the police a chance" to avenge the shooting of Kelso. Not that they needed encouragement—as is well known throughout the South, there is a large overlap in the membership of the KKK and the local police.

Sure enough, the very next day police arrested a black, 49-year-old Curtis Lee Robinson, in his home and charged him with intent to murder Kelso, even though Howard Hines saw Robinson on the march when the firing started, "running right beside me, and he didn't have any gun." This frame-up is part of the police sweep rounding up *any* blacks for the "crime" of owning a gun, a continuation of the law's ruthless intimidation of any black who dares to take even elementary precautions to defend himself.

Militant blacks who have organized armed self-defense against racist terror have always been singled out for particularly vicious repression: Robert F. Williams (author of *Negroes With Guns*), the Deacons for Defense and Justice, the Black Panther Party and, most recently, the northern Mississippi-based United League. The intimidation is traditionally of the "unofficial" variety in white sheets. But as experience from Monroe, North Carolina to Decatur, Alabama shows, blacks are far better off defending themselves than standing helpless before night-riding terrorists.

AP

Alabama cops arrest black for defying Klan.

To be sure, Decatur police have recently picked up a few token Klansmen on arms charges to "balance" things out, but this should fool nobody. For months the Klan has openly paraded around town brandishing sawed-off shotguns, riot guns and even Thompson submachine guns at rallies. In February, just after Decatur passed an ordinance against carrying weapons in demonstrations, 150 Klansmen rode through town in pickups, flaunting their rifles and taunting, "Mayor Dukes, if you want our guns, come and get them!" The police stood by, claiming they couldn't figure out if this was a violation of the ordinance!

Rev. R.B. Cottonreader, the demonstration leader and an SCLC

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Poor, Blacks Victims of State Electric Chair

Stop the Executions!

This time it was not Gary Gilmore in the capitalist state's death trap. This time the victim didn't demand his execution. For months John Spenkelink fought desperately to save his life, and even during his last 15 minutes he struggled with prison guards while screaming, "This is murder! This is murder!"

It was. It was legal murder.

At 10:13 in the morning of May 25, the lights of Florida's Raiford State Prison dimmed. Inmates who had been shouting, cursing, banging on cell doors and bars, suddenly fell deathly quiet. And in the small 12 x 15 foot execution chamber, 32 witnesses saw a man murdered by government decree.

Gary Gilmore in 1977, admitting guilt, willingly faced a Utah firing squad. But John Spenkelink, proclaiming his innocence, fought to live. And by no means is his claim easily discounted. Accused of murdering an escaped convict he claimed raped him at gunpoint and then forced him to play Russian roulette with the revolver, Spenkelink, to the end, claimed he killed in self-defense. At his 1973 trial, he refused to buy a life-saving plea of guilty to second degree murder because he hoped to vindicate himself in court. But Florida, anxious to reinstate the death penalty, purchased the right to legal murder: Spenkelink's co-defendant, Frank Brum, bought freedom by turning state's evidence against him.

Five times his case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, twice within two days of his death as Spenkelink's attorneys desperately sought a stay of execution. But the high court would have none of it. Having orchestrated the legal offensive against the democratic rights of the oppressed, the supreme jurists of capitalist class rule finalized the death warrant of John Spenkelink, perhaps an innocent man.

Execution by decree is a brutalizing weapon in the arsenal of bourgeois rule. But with or without the death penalty, executions go on in the streets. The state's hired guns, the cops, carry out the roles of judge, jury and executioner by gunning down impoverished ghetto youth "in the act of escape." On Thanksgiving Day 1977, just a few months after Gilmore's "death wish" was fulfilled, a New York cop, Robert Torsney, walked up to a 15-year-old black youth and shot him in the head. Torsney pleaded temporary insanity, and with the aid of a less than vigorous prosecution spent weekends with his family and weekdays in a psychiatric institution. Now a state psychiatric panel, finding him perfectly "sane," has recommended the immediate release of this killer-cop.

Revolutionaries oppose barbaric capital punishment and the media-hyped, three-ring death circus of the bourgeoisie. The U.S. capitalist state carries out these ghastly executions, particularly against blacks and racial minorities. Over half of all death row inmates are black and Spanish-speaking. And of all those convicted of first-degree murder, far more minority group members receive the death penalty than do whites. Revolutionaries demand an immediate end to this racist medieval barbarism, cruelly updated by twentieth century technology. Not one more execution—Abolish the death penalty!■

Sherman/Newsweek

Florida death chair

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 233 **8 June 1979**

"National Unity" in Shambles

Trudeau Routed in Canada

TORONTO—On May 22 Canadian voters went to the polls and threw out Pierre Trudeau's government, thus ending eleven years of Liberal rule. The days of "Trudeaumania" are long past as voters were fed up with double-digit inflation, 8 percent unemployment and an arrogant millionaire prime minister who mocked Canadians as "greedy, lazy and overfed." In his place they now have Conservative leader "Joe Who?" Clark, a political dimwit who makes Gerald Ford look like a whiz kid.

The big issue in an otherwise unspeakably dull campaign was the national question in Quebec. Since the 1976 election of the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) provincial government, the question of Quebec self-determination and the break-up of Canada has been sharply posed. Trudeau, a bilingual Québécois, campaigned as the only man who could hold Canada together. But "national unity" had little appeal in English Canada where the vote swung to the Progressive Conservatives (PC) who emerged six seats short of a parliamentary majority.

The campaign demonstrated the increasingly sharp regional and national polarization of Canadian politics. While Trudeau puffed that it was "almost treasonable" not to see "national unity" as the main issue of the campaign, both Tory chief Clark and New Democratic Party (NDP) leader Ed Broadbent vowed to maintain the subjugation of Quebec within the Confederation. Trudeau himself is hardly a champion of the national rights of Canada's Québécois minority: in 1970 he instituted the War Measures Act, rounding up hundreds of trade unionists, leftists and nationalists in Quebec; and in January 1978 he made his infamous New Year's Resolution that he would not be "shy about using the sword" to suppress Quebec's right to independence. Nevertheless, ever since the Tories hanged Louis Riel in 1885, the Liberal Party has relied on a solid base in Quebec as key to power in Ottawa.

This time Quebec voters once again turned out for the Liberals who won 67 of Quebec's 75 seats. At the same time the Liberals were pretty much wiped out of English-speaking Canada, winning only three seats west of Ontario. As usual the Anglo-chauvinist social democrats of the NDP got no support in Quebec. Joe Clark's victory without Quebec (where the PCs got only two seats) can only exacerbate antagonisms between the oppressed French-speaking nation and the federal government. The overwhelming support for the staunchly federalist Liberals in Quebec does not indicate popular sentiment for independence, however. And Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque recently confessed that if the PQ's long-promised referendum on its watered-down version of separatism were held today it would fail.

In the later stages of the campaign the Liberals realized that the "national unity" issue would not salvage Trudeau's plummeting political fortunes in English Canada. So they invented a new issue: "repatriate" the constitution. Canada does not have its own constitution because it did not have its own bourgeois revolution. As a remnant of its history as a British colonial bulwark against the American bourgeois-democratic revolution, Canada is still tied to the "mother country" by the British North America Act instituted by the British parliament under Queen Victoria in 1867. Appropriately, the election was held the day after the traditional Canadian holiday in celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday—an occasion long since forgotten in the British Isles.

UPI

Makris/Newsweek

The loser and Joe who?

As a tribute to the triviality of the election contest, the contending political aspirants were often upstaged in the media by the continuing exploits and exposés of Margaret Trudeau, the prime minister's estranged wife. In her recent "literary" contribution, *Beyond Reasons*, which sold hundreds of thousands of copies during the campaign, Maggie reveals an embarrassing tidbit of bourgeois hypocrisy. While the federal government prosecutes thousands for use of marijuana, a "restricted drug" grouped together with heroin in Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police agents were burning incense to disguise the smell when she was lighting up in the prime minister's residence.

And as Trudeau, Clark and Broadbent were out on the hustings, the McDonald Commission continued its toothless investigation of RCMP criminal activity. Hearings before the commission revealed that three of Trudeau's solicitor-generals ordered or had knowledge of RCMP burglary, mail openings and use of agents provocateurs. Trudeau and his fellow Liberals kept mum, while Clark had his own simple police-state solution: lift the legal restraints on the Mounties and let these scarlet-clad terrorists and thugs do their dirty work unfettered by juridical niceties.

NDP Coalitionism: No Alternative for Canadian Workers

In the middle of the campaign Jean-Claude Parrot, national president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), was jailed for defying the federal parliament's strikebreaking measures last October. Trudeau smashed the militant nationwide postal strike in order to pave the way for continuation of wage controls in the public sector. But just as they maintained a stony silence over the Liberals' assault on the postal workers, top leaders of the Canadian labor movement did nothing to protest the imprisonment of Parrot. The president of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), Dennis McDermott, warned that rabble-rousers might counsel workers to "storm the barricades" in defense of Parrot; but he, however, advised trade unionists to instead "storm the ballot boxes" and vote NDP.

Throughout the election campaign CLC staff and organizers were assigned to campaign for the NDP. Meanwhile Broadbent, who helped Trudeau rush his bills to break the CUPW strike through parliament last October and then denounced the postal workers for defying the "law of the land," dropped the NDP's traditional demand for the nationalization of Canada's resource industries. During the campaign Sudbury miners were in the eighth bitter month of their continuing strike against the nickel barons of Inco. Even in this bastion of NDP support Broadbent had nothing more to offer the intransigent nickel miners than his "new industrial strategy" of Canadian bosses for Canadian property. (Inco is already majority Canadian-owned.)

Anticipating that neither of the main bourgeois parties would win a majority of the seats in federal parliament, the NDP offered up its services to make a coalition with either the Tories or the Liberals. As a consequence, the Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) advocated a position of conditional non-support to the NDP: until the social democrats repudiate coalition a vote for the NDP could not be an expression in any sense of independent working-class political action. In the end the NDP's moderation won it very little: in its industrial base in Ontario it lost two seats, while overall it simply regained the number of seats it had in 1972.

RWL: Muddled Minimalism

The TL's principled opposition to support to the NDP evoked shrill squeals from the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). The RWL takes the TL to task for the obvious truth that, "The one thing that is clear about the 1979 federal elections is that the losers are going to be the millions of Canadian workers who will be stuck with playboy Pierre or dowdy Clark (with or without their would-be junior partner Broadbent)..." (*Spartacist Canada*, May 1979). According to the RWL the elections show instead the "process" by which "working people move forward in struggle against the employers and their government" (*Socialist Voice*, 4 June).

The RWL is still searching for the magic lowest-common-denominator program to combine simultaneous capitulation to the English-chauvinist, coalitionist NDP and Quebec nationalism. It did its best in the recent elections with the slogan, "For a Workers Republic of Quebec—For a Unitary Workers Government"!? In the elections the RWL stood five candidates in "safe" ridings [election districts]—i.e., where they could not hurt the NDP's chances—and campaigned for a bourgeois parliamentarian coalition between

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UPI

Castro admires Margaret Trudeau. Playboy Pierre wanted sophistication, glamour—got the "me generation."

Boycott EEC Elections!

Down with the Common Market of NATO Europe!

The following statement by the international Spartacist tendency (IST), distributed by its European sections the Spartacist League/Britain, Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands and Ligue Trotskyste de France—as well as by the Lega Trotzkista d'Italia, is directed at the upcoming June 10 elections for the phony "parliament" of the European Economic Community (Common Market).

Since its creation more than 20 years ago, the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market is an imperialist alliance ultimately aimed at the hureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state, the industrial and military powerhouse of the one third of the world where capitalist rule has been overthrown. The first direct elections to the European "parliament" at Strashourg this June pose the question of the EEC before the working classes of capitalist Europe.

No one is surprised that the parliamentary cretins of the British Labour and French Communist parties are running in the elections even though they are formally opposed to the institutionally capitalist Common Market. But one might think that a self-styled "revolutionary Marxist" international tendency which states that "working people have nothing to hope for and nothing to defend in this capitalist Common Market or its parliament," would *not* participate in this Euro-imperialist charade. Yet the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel is not only standing candidates for the economic adjunct of NATO, but is making this its big campaign of the season.

The EEC was originally set up in the mid-1950s as part of the American-directed reorganization of West Europe against the Soviet bloc. Washington policymakers were concerned that French opposition to German dominance of Europe could lead to a revival of Paris' traditional alliance with Moscow, as in the 1935 Stalin-Laval pact. The Common Market was and remains an economic compromise essentially between the French and German ruling classes in the context of their political/military alliance against the USSR.

Black Star

Common Market is anti-Soviet imperialist atliance, the economic adjunct ot NATO.

Ernest Mandel's claim that the Common Market is the embryo of a capitalist United States of Europe, "an intermediate stage between a simple loose confederation of states and a supra-national state" (*Rouge*, 27 April 1979) is utopian-reformist. Rather the EEC is the means whereby West German imperialism helps finance the unity of the "free world." Direct elections to this utterly impotent body attempt to give a pseudo-democratic façade to an alliance of imperialist nation-states.

Reformist Objections to the Common Market

The West German-imposed free market regime in the EEC restricts certain favored reformist policies, such as subsidizing nationalized industries. Therefore, there has been national-reformist opposition to the Common Market, especially strong in Britain which is also hard hit by its agricultural protectionism. Our principled opposition to the EEC and to its expansion has nothing in common with the social-chauvinism of the British left Labourites or French Stalinists. We do not oppose the EEC primarily because the Brussels bureaucracy can on paper override the decisions of the national parliaments. Nor are we overly concerned that Common Market regulations restrict this or that form of state intervention in the economy. We are implacably opposed to the EEC above all because it provides economic glue for holding together the Western imperialist alliance against the Soviet Union.

Recognizing that the arrogantly capitalistic Common Market is unpopular among class-conscious workers in France and Britain, the German Social Democrats (SPD) are presenting a left face in these elections. With Willy Brandt heading the SPD list they are running their trade-union officials and a couple of ex-New Leftists, types they would never think of standing for the Bundestag. Furthermore, the SPD is campaigning for a European-wide 35-hour workweek, seeking to present the EEC as a potential agency for labor reformism. The German Social Democrats do not raise the shorter workweek in the Bundestag, much less fight for it on the picket line, but talk about it only in the Strasbourg parliament which has ahsolutely no power to do anything. By some odd coincidence, the USec is also making the 35-hour workweek one of their main demands in the EEC elections. Perhaps the Mandelites will claim that Helmut Schmidt's party is tailing them!

Kommunistische Korrespondenz

Contingent ot the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) at May Day march in Frankturt. Social democrats and trade unions called demonstrations under the stogan "Work tor all in a Europe ot social progress." TLD carried slogans: "Boycott the European parliament! No to capitalist Europe! West Germany out ot NATO! Revolutionary Reunitication of Germany!"

Against Stalinist Nationalism and Anti-German Chauvinism

The EEC elections have found the Eurocommunists at each other's throats. The French CP, for example, is opposing Spain's entry into the EEC because it will increase competition for France's farmers. Carrillo's Spanish CP, which out of support to its own bourgeois national-chauvinism favors entry, in turn denounces Marchais' party for "parish-pump patriotism" and "cheap electioneering."

More ominously, the French Stalinists along with the Gaullists are turning the EEC elections into a focus for anti-German chauvinism. The Stalinists and Gaullists have sought to channel popular hostility to Giscard's "free market" remedy, unemployment, by whipping up hysteria against a "boche" (kraut) menace. The French CP's vile slogans feature "No to a German Europe" and "Paris Will Not Become a Suburb of Bonn."

The old German social democrat August Behel called anti-semitism "the socialism of fools." In France today anti-bocheism has become the socialism of fools and opportunists. In reality, German industrial strength is one of the main objective bases for a Socialist United States of Europe. A re-united German workers state will be a most powerful force for the socialist reconstruction of Europe, for overcoming poverty and backwardness in Brittany, the Mezzogiorno [southern Italy], Ireland, Greece, etc.

How USec Legitimizes an Imperialist Alliance

National parliaments represent a historic gain of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions and remain more progressive than alternative forms of bourgeois rule—fascist or military bonapartism. But the European parliament has no progressive content at all; it merely serves to mask the real nature of the EEC as an imperialist alliance. The USec's campaign around the EEC elections is parliamentary cretinism in the service of a public relations gimmick. What if NATO's North Atlantic Council were constituted by direct elections, or the colonialist British Commonwealth set up a pseudo-parliamentary body: would the USec seek representation in these imperialist alliances? We can only assume that they would!

The USec's main slogan in the elections is, "For a Socialist United States of Europe!" To raise this slogan in running for the Strasbourg parliament implies that the Common Market is in some way historically progressive, i.e., provides an objective basis for the socialist unification of Europe. But the Common Market is no more a progressive step toward the socialist unification of Europe than was Nazi Germany's conquest of most of Europe in 1939-44. The USec electoral platform never clearly states that the EEC *cannot* be transformed into a Socialist Europe but must be destroyed.

A Socialist United States of Europe requires smashing the EEC, which is a capitalist alliance not only directed at proletarian revolution in West Europe but also at the bureaucratically deformed expressions of proletarian state power in East Europe. While the USec platform covers itself with one sentence, "for defense of the nationalized property systems against imperialism," it does *not* relate opposition to the EEC to military defense of the Soviet bloc.

Proof of the unseriousness of the "orthodox" elements in the USec's platform was the alacrity with which the LCR dropped any reference to defending the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism, to its demand for withdrawal from NATO, and to its opposition to the extension of the EEC in order to form a joint slate with the economists of Lutte Ouvrière. The LCR also accepted LO's demand that the joint slate bear no reference to the "Fourth International." Like LO, the Mandelites focus solely on the Common Market's internal capitalist economic principles, an opposition

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600 Arrested on Long Island

Anti-Nuke Plant-In

SHOREHAM, L.I., June 3—In a demonstration reminiscent of the "flower-power" pacifism of the sixties, more than 600 of 15,000 anti-nuclear demonstrators protesting the construction of a nuclear power generating plant here were "peacefully" arrested on charges of criminal trespass. The Shoreham demonstration was the largest of several weekend protests against nuclear power plants around the world. At least 400 additional arrests were reported in the U.S., and a woman was shot and killed in northern Spain when police clashed with 2,000 demonstrators there.

At Shoreham, the "official" protesters, who were required to go through civil disobedience training, confined themselves to climbing the fence surrounding the nearly completed facility and planting marigolds before being taken quietly along to the police station. At one point a young woman handed her baby over the fence to the waiting policemen before climbing over herself and being arrested. Another woman, informed by a cop that she would have to get on a stretcher to be carried to the waiting police bus, complied, asking, "I'm not giving you too much help, am I?" "Oh, no," answered the cop, "this is the hardest thing I've done all day."

While, as Marxists, we support the development of technology and oppose demands to shut down all nuclear reactors, nevertheless, we condemn the arrests of anti-nuke protesters. From the point of view of the working class, these back-to-nature, anti-industrial muddleheads have committed no crime.

The rally, called by Sound/Hudson Against Atomic Development (SHAD), was attended not only by the usual assortment of "friends of the earth" but also by such friends of friends as the fake-left Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Youth Against War and Fascism and the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists. The SWP has recently distinguished itself by jumping on the anti-nuke bandwagon with appeals to replace nuclear energy with good old American coal. (In other words make U.S. imperialism safe from OPEC oil.) In this patriotic appeal the *Militant* echoes recent coal company newspaper ads and resembles nothing so much as the pro-coal, anti-nuclear power editorials which regularly appeared in the *United Mine Workers Journal* in the 1950s when John L. Lewis was spending union funds to buy into the coal companies.

WV Photo

Anti-nuke lllukes try to occupy Shoreham reactor.

Their "solution" to the so-called energy crisis is an indicator of the SWP's perennial capitulation to whatever "new mass movement" happens to be on the move. Because the Spartacist League has relentlessly opposed this treacherous and misleading accomodation, it has been singled out for special attack by the SWP. In "How Left Groups See Nuclear Power" (*Militant*, 1 June), Doug Jenness quotes the Spartacist League's position that "the alternatives [to nuclear energy] under capitalism are just as, if not more, unsafe." And he attacks the SL's conclusion that all technology is hazardous under the profit system and can be made safe only when capitalism is abolished: "But this is where they are dead wrong," says Jenness. Nuclear power, he insists, is intrinsically more hazardous than coal mines, and should not be used even under socialism.

Coal mines can certainly be made safer. So can nuclear reactors. But where was the SWP, which now prattles about safer coal mines, during the great strike wave which swept the coalfields last year—a strike wave which turned largely upon the issue of the local right to strike over working conditions? The SWP apologized for the Miller bureaucracy against the striking miners! In "Why Labor Should Fight to Shut Nukes and Use Coal" (also in the 1 June *Militant*), SWPer Nancy Cole credits Arnold Miller and his bureaucratic henchmen with "ushering in a new, inspiring period of democratic union reforms."

The Spartacist League does not make light of the very real problems of safety connected with nuclear reactors. We acknowledge the inevitability of accidents in the nuclear power industry, as we do in all industries, and call for shutting down dangerous facilities where specific dangers exist. But we do not call for an entire industry to be shut down. If we were to adopt this methodology, we should also be compelled to call for an end to coal mining, which is extremely hazardous and responsible for countless deaths through cave-ins, explosions, black lung and other respiratory diseases and possibly through still other effects due to the accumulation of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

In fact, in the wake of a DC-10 crash which just killed 273 persons, if the SWP were consistent in its capitulation to eco-faddism it would at the very least call for grounding all airplanes. Certainly air travel cannot be made safe under capitalism and cannot even be made completely safe under socialism. If god wanted Doug Jenness to fly he would have given him wings. ■

George Novack Comes Not to Praise Trotskyism...

George Novack may have come to praise Trotsky—but he ended up burying him. On a nationwide tour "Celebrating the 100th anniversary of Trotsky's birth," the long-time Socialist Workers Party (SWP) spokesman has been boring bewildered young YSAers and a smattering of assorted leftists across the country. Novack's attempt to present a sanitized summary of "Trotskyism" (expurgating those elements which too obviously expose current SWP practice) is pitiful—real Trotskyists are not fooled and the younger SWPers neither understand nor care. Indeed it will not be much longer that there remain living SWPers who can perform even this feat, and perhaps that's what this sentimental journey is all about.

In Chicago, comrades of the Spartacist League (SL) retrieved authentic Trotskyism from the oblivion of Novack's dreary speech. In a leaflet and sharp interventions from the floor, the SL exposed the yawning gulf which lies between the shameful reformism of the SWP today and its once-revolutionary past. We reprint below excerpts from the Chicago Spartacist League's leaflet.

Federal Troops

1938, GEORGE NOVACK ON THE NATIONAL GUARD: "In order to defend themselves from all quarters, the workers employed and unemployed, cannot rely upon the police, the courts, or the capitalist politicians. They can only depend upon their own organized strength. Just as pickets are needed in every strike to protect the workers against scabs and gunmen, so organized labor needs its own guard for protection against the bosses' guard. Trade unions ought to take the initiative in constructing such workers defense committees" (*The New International*, June 1938).

SWP TODAY: "Instead of federal troops the sectarians propose that there be trade-union defense guards. But why stop there? Why not call for sending in the Red Army.... The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now" (Peter Camejo, *Militant*, 1 November 1974).

Iran and the Mullahs

LENIN: "With regard to the more backward states and nations...it is particularly important to bear in mind: ...the need for a struggle against the clergy and other influential reactionary and medieval elements...the need to combat pan-Islamism and similar trends which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the position of the khans, land-owners, mullahs, etc." ("Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31).

WV Photo

George Novack

SWP TODAY: "Although Khomeini subscribes to a religious ideology, the basis of his appeal is not religious reaction. On the contrary he has won broad support among the Iranian masses because his firm opposition to the shah's "modernization" is progressive" (*Militant*, 17 November, 1978).

Disarmament and the Soviet Union

TROTSKY: "Disarmament?—But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves" (*Transitional Program*).

SWP TODAY: "Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament.... Naturally it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had

continued on page 10

Trouble in the Oil Fields

Persian Army Attacks Arab Minority

JUNE 4—First it was the women in the streets of Teheran resisting the imposition of the veil. Then it was pitched battles with national minorities—the Kurds and Turkomans—resisting Persian chauvinism. Now the regime of Ayatollah Khomeini and his mullahs faces the most potentially explosive situation of its first hundred days of chaotic and bloody reactionary rule: the Arab minority in the southern province of Khuzistan has taken up the gun. Arab workers in the South are one of the most oppressed sectors of the proletariat, but their strategic position in the refineries and oil fields places them right at the jugular of the Iranian economy.

Dock workers have already shut down one of the country's major ports, Khorramshahr, with a strike now going into its fourth week. Arab nationalists demanding the right to elect their own governor and a larger share of the oil revenues in the city, had occupied civic buildings. But Khomeini, as much as the shah before him, is prepared to exert the capitalist state's bloody repression to maintain labor discipline and control of the vital southern oil. On May 30 the elite "Guardians of the Revolution" stormed the occupied buildings, and fighting raged for three days in Khorramshahr. As the battle spread through the city (clashes were also reported in neighboring Abadan), Khomeini's "Guardians" were reinforced by paratroopers and militiamen brought in from outside the province. Reports on the number dead vary from the "official" toll of 37 dead, 191 wounded to the Arabs' claim that at least 160 have been killed.

The province was placed under military occupation, and ominously, the prosecutor-general threatened that "counter-revolutionaries" involved in the fighting would be treated like the shah's officials—that is, they would be executed. Admiral Ahmad Mahdani, military governor of Khuzistan, whose hardline mission is to bend the Arabs to the will of the "Imam," crowed that he had defeated "masked leftists in the service of international imperialism" (UPI dispatch, 2 June). But the Arab workers knew better. They had been there before and noted bitterly that they had been defeated by "the same soldiers who fought for the shah" (*New York Times*, 31 May).

The revolt by Iran's Arab population may cause some problems for those who believe in the myth of a monolithic "Arab Revolution." Mahdani has accused Iraq and Kuwait of "provoking Iran's Arabs to rebel against the revolutionary government." He further blames the Iraqi consulate in Khorramshahr for stirring up trouble and even accuses nationalist George Habash, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, of engaging in "suspicious activities" during the fighting (UPI, 4 June).

Khomeini has been able to deliver a major blow against the Arab nationalists, who were less well armed than the Kurds. But they have flatly stated that they will not lay down their arms. In any event their most powerful weapon is their ability to choke off Iran's oil production. That is why Khomeini is cutting the teeth of his regular army against these rebels. Even the local ayatollah, Al Shuhair Khagani, has threatened a strike of the Arab oil workers.

The oil refinery workers of Abadan have called for a strike if they do not get a 50-100 percent wage increase. Longshoremen at Khorramshahr continue their month-long strike while tens of thousands of unemployed have already engaged in bloody clashes with Khomeini's militia. What the reactionary Muslim rulers fear most of all in this volatile situation is a proletarian uprising *that is not in the hands of Ayatollah Khagani or any other ayatollah*—one that strikes out in the interests of the workers against clerical reaction, a struggle led by the working class which defends the national and cultural rights of the Arabs and the non-Persian population, amounting to three fifths of all Iranians. They fear that the sit-ins will not be at the mosque—as one was on Sunday—but at the refineries.

As scared as the ayatollahs are of independent proletarian action in the oil fields, and as voraciously as they attack the left and worker militants in this area, the Stalinist Tudeh Party, which has strength among the oil workers, remains most loyal to Khomeini. In the U.S. the Communist Party (CP) echoes this grotesque policy by publishing on the front page of the *Daily World* (1 June) a photograph of the mullahs' occupation army in the oil fields with the slanderous caption: Revolutionary guards in camouflage outfits and in plainclothes patrol a street in Khorramshar on Wednesday after shooting incidents involving CIA/SAVAK gunmen."

Leftists in Danger

Trouble in the oil fields is perhaps the most serious problem facing the mullahs' "Islamic Republic." From the earliest days of their victory they had two tasks which they loudly proclaimed:

The face of Islamic reaction.

Burnett/Contact

Unemployed Iranian oil workers demand jobs.

Golestan/Time

destroy the shah's personal torture clique and destroy the left. They have gone ahead on the former with relative ease. Only the "human rights" imperialists have tears for these butchers. And revolutionaries are glad to see them go even if the firing squads are the guns of reaction. But the mullahs have not been able to destroy the left with equal ease. First and foremost the left is armed. Then there have been the bloody battles with national minorities, trouble with the "international image" of Islam and even clique battles among the ayatollahs. This has slowed the consolidation of an effective instrument of mass terror to be used against the left and worker militants.

The miserable left-wing supporters of Khomeini's victory have taken this as a sign that all's right with the ayatollah in Iran. Particularly the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and its fraternal organization in Iran meet every murderous chant of "Death to the Communists" with pollyanna cries of, "Isn't it wonderful how the debate continues in revolutionary Iran." The fact is that the Iranian left is in very great danger. Khomeini has established the basis for a sweeping assault on the left by a series of strongarm attacks on non-Islamic critics by his fanatical followers. These tests of strength serve to intimidate the "loyal opposition" while Khomeini prepares a bloodbath.

A significant indication of the balance of political forces was the competing demonstrations called to protest the U.S. Senate's display of "human rights" tears for the shah's executed torturers. The Fedayeen called their rally for Friday, May 25, hoping they had a deal with the Islamic fundamentalists scheduled to hold their own anti-U.S. rally the day before. On Thursday the Khomeini supporters held their rally at the American Embassy with a few thousand demonstrators. Speaking from his religious retreat in Qum, Khomeini urged his followers to "fight more vigorously than you did the shah" against any who did not accept his strict Islamic rule (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 May). This they did by surrounding the few hundred Tudeh Party Khomeini loyalists who had come to the Muslim rally and by chanting, "Communists are parasites."

The big confrontation came the next day at the Fedayeen rally. The leftist demonstration, although much larger, was confronted by 12,000 Muslim fundamentalists. By the time the leftists arrived at the U.S. Embassy from Teheran University, Khomeini supporters had already posted 200 armed gunmen at the embassy walls. Further, Muslim supporters blocked off intersections from the marchers. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (26 May):

> "The leftist leaders ordered their followers to turn back and take another route rather than risk a fight. The same outcome followed every other confrontation, with the leftists constantly falling back until they dissolved into a formless mob."

Leftists in Iran do not now face the firing squads of the Islamic "Revolutionary Committees," but they are under the gun. The fake-lefts who yesterday supported Khomeini's revolution have today discovered his reactionary features—a discovery akin to Stalin's pronouncement in 1927 that he had known all along Chiang Kai-shek would turn against the Chinese Communists and butcher them. Those who have supported and continue to support the "anti-imperialist" ayatollah's revolution will become its victims unless they break from this dangerous policy and organize a broad united-front defense based on the social power of the working class. The growing discontent of the oil workers provides the objective basis for this policy. Their months of militant strikes were decisive in bringing down the shah. They fought the shah's torture regime as they now fight the Muslim army of Khomeini for the rights that are still denied them, for equality and economic survival.

Unlike those on the left who bowed to Khomeini, the international Spartacist tendency has warned from the outset that Khomeini's Islamic reaction can only mean suppression of the national minorities, barbaric segregation and oppression of women, and savage suppression of the left and working-class movement. We alone drew the necessary conclusion: the urgent need for independent mobilization of the Iranian proletariat and its allies against the mullahs. For workers revolution against Islamic theocracy! ■

Saturday June 16

Detroit TV Interview
SYL Speaks on Iran

At 4:00 pm June 16, on WTVS TV, Channel 56, Detroit Spartacus Youth League spokesmen tell why revolutionary Marxists oppose Khomeini's reactionary "Islamic Republic."

For information call: (313) 868-9095

Down with El Salvador's Bloody Dictatorship!

Massacre on the Cathedral Steps

On May 8 300 peaceful demonstrators sat in the afternoon sun in the plaza of the Metropolitan Cathedral of San Salvador, capital of the Central American country of El Salvador. The protesters sang as they demonstrated their solidarity with members of the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR) who had occupied the cathedral and two embassies (French and Costa Rican) in an attempt to bring world bourgeois opinion to bear on the dictatorial regime of General Carlos Humberto Romero and force it to release five imprisoned BPR leaders.

Suddenly, police armed with machine guns appeared and advanced on the crowd. The demonstrators began to retreat toward the cathedral as the cops began firing over their heads. As they reached the cathedral steps the police gunmen lowered their aim. Ricocheting bullets filled the plaza, and the steps of the cathedral ran with blood. "They just mowed us down like chickens," said one of those wounded in the shooting.

During a lull in the police fusillade BPR supporters in the cathedral pulled 11 bodies and 38 wounded men and women inside, but another eight bodies remained on the steps until the next day when the police finally withdrew from the plaza. In all, 23 demonstrators and bystanders were killed in the massacre and 70 were wounded.

Two days later a carpet of flowers in the red and yellow colors of the BPR covered the bloodstains on the cathedral steps as 20,000 people marched in a funeral procession for the victims. Strikes broke out and BPR militants erected street barricades to halt bus traffic. The government responded to the mass protests by releasing two of the BPR leaders and denying that the remaining three were in custody. Signaling that they would not bow to the generals' repression nor accept the partial release of prisoners, the BPR then moved to occupy the Venezuelan embassy. Once again the military butchers answered peaceful protest with a massacre. On May 22 uniformed school children marched to the Venezuelan embassy to bring food to the occupiers. Even as the students announced their peaceful intent the police opened fire. Seventeen bodies remained on the ground as the demonstrators fled the murderous gunfire.

The current mass protests in El Salvador are an outgrowth of several years of discontent and agitation ever since the elections of 1972, in which an opposition military candidate was exiled to Costa Rica after an orgy of ballot stuffing and vote fraud. The vicious repression has led to the creation of several underground guerrilla organizations and to the formation of the BPR coalition. So narrow is the government's base and so fierce is the repression that even the social-democratic Second International has links with the armed underground, and the Catholic hierarchy works closely with the "Marxist" BPR. In turn scores of priests have been assassinated by police and government-sponsored paramilitary rightists.

The unrest in El Salvador is part of an explosive scenario of repression and revolt throughout Central America. In neighboring Nicaragua virtually the entire population is in revolt against the rule of the Somoza dynasty and its mercenary National Guard. At least 4,500 people were killed in last September's attempted insurrection and a new uprising appears to be underway. Amnesty International estimates that repression in Guatemala, to El Salvador's west, has claimed 20,000 lives in the past decade and peasant unrest in Honduras is growing as well. Meanwhile the four neighboring dictatorships have been providing each other with military aid as part of the U.S.-sponsored "Inter-American Defense System."

Little-known El Salvador is itself practically a caricature of a nineteenth-century Latin American oligarchic dictatorship in which a strutting military *caudillo* rules a country where 14 families have traditionally lorded it over a mass of impoverished *peones*. As one Salvadorean priest said, "The peasants live like serfs in Europe 400 years ago." A force of 100,000 hacienda police and informers called ORDEN ("Order") insures that the rule of the landlords and their foremen goes unchallenged. Both the oligarchs and the masses live in the memory of the insurrection of 1932 in which landless peasants, expelled from the coffee plantations during the depression, rose up machete in hand. Some 30,000 peasants (in a country which had at the time a population of only 1 million) were killed in a few weeks of savage repression. Ever since, the peasants and workers have been held in check by the oldest continuous military dictatorship in Latin America.

Hawkins/Sygma

Though direct U.S. military aid ceased in 1977 the country is so dependent on the United States that, as millionaire landlord Mario Rodriguez said, "One phone call from Washington would do it" (to change the government's policies). The working people of El Salvador must not face the murderous repression of the Romero dictatorship alone. It is the internationalist duty of the American left and all defenders of democratic rights to demand that U.S. government aid to El Salvador be immediately halted. The martyrs who fell on the steps of the San Salvador cathedral will not be forgotten—their deaths are part of the revolutionary indictment of capitalist rule throughout the Americas. It is the Latin American and North American workers—not the "enlightened" bishops or "democratic" imperialists—who will avenge these massacres by wiping out all the Somozas, Romeros and their imperialist masters from the face of the earth. ■

Sandinistas Close In on Butcher Somoza

As we go to press news reports confirm that the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) has launched what it terms the "final offensive" against the rule of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. Sandinista troops have launched major assaults on towns near the Costa Rican border and guerrilla fighters have reportedly captured much of León, Nicaragua's second-largest city. On June 4 the third nationwide general strike in the past year and a half was called in support of the insurrection. As diplomats, businessmen and nuns flee the country, Somoza himself has ventured out of his air-conditioned concrete bunker in the capital city of Managua for the first time in months to go to the "front" with his mercenary commanders. In an attempt to put down a revolt backed by virtually the entire population, Somoza's government has even admitted using "paralyzing gas" (U.S.-supplied nerve gas?) to retake the southern town of Rivas.

The hatred of the Nicaraguan masses for Somoza's brutal rule is so great that again and again they have risen up in defiance of the indiscriminate terror of the National Guard. Thousands have fallen victim to the savage repression of this private army which has maintained a dynastic rule since the U.S. Marines installed the current dictator's father in 1933. As recently as last June Jimmy Carter praised Somoza for "human rights advances," and the Organization of American States "mediating team" set up at Washington's initiative simply tried to defuse the popular opposition with proposals for a "peaceful transition" to rule by some less notorious U.S. puppet. While the U.S. has backed off from its previous 100 percent support to Somoza, the "democratic" colossus to the north has a considerable debt to the tyrant whose country served as a staging ground for both the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the 1954 CIA-sponsored coup which toppled Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz.

Despite its current "human rights" mask Washington is no ally of the long-suffering working people of Central America. Nor do the liberal capitalist rulers of Costa Rica and Venezuela who are backing the FSLN offensive intend to sponsor a genuine social revolution in Nicaragua, that "Somozalandia" where a single family owns not only the government and the army but most of the means of production and commerce as well. While the reactionary press warns of the danger of "Castro communism" should Somoza fall, the real danger is that the petty-bourgeois FSLN guerrillas will call a halt to the struggle as soon as the hated despot is removed, leaving intact the oppressive system of capitalist social and economic relations.

Down with Somoza! For popular tribunals to try National Guard criminals! No U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan dictatorship! For socialist revolution throughout Central America! ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Spanish LCR Pays Homage to Catalan Bourgeois Nationalism

Beneath a sea of fluttering red and yellow striped banners, half a million protesters thronged the streets of Barcelona on September 11, the national "diada" of Catalonia. At the head of the massive demonstration marched the leaders of 23 sponsoring parties and organizations, co-signers of a joint call for "A Statute that Assures Full National Freedom for Catalonia!"

A careful observer could identify a wide spectrum of Catalan politics: stolid bourgeois republicans, respectable Socialists, well-behaved (Euro-)Communists. There, too, were the leaders of the trade unions and the Workers Commissions, side by side with Maoists, syndicalists and Catalan "independentistas." And, right up there with the rest, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR), shouting in unison with the rest, "Volem l'Estatut" (We Want a Statute [of Catalan autonomy]).

To top it off, beside them marched local leaders of the Unión del Centro Democrático (UCD)—the present ruling party in Madrid. As the neo-Francoist party of Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez and the Juan Carlos "reform" monarchy, the UCD is centrally responsible for suppressing the national rights of the Catalans! The LCR sought to excuse its scandalous participation in this all-inclusive popular front by shifting the blame onto the Eurocommunists: "Unfortunately, the limitations and vacillations imposed mainly by the PSUC and the enormous ambiguity in the content of the call permitted the bourgeois parties to join it" (*Combate*, 7 September). But this handwringing did not stop these pseudo-Trotskyist opportunists from signing the joint call with six bourgeois parties.

How does one explain this spectacle—a united march of everyone from the bourgeois opposition to the "far left," joining with the party of Franco's hand-picked successors ... all demanding "l'Estatut"?

During the bitter years of the Francoist dictatorship, as trade unions, leftist parties and bourgeois opponents alike were brutally suppressed, the old traditions of Castilian-dominated bureaucratic centralism were revived to crush provincial centers of rebellion. The Catalan and Basque languages were outlawed and their regional governments driven into exile. While these repressive measures humiliated the entrepreneurial industrialists and financiers of Barcelona and Bilbao, they were centrally aimed at the highly combative, class-conscious proletariat of the northern industrial regions.

Triunfo

Red and yellow Catalan flags in front of the Generalitat in Barcelona. On the balcony the popular front of Euro-communists, social democrats and bourgeois nationalists. In the plaza pseudo-Trotskyist LCR tails along.

With the death of "El Caudillo" and the advent of Suárez' plans to introduce a semi-bonapartist "strong state," the edifice of Francoist repression began to crack, jolted by militant strikes and popular upheavals. Throughout Spain there were tremendous outpourings of nationalist and regionalist sentiment, on a scale unmatched in postwar Europe (except perhaps for Ireland). This nationalist ferment centered in two regions, both heavily industrialized and traditional hotbeds of revolutionary agitation, the Basque region and Catalonia. On the first legal "diada"—the Catalan national festival—last year over one million demonstrators took to the streets demanding an end to the rigidly centralist straitjacket imposed by Madrid.

The same was true elsewhere. Demands for Galician autonomy were raised. Hundreds of thousands marched in Andalusia for the cause of *regional* autonomy. In the Canary Islands an independence movement was active. Often they were not sure which nationalism applied: Valencians debate whether they are Catalans or a separate nationality, and the province of Navarra has been on the verge of explosion between Basque nationalists, Aragonese regionalists and Castilian-speaking immigrants. But the level of nationalist/regionalist sentiment is so high today that not even the liberal bourgeois press speaks of a Spanish nation—it and the entire left refer only to a Spanish state.

The shock waves quickly reached Madrid, where a series of token gestures were undertaken in an effort to deflect the discontent. Prime Minister Suárez invited Tarradellas, president of the Generalitat—the "autonomous" Catalan parliament formed during the Second Republic of the 1930s—to return from his 38-year exile. Through private agreement with the king, he was reinstalled as president of a "decaffeinated" Generalitat. The fiction of Catalan autonomy was completed with Tarradella's appointment of representatives from the various parliamentary parties to the regional body and its Consell Executiu. In fact, aside from changing all the plaques from "Provincial Delegation" to "Generalitat," Catalonia was no more autonomous or self-governing than before.

As a virtually powerless body, the Generalitat's primary function has been to contain anti-government sentiment in a region where the mass workers parties, the Socialist PSC-PSOE and Communist PSUC, together received from 60 to 80 percent of the vote in the June 1977 elections to the monarchist Cortes in Madrid. The Euroreformists of the PSUC (affiliated to the Spanish Communist Party) have hailed Tarradellas' appointed Consell as the first "historic compromise" government in southern Europe, the fulfillment of their class-collaborationist fantasies. They hope that by demonstrating their best behavior in this "pre-autonomy" sandbox they can move up to participation in a "Government of National Concentration"—Carrillo's formula for a grown-up popular front.

The "Estatut," the statute of autonomy sought by the signers of the joint "crida" (call) for September 11, is nothing more than the revival of the 1932 statute which granted the regional government of Catalonia various degrees of sovereign powers. The precise content of the statute is to be arrived at through backroom negotiations with Suárez, who will in turn plead the case before the Francoist generals whom he must placate. The culmination of this process was enshrined in the new Suárez constitution, approved by referendum last December, which instituted an elected Generalitat with sovereign powers over ... the schools. To put the real content of the slogan for autonomy into perspective, it should be recalled that the original statute of '32 was a not very extensive federal arrangement that granted powers substantially less than those ceded to the states in the American constitution.

Marxists defend the democratic right of national self-determination for the Catalan and Basque nationalities. But we do not advocate regionalization and federation as the answer to the suppression of these national rights. The question of national rights ultimately comes down to the question of who has the guns—the question of the army and state power. This was made brutally clear in the 1937 Barcelona May Days when the proletarian masses of Catalonia rose up heroically to defend their conquests—notably workers control—against the repression and sabotage of the Catalan bourgeoisie, then led by Generalitat president Companys, and its Stalinist allies. Faced with barricades throughout Barcelona, assault guards were called in from the Republican government in Valencia ... and that was the end of the fraudulent "autonomy" of the 1932 Estatut.

In the 1930s the Catalan proletariat was betrayed, not only by the social-democratic and Stalinist hatchetmen of the bourgeois Republic, but also by the anarchist CNT and centrist POUM, who joined the Popular Front with Companys just when the working class most needed independent class leadership to direct the proletarian seizure of power and the consolidation of a workers republic. Today, in imitation of these historic betrayals, the latter-day centrists of the "Trotskyist" LCR, affiliated with the United Secretariat of Ernest Mandel and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), march arm-in-arm with Catalan bourgeois nationalists and even the neo-Francoist UCD.

Robert Capra

Workers fight Republican Assault Guards during Barcelona May Days, 1937. When proletariat rose up Catalan "autonomy" vanished. Marxists support right of self-determination.

chanting their slogans and signing their joint "cridas" with perfect equanimity.

Atypically, the opportunists of the LCR were at first a bit slow to pick up on the full import of Catalan nationalism as the latest left-wing fad, since they were busy capitulating to Basque nationalism in fusing with the once-guerrillaist ETA-VI. Rushing to make up for lost time, in the last year they have stumbled all over themselves in their feverish pursuit of a "militant" formula for tailing after Companys' heirs. Last April the "Catalan National Committee" of the LCR called for an "Estatut made and approved in Catalunya" and a "democratic, sovereign Generalitat at the service of the workers." Not a word about the right of self-determination. As to the class content of the government, it explained that by "workers self-government" it meant "a government of the parties which have the trust of the majority of our people, a Consell Executiu of the PSC [Catalan Socialist Party], the PSOE and the PSUC" (*Demà*, 24 May 1978) In other words, a bourgeois regional government, led by reformists. And how do these supposed revolutionary Trotskyists justify their call for a capitalist government of a pseudo-autonomous regional parliament which would still leave fundamental power in the hands of the army and central state apparatus inherited from Francoism?

> "For the majority of the workers and the people *Generalitat is synonymous with self-government*. The workers with a minimum of national consciousness are beginning to mistrust Tarradellas, some are against the present Generalitat, but they are not against *any* Generalitat, they just want a better Generalitat. This compels us to use in our agitation and propaganda the term Generalitat as a synonym for self-government and to propose another content."
>
> —[LCR] *Informe de Pedagogia*, No. 20 (1978)

The naked anti-Marxism of such a position caused some embarrassment among these purported Trotskyists, however, leading them to withdraw the slogan of a "democratic, sovereign Generalitat" and seek more subtle formulations. But the LCR leadership has encountered difficulties in blending the once-considerable political differences between the components of their recently fused organization. Previously, the pro-Mandel LCR had called for a (bourgeois) federal republic in Spain while the pro-SWP Liga Comunista (LC) took a more nationalist line, calling for separate constituent assemblies for each nationality. Ever ready to compromise on questions of mere program, the leadership of the merged LCR now calls for *both* slogans at the same time:

> "The appropriate framework for the organization of the exercise of self-determination, based on the proposals of the various currents, especially the *independentistas*, would be National Constituent Assemblies, in which we would put forward the proposal for federation, for a union of the peoples in the framework of a federal republic."
>
> —[LCR] *Congreso* (6 July 1978)

In reality, and in Marxist tradition as well, the right of self-determination is in no way "exercised" through proposals for regional autonomy, local self-government and similar decentralizing measures. The latter can be democratic demands against the oppression exercised by a rigidly bureaucratic centralist regime on areas with particular social conditions or national composition. They can also be a smokescreen for reactionary mobilizations, such as the opposition to integration in the American South during the late 1950s around the slogan of "states' rights." And above all, they can be easily revoked by the central power which controls the armed forces, as was seen in the demise of Catalan autonomy in 1937.

Triunfo

Catalan nationalists call for statute of autonomy.

Lénin was quite categorical. His 1916 theses on "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" state: "The right of nations to self-determination implies exclusively the right to independence in the political sense, the right to free political separation from the oppressor nation." And in his earlier article, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1914), he writes:

> "How was 'self-determination' understood by the delegates to the Second Congress [of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party]...?
>
> "The following three extracts from the Minutes provide the answer: '*Martynov* is of the opinion that the term 'self-determination' should not be given a broad interpretation; it merely means the right of a nation to establish itself as a separate polity, not regional self-government'....
>
> "The reader will see that at the Second Congress of the Party, which adopted the programme, it was unanimously understood that self-determination meant 'only' the right to secession."

In other words, by identifying an Estatut (i.e., a measure similar to the 1932 statute of autonomy) with self-determination, the LCR is capitulating to the timid nationalism of the Catalan bourgeoisie. This is particularly dangerous in Spain where Barcelona workers in the 1930's thought they were protected by the Estatut and largely limited their struggles to Catalonia. By joining in the cry "Volem l'Estatut" and submerging themselves in the Catalan autonomy movement for a Generalitat with full powers, the LCR only encourages such nationalist illusions.

Moreover, their call for separate national (i.e., regional) constituent assemblies is a step toward breaking up the real solidarity of the Spanish proletariat. The LCR makes it clear that its slogan of a "federal republic" is in fact a call for a federation of sovereign republics:

> "...our party will propose that the Estatut define Catalonia as a Catalan Republic, federated with the rest of the peoples of the State...."
>
> —*Demà*, 24 May 1978

As Leninists have always held, recognizing the right of self-determination is quite distinct from calling for its implementation, i.e., independence. And Spain is one of the most striking examples where communists would struggle doggedly to maintain working-class unity within the framework of the present state. Despite the treachery of the reformist Eurocommunist and social-democratic misleaders, there has actually been an impressive degree of solidarity between workers of the different nationalities that make up the country; Catalan workers have frequently staged work stoppages and massive demonstrations against Guardia Civil assaults on Basque nationalists, for example.

On the other hand, the Basque and Catalan regions, while suffering discrimination (linguistic prohibitions, distribution of state services, repression) at the hand of the Francoist state apparatus, were the most developed regions in the country, containing the core of Spanish industry. Were they to separate, the two largest, best organized, most combative sectors of the proletariat would be subtracted, greatly weakening the workers movement in the rest of Spain and representing a considerable *defeat* for the European proletarian revolution. Yet this is the direction in which the LCR wishes to go in chasing after radical petty-bourgeois nationalism in the Basque region and the more moderate (and massive) bourgeois/reformist-led autonomy movement in Catalonia.

In contrast, Trotsky wrote at the very beginning of the Spanish revolution in 1931:

> "The separatist tendencies present the revolution with the democratic task of *national self-determination*. These tendencies were accentuated, to all appearances, during the period of the [Primo de Rivera] dictatorship. But while the 'separatism' of the Catalan bourgeoisie is only a pawn in its play with the Madrid government against the Catalan and Spanish people, the separatism of the workers and peasants is only the shell of their social rebellion. One must distinguish very rigidly between these two forms of separatism. Precisely, however, in order to draw the line between the nationally oppressed workers and peasants and their bourgeoisie, the proletarian vanguard must take the boldest and most sincere position on the question of national self-determination. The workers will fully and completely defend the *right* of the Catalans and Basques to organize their state life independently in the event that the majority of these nationalities express themselves for complete separation. But this does not, of course, mean that the advanced workers will push the Catalans and Basques on the road of secession. On the contrary, the economic unity of the country with extensive autonomy of national districts, would represent great advantages for the workers and peasants from the viewpoint of economy and culture."
>
> —"The Revolution in Spain," January 1931

After almost four decades in the straitjacket of bonapartist, centralist dictatorship, this remains true today. While supporting demands for decentralization of certain state functions to allow wide latitude for regional autonomy, and unreservedly defending the right of self-determination of the different nationalities; proletarian revolutionists in Spain would at this point seek above all to focus on struggles to mobilize the entire proletariat against the Suárez/Juan Carlos "strong state" regime inherited from Francoism.

The international Spartacist tendency has consistently called for the recognition of the right of self-determination for the Catalans and Basques, and for a soviet federation of Iberian workers republics, in the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe. The key element is the construction of an authentic Trotskyist party in Spain, built in the fight against Pabloist liquidationism and for the reforging of the Fourth International. ■

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Hate Carter...

(continued from page 1)

For example, Merrill Lynch Economics' chief forecaster ventures:

> "This expansion has had it. The odds are tipping toward the recession already having started. We think there's about a 55 percent chance of a recession beginning before midyear."
> —*Business Week*, 4 June

This time around, recession will fall particularly hard on working people. Despite four years of recovery from the 1974-75 worldwide depression, the U.S. unemployment rate still remains one-fifth higher than it was in 1973. The recovery scarcely existed for blacks who suffer 12 percent unemployment and an incredible 36 percent jobless rate among black youth (*Monthly Labor Review*, April 1979). Moreover, because wage earners largely carried the post-1975 expansion by going ever deeper into debt, mass unemployment in the next period would cause particular hardship. By the end of last year, for every dollar in the annual after-tax income, the average consumer owed 96 cents, mainly for mortgages and auto loans. Hit by long layoffs, hundreds of thousands of working-class families will face mortgage foreclosures, auto repossessions and bankruptcy.

During the past year of raging inflation the real take-home pay of the average worker has already been cut 4.5 percent. Yet the centerpiece of Carter's "anti-inflation" policies has been to cut them even further with his attempts to impose 7 percent wage guidelines. Luckily, this has not been too successful. Already half-way into the '79 bargaining year, his guidelines are in tatters. The government anti-inflation people led by Alfred Kahn went through an elaborate song and dance, allowing for "old money" and various other exceptions, in order to claim that the Teamster contract increase of roughly 30 percent in three years actually fell under the guidelines.

Since then the IAM United Airlines mechanics won raises of 30 percent over three years, and even the poor sisters of the labor movement, the ILGWU settled last week for 25 percent. To top it off, a May 31 court decision by federal district judge Barrington D. Parker ruled that Carter's attempts to enforce "voluntary" wage guidelines through denying government contracts was illegal. "For practical purposes, the decision served as the final nail in the coffin," said UAW chief Doug Fraser (*New York Times*, 1 June).

Billy and Bert

The spectre of "Peanutgate" continues to hang over Jimmy Carter's head just as it has for the past 20 months since investigations into Lance's shady banking deals led to his resignation as head of the Office of Management and Budget in September 1977. As expected, nothing in the May 24 indictment mentions Lance's notorious loans of almost $7 million to the Carter family warehouse, many of them negotiated during the 1976 presidential campaign. But the bones of this old skeleton continue to rattle in the Carter closet. If anyone gets to Bert or Billy and either decides to talk, it could be curtains for Carter.

What is Peanutgate? While bits and pieces have been trickling into the press for some time, a recently published exposé by *Los Angeles Times* reporter Peter Peckarsky ties together the myriad threads of the undoubtedly illegal and possibly felonious dealings which may have put Jimmy Carter in the White House. In Peckarsky's account, reprinted in the 13 May Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, he shows how funds had been improperly transferred from the family business to the Carter presidential campaign. This was apparently in flagrant violation of the 1975 Federal Election Campaign Law which limits individual contributions to a presidential campaign to $1,000 and forbids direct corporate contributions altogether.

According to Peckarsky, some $1 million in loans made in 1975 and 1976 by the National Bank of Georgia to the Carter Warehouse for warehouse construction and for purchasing a peanut sheller made little or no business sense. For one thing, the Carters, heavily involved in the campaign, were not expanding their business. The peanuts in the Carter warehouse were supposed to represent collateral on the bank loans, and as the shelled peanuts were sold—i.e., as the collateral on hand diminished—Carter Warehouse was obliged to make payments on the loan. But they didn't.

Where's Billy?

UPI

Instead, Billy Carter, who controlled the warehouse during the campaign, transferred some $500,000 from the warehouse accounts at the National Bank of Georgia to his own account, then withdrew the money about one month before the April 1976 Pennsylvania Democratic Party primary. At the same time, Carter's campaign advertising agency, Gerald Rafshoon Advertising, Inc., supposedly gave the Carter campaign a highly unusual line of credit running in the vicinity of $600,000. Pennsylvania was the make-or-break primary for Carter, writes Peckarsky. Morris Udall and Henry Jackson spent all they had there and lost. It was in Pennsylvania that Carter virtually wrapped up the election.

What actually happened? Nobody's talking, especially Billy (perhaps for the first time) who took the Fifth Amendment at a grand jury investigation ordered by the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Comptroller of the Currency last fall. During the heat of the new investigation, the president's brother was scheduled to appear on a February 11 CBS "Face the Nation" program, which was abruptly cancelled the day before when Rafshoon's secretary vigorously protested. Then there are Billy's convenient disappearances: his February hospitalization for bronchitis and a seven-week alcoholism treatment in a California military facility which began March 6. "Coincidentally or otherwise," Peckarsky writes, "this gave Billy Carter a convenient excuse for avoiding federal investigators as the three-year statute of limitations on criminal violations of federal election law during the 1976 primaries ran out."

Peanutgate is not Teapot Dome or Watergate. Jimmy Carter did not bug or burgle his bourgeois opponents. The accusations are that he lied about the collateral in the Carter warehouse and instead of paying back his loans on time put the money into his campaign. In doing so, of course, the Carters broke the campaign financing laws, laws which the bourgeoisie has always felt are ridiculous, passed only because they felt they had to do something in the wake of Watergate. But presidents are not supposed to openly break laws, even such patently ineffectual ones.

The American bourgeoisie has enjoyed the picture of the presidential candidate as "self-made man," like Richard Nixon or Jimmy Carter appearing before the American public with their rags-to-riches stories in "the land of opportunity." But there is no honest American self-made millionaire with enough ambition and ruthlessness to be the chief of the most terrible imperialist power in the world and whose personal hooks can withstand a simple, careful audit. So today the ruling circles are looking around their smoke-filled rooms for a candidate with *old* money, a candidate who let his father, or preferably his grandfather, do his stealing for him.

So all eyes are on Kennedy, who waits in the wings in case a financial scandal—or something else—capsizes Carter's leaky ship before 1980. Of course, Kennedy has his own problems as a moral sanitizer. Although he is too rich to bother to embezzle, a lot of people still want to know what really happened with Mary Jo Kopechne that night in Chappaquidick. For his part, Kennedy would prefer to run in 1984 when he is a shoo-in rather than risk splitting the party badly now.

But if Kennedy does get in, despite his liberal campaign promises so dear to the hearts of the "black elected officials" and the labor fakers, he will prove that he, like the rest of the capitalist politicians, is no friend of the workers, minorities or the poor. With all of Kennedy's hearings on nuclear power or Henry Jackson's investigations into the oil companies, none of them can call for expropriation of the energy trusts—because they own them! And compared to the butchery of Vietnam, the Bay of Pigs, Santo Domingo or Attica—the real crimes of the bourgeoisie—Carter's machinations are small potatoes.

Capitalist political scandals can lead to real crises for the ruling class. But so long as there is no working-class alternative to the twin parties of capital, the effects are contained within the confines of bourgeois politics and quickly dissipated. Watergate led only to the imperialist hypocrisy of Carter. Labor militants must fight to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucratic union misleaders and build a workers party to fight for a workers government. Without this they are faced with the perennial "choice" between a Peanutgate swindler or Camelot's "knight errant" of Chappaquidick. ■

Novack...

(continued from page 5)

proposed in addition a schedule leading at short intervals to one half capability, one fourth capability, and so on" (Joseph Hansen, *Militant*, June 24, 1977).

Nazis

1939, SOCIALIST APPEAL: "The wailing and weeping about the Nazis' rights can safely be left to the prissy Liberals and phoney Democrats. The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action" (March 3, 1939).

SWP TODAY: "An effective struggle against reactionary ideas and violence cannot be carried out if one begins by placing qualifications on democratic rights in the case of fascists.... Because of the importance of democratic rights of the oppressed, the denial of this right to racists and fascists can only backfire" (*International Socialist Review*, August 1975).

Trade Union Democracy and the State

TROTSKY: "The primary slogan for the struggle is: complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy. The second slogan is: trade union democracy. This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state" (*Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*).

SWP TODAY: "But not by the sectarians' logic. According to their rule book the trade union struggle must proceed in two distinct stages. First comes the fight for trade union independence. Then, and only then, are workers allowed to fight for democracy in their unions.... The precondition for union democracy according to *WV* is the fight for independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state" (*Militant*, June 23, 1978).

Klan...

(continued from page 2)

official, has vowed that the protesters will march again June 9: "We may not make it past Church Street, but the record must show that we tried to exercise our constitutional rights." This appeal to the state could turn out tragically to be more prophetic than Cottonreader, with his liberal pacifistic illusions, believes. Mistaken notions that the cops will protect the protesters should have been shattered by the near-bloodbath of May 26. Only an independent, *mass* mobilization of blacks, the left and the labor movement can protect these courageous marchers. If the United League, for example, which claims some 60,000 members in Mississippi, mobilized in force in Decatur, the Klan wouldn't dare open fire! The KKK *can* be defeated. What is more dangerous in the long run is that the black protests have remained largely isolated—and disarmed politically and physically by liberal and pacifist illusions.

Smash the Klan! For the right of self-defense! Free Tommy Lee Hines! Drop the charges against Curtis Lee Robinson and the other SCLC demonstrators! ■

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Save Dodge Main...

(continued from page 12)

Chrysler's most dilapidated, outmoded and inefficient physical facilities. Unlike the equally old Jefferson Avenue plant which was modernized a year ago to the tune of $17 million, Chrysler has not put a cent into Dodge Main except what was needed for model changes. So it is Dodge Main workers who have been chosen as the first to be sacrificed.

The 2,000 Dodge Main workers who packed their local hall on June 3 for their regularly scheduled union meeting were in no mood to listen to any of Chrysler's con talk about rehiring opportunities. They came prepared to fight for their jobs. The main union banner read, "No Dodge Main—No Hamtramck—No Bacon and Eggs. Keep Hamtramck Assembly Open." Interspersed throughout the crowd were other homemade signs such as "Save our Bread and Butter" and "Keep our Family Together."

But the UAW bureaucracy had no intention of permitting discussion of any militant alternative to its gutless do-nothing policies. After being herded into a high school stadium, the Local 3 members sat through a rock band performance, then heard local Democratic Party politicians and International union reps promise that they would be able to persuade Chrysler to keep the plant open. At even the slightest hint of militancy the crowd roared, but the only action which the International proposed was that union members write their Congressmen to demand Chrysler keep the plant open.

After an hour, and without any discussion, the bureaucrats disbanded the rally, sending everybody home. Nevertheless hundreds of dissatisfied union members hung around the union hall, waiting for something to happen. When UAW Local 3 president John Smith came through the crowd announcing no more meetings, a number of workers surrounded him yelling, "What do you mean, no more meetings? That was nothing but a pep rally! Where's our meeting?" Another worker shouted, "You're supposed to be leading all these people here! What the hell are you going to do?" Unable to answer, Smith just skulked off and left the scene altogether.

From the very announcement of the Dodge Main closing, the UAW bureaucracy's policy has been surrender without a fight. Local president Smith told *WV*, "We don't want to make no threats." Then at a UAW press conference Marc Stepp praised Iacocca, supposedly in contrast to "poor labor relations officials" at Chrysler, and promised solemnly that he did not plan to "punish" Chrysler with job actions in other plants. Stepp even hinted that the union might accept a "mothballing" of Dodge Main, by which a skeleton crew of workers would maintain its physical plant.

While the brunt of the Hamtramck layoffs falls on black workers, Stepp, the UAW's only black International vice president, shamelessly defended Chrysler's "right" to dispose of Dodge Main as it sees fit: "If indeed they close the plant, well, they own the plant, not the union and not the workers," he told reporters. But it is precisely the UAW bureaucracy's bootlicking subordination to the capitalist order that stands as the main obstacle to Chrysler workers maintaining their jobs! Rather than accepting Chrysler's "right" to fire as it sees fit, UAW members must demand militant actions, including the sit-down strike. In a situation where the company is likely willing to take a strike as a convenient means to wear down oversized inventories, the response of the UAW must be effective and coordinated *plant occupations* where there are mass layoffs. Not one job must be sacrificed to Chrysler's profit-gouging greed! If Chrysler says it cannot afford to operate its plants, then militants must demand that they be expropriated without compensation!

Thousands of Chrysler workers recognize that Dodge Main may signal their fate as well. The first upsurge of militancy by auto workers at even a single factory would threaten to spread like wildfire through the Chrysler plants, heavily concentrated in Detroit, breaking the stranglehold of the UAW bureaucracy and setting the stage for a powerful industrywide fight for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay to provide jobs for all. The historic weapon of the sit-down strike, through which the UAW was built over 40 years ago, must be reclaimed by auto workers today in order to salvage their jobs and working conditions from decaying American capitalism.

For unlimited unemployment benefits! For the unlimited right of recall for laid-off workers! For government takeover and financing of bankrupt SUB funds! For factory occupations to reverse plant shutdowns and halt mass layoffs! ■

Defend Keith Anwar!

CHICAGO - Inland Steel has fired militant Keith Anwar for honoring the picket lines of striking United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 8180. Anwar, an apprentice millwright and Local 1010 member, has been honoring the lines since Local 8180 was locked out May 1. On May 18 he was fired.

A leaflet defending Anwar distributed to Inland steel workers June 5 points out:

> "This is the second time in a year Inland has victimized Anwar for his trade union solidarity. Last summer he honored the picket lines of Bricklayers Local 6 and successfully defeated a company attempt to discipline him. Anwar participated in mass pickeiing by the bricklayers which led to a shutdown of construction work at Inland and victory for the strike. ... "Our union power has already been straight-jacketed by the ENA [the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement"]. Now Inland wants to strip the USWA of every class-struggle weapon, and drive serious fighters like Anwar from the plant. The steel barons want to push steel workers around like they did during the non-union era. This firing threatens the right to strike, to set up and defend picket lines - ultimately the union itself. And how can our union leaders really defend the membership when they respect no-strike pledges instead of picket lines? "The fight to reverse this firing urgently requires the support of rank-and-file steel workers. Statements supporting Anwar have been made by leaders of Local 8180 and Bricklayers Local 6. But it is Local 1010 backed by the District which has the power to defeat the company. ..."

While continuing the fight through the union grievance procedure, Anwar has also filed suit with the National Labor Relations Board against Inland. To help defray legal expenses, a defense fund has been established. The Partisan Defense Committee has made a donation to the Keith Anwar Defense Fund and *WV* urges members and supporters of the labor movement to do the same. Contributions should be sent to: Keith Anwar Defense Fund, Box 7914, Chicago, Illinois 60680. ■

Canadian Election...

(continued from page 3)

the NDP and imaginary "independent" candidates of the Quebec labor bureaucracy.

Like the NDP, the RWL dropped all demands for nationalization (with or without compensation) and omitted any demands for Canada to get out of NATO or NORAD. The RWL also dropped its demand for withdrawal of Canadian troops from the Near East, where under UN auspices they serve as border guards for Zionist expansionism. The RWL has even dropped paying lip-service to the Trotskyist position of military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states from imperialist attack or domestic counterrevolution which was contained in its previous electoral statements. Instead it restricted itself to supporting "the struggle of workers in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China for basic democratic rights to organize" (*Socialist Voice*, 21 May). This statement could have been made by George Meany or any Cold War social democrat from Max Shachtman to Willy Brandt. The RWL is a political maggot which has attached itself to the stinking corpse of Canadian social democracy; as such its campaign no more deserves the support of workers than does that of its host.

Alone among would-be socialist organizations in Canada, the Trotskyist League fought for a Leninist policy of working-class independence and support for Quebec's right of self-determination. As the TL wrote in the May 1979 *Spartacist Canada*: "In these elections no candidates deserve even critical support from revolutionaries. The working class needs a new leadership which will lead it forward in the struggle for socialist revolution. No Vote to the NDP! For a Workers Party that Fights for a Workers Government!" ■

Women & Revolution

New York Spartacist League Class Series

The formation of an "Islamic Republic" in Iran, pledged to subjugate women through a return to 7th Century Koranic law and the imposition of the veil, has focused renewed worldwide attention on the question of women's oppression. The Spartacist League, a revolutionary socialist organization, is sponsoring a bi-weekly class series to explore the sources of and solutions to the historic exploitation and special oppression of over half the world's population

- Marxism and Women's Rights (June 12)
- The Russian Revolution and Working Women (June 26)
- The Revolution Betrayed: The Rise of Stalinism (July 10)
- Organizing Against Special Oppression: A Working-Class Program for Victory (July 24)

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For readings and more info, call 925-5665 Sponsored by NYU Friends of the Spartacus Youth League

EEC Elections...

(continued from page 4)

similar to that of many left social democrats.

OCRFI's Social-Democratic Third Campism

While the USec's EEC election platform contains one sentence on Soviet defensism, its main rival, the French-centered Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI) led by Pierre Lambert, does not even have this figleaf of Trotskyist orthodoxy. Although the Lambertist Organizing Committee is boycotting the EEC elections, its motivation for doing so places it *to the right* of the Mandelites on the question.

The OCRFI opposes the Common Market mainly because it perpetuates the post-1945 "division of Europe," (centrally of Germany)—i.e., does not extend into the Soviet bloc. In fact, the imperialist bourgeoisies of the EEC very much want to overcome the Cold War division of Europe by overthrowing the proletarian state power and collectivized property of the Soviet bloc. The OCRFI *equates* the West European imperialist ruling classes with the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy as *joint* violators of national self-determination for the peoples of Europe. It explicitly *equates* as enemies of the European working classes NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Such an equation is blatant abandonment of the Trotskyist principle of defense of the USSR against imperialism.

Lambert & Co. come out against the division of Germany with the following slogans: "Unconditional unity of Germany!" "Withdrawal of all occupation troops, East and West!" "Down with the Berlin Wall!" "Freedom of expression, communication, assembly, for organizations in all of Germany!" In concrete realities these slogans amount to *a call for social counterrevolution in East Germany*, for its conquest by the West German imperialist state! Such slogans could well have been raised by Konrad Adenauer in the 1950s and are today raised by a wing of the ruling Social Democrats.

Defend the Gains of October! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

The outbreak of imperialist world war in 1914 signaled that the forces of production had outgrown capitalist property relations and the nation-state system, and so required the international socialist reconstruction of society as the only alternative to a barbaric orgy of destruction. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was the first great step toward the Socialist United States of Europe. However, the delay of socialist revolutions in West Europe laid the basis for the bureaucratic degeneration of Soviet Russia (Stalinism). Committed to conciliating imperialism in the name of "socialism in one country," the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is an enemy of proletarian revolution in the West. And now the Mandelites tail the Stalinist reformists while the Lambertists chase after their social-democratic cousins.

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is dedicated to the struggle to reforge the Fourth International against the revisionist opportunism of the Mandels and Lamberts. Today the iSt is unique in upholding the Trotskyist principle of unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism, as part of a program for anti-capitalist socialist revolution in West Europe and proletarian political revolution against Stalinism in East Europe. Genuine unity of Europe will not come through chimerical "reform" of the bosses' Common Market or the pipe-dream of "détente" with imperialism, but only through revolutionary action of the workers, East and West! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Sit-Down Strikes to Fight Mass Layoffs

Save Dodge Main!

DETROIT—On May 29 the Chrysler Corporation, the largest employer in the Detroit area, announced its latest move to prop up sagging profits: the 70-year-old Dodge Main assembly plant in Hamtramck, Michigan will be closed down for good next summer. Of the 5,000 mainly black and Arab assembly workers now employed—half the total of four years ago—1,000 will be sacked this July and the rest a year later.

While Chrysler officials are hoping to save up to $50 million from the shutdown of Dodge Main, the picture is a lot grimmer for the Hamtramck workers. Stunned by the announcement (the company didn't even bother to inform the union of the plant closing until an hour before it was announced to the public), thousands of Hamtramck workers—many with 15 years seniority and more—will have to look for new jobs. And hundreds of these know they will never find them. The large number of Arab workers, at one point as much as a quarter of the workforce at Dodge Main, will find it particularly difficult to get work due to discrimination.

"Assurances" by company president Lee Iacocca that most of the Hamtramck workers will be placed in other Detroit-area Chrysler plants are recognized as pure bunk by the Dodge Main workers. Chrysler claims that it will be adding another 1,800 jobs to Jefferson Avenue Assembly when it consolidates its operations next year. To begin with this would mean jobs for only a fraction of the Hamtramck workforce, and for these (mainly older) workers it means starting at the *bottom* of the seniority ladder, with the hardest, dirtiest jobs. Moreover, it assumes that the corporation's financial prospects will brighten in the future, something that no Chrysler employee has any reason to expect. Iacocca's assertion that the remaining Hamtramck workers will fill jobs opened up by "normal attrition" at other plants is downright insulting to the intelligence of Dodge workers.

Rally at Dodge Main June 3: Workers want action, UAW tops say, "Write your Congressman." WV Photo

The fact is, the U.S. economy has begun its tailspin. The official unemployment rate in Detroit stands at over 8 percent. Not only Chrysler but the other auto giants have begun to lay off. This week Ford announced a two-week shutdown of three assembly plants, idling 7,100 workers. But for Chrysler workers the situation is even bleaker. Some 13,000 Chrysler workers are already out of a job, 6,000 in the Detroit area. Far from there being openings for new hiring, thousands of Chrysler workers at Dodge Truck in Warren, Michigan and St. Louis, at Lyons Trim, at Trenton Engine—and 1,200 others at Hamtramck who were given the axe last winter—are on the street, most of them laid off "indefinitely."

The Chrysler bosses, whose share of the American market has slipped from 17 percent in 1970 to 11 percent today, are preparing new permanent firings and plant closings to shore up their ailing profits. Iacocca, formerly top dog at Ford, said as much in an interview just before the Hamtramck plant closing was announced. "You'll see a lot of action in the next six months. We are planning to cut costs, obviously" (*Detroit News*, 30 May).

The Hamtramck workers are under no illusion that they will face an easy time once they are thrown into the street. The United Auto Workers (UAW) Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) funds, designed to provide protection to unemployed auto workers for short-term layoffs, are practically depleted at Chrysler. UAW Chrysler division head Marc Stepp announced recently that the balance had slipped from $38 million in March to a paltry $14.5 million today. For laid-off Chrysler workers this means:

- Under the contract, all workers with under one year seniority receive *no* SUB benefits.
- In June, Chrysler SUB benefits will be reduced *20 percent* for all workers with under *20 years* seniority.
- Even with benefits paid out at a reduced level, the SUB fund is projected to run dry in August, leaving only workers with top seniority eligible to receive still further reduced benefits from a second fund until it, too, is drained.
- The state of Michigan has thus far refused to extend the benefit period for its measly unemployment insurance from 26 to 52 weeks. Meanwhile Governor Milliken has proposed a whopping $85 million cutback in social and welfare services and benefits.

"No Dodge Main—No Hamtramck—No Bacon and Eggs"

Dodge Main was one of the centers of black militancy in Detroit in the late 1960s. In 1968 the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) organized a highly effective boycott of two nearby bars that refused to hire blacks, and when do-nothing union officials sat on their hands, led a wildcat strike protesting company firings and discrimination. Shortly thereafter Chrysler began to hire Arab workers in large numbers, in an attempt to break up the increasing solidarity of the largely black workforce. The company was in fact partially successful in inflaming tensions between Arab workers—economically desperate and vulnerable to deportation, and therefore initially less militant on the shop floor—and black workers responsive to a militant but nationalist ideology, largely indifferent to the interests of Arab as well as white workers.

However, the succession of layoffs that have gutted Dodge Main in recent years must serve as a sharp reminder of the need for all auto workers—black, white and Arab—to stand together to defend their jobs. The huge eight-story Dodge Main complex was once one of the largest auto plants in the country, and even today it houses two complete assembly lines. But it is also one of

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WV a Hot Item in Detroit

When Chrysler announced the complete shutdown of Dodge Main last week, the 5,000 workers there were stunned. They turned at first to their union leaders, but at the June 3 rally of Dodge Main workers, all UAW Chrysler Division head Marc Stepp could offer was, "Write your congressman." Yet someone did have answers. Throughout the week at plant gates across the city Chrysler workers eagerly snatched up copies of our last issue with its back-page headline demanding, "UAW Must Call Sit-Down Strikes!"

Some 176 copies of *WV* No. 232 have been sold to Dodge Main workers, 118 at the Sunday union rally alone. Sales at Warren Truck, Lynch Road and Jefferson Assembly brought total sales to Chrysler workers to more than 225. "We need to shut down all the plants here and nationwide," one worker told *WV*. "The companies wouldn't know what hit them." Other left newspapers are being distributed at the plants reporting the shutdown at Dodge Main, but *WV* is the only paper which tells the truth from the standpoint of the workers and has the program to take the class struggle forward to victory.

WV Photo

Chrysler workers couldn't agree more.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 234 — 22 June 1979

Military Victory to Anti-Somoza Rebels!

Nicaragua Civil War

For Popular Insurrection Against the Dictatorship!

For a Workers and Peasants Government!

Funeral for another victim of bloody Somoza regime. Meiselas/Magnum

JUNE 19—After weeks of heavy fighting between the guerrilla army of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the praetorian National Guard of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, rebel leaders are now predicting that their "final offensive" will achieve victory "in a matter of days." Already the five nations of the Andean Pact—Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia—have taken an officially neutral position in the raging civil war, and the members of a provisional government have been named by the Sandinistas. While it is not possible to predict with certainty the imminent fall of the hated tyrant, the U.S. State Department is sufficiently worried to call an emergency meeting of its colonial ministry, the Organization of American States.

On the battlefield fighting has seesawed from day to day since the launching of the FSLN offensive on June 8, tilting toward the Sandinistas in recent days. The country's second city, León, has been in rebel hands for weeks and its National Guard barracks has now been burned to the ground as Somoza's troops sought to flee by donning civilian clothes. As we go to press two successive FSLN columns invading from Costa Rica are attempting to establish a "liberated zone" around the contested provincial capital of Rivas, where the provisional government would be installed. And in the slum districts of the capital city of Managua, large areas have become Sandinista strongholds which are bombed at random by government planes. Only Somoza's concrete bunker and the U.S. embassy remain as unchallenged outposts of the puppet dictator's rule.

The current offensive has shaken the country as deeply as last September's general strike/uprising. With civilian life brought to a standstill by a total work stoppage called by the Sandinistas on June 8, the populations of Managua and other cities have been without food, gasoline or electricity for days. FSLN forces attempt to distribute scarce supplies in districts under their control, but driven by hunger the impoverished slum population has been forced to seize food wherever they can find it with widespread looting of markets. Somoza, for his part, is determined to hold out to the last, relying on the Guard's superior numbers, munitions and heavy weaponry to outlast the rebels' stockpiles. So far the working masses, though overwhelmingly sympathetic to the anti-Somoza forces, have remained largely

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SALT Hoax

Not a Penny Nor a Man for the U.S. War Machine!

The Great SALT Debate has begun. The U.S. imperialists—who saturated Vietnam with terror bombing raids until the country looked like a crater-pocked moonscape, who brought a murderous wall of fire to Dresden and deadly nuclear destruction to Hiroshima and Nagasaki—fill the air with talk about "the cause of world peace."

SALT is a phony. The arms build-up will continue to escalate as before. Since SALT I was signed in 1972 the U.S. has added three new warheads to its missile force *every day*. And President Carter has recently approved the development of the new MX mobile missile, which will triple the number of warheads of the existing Minuteman 3.

The SALT debate is phony. SALT "doves" and "hawks" agree on stepped-up war "preparedness." For all the speeches about "deterrence," the "missile gap" and the "need for security," imperialist disarmament schemes are a propaganda smokescreen behind which the capitalists' war machine grinds exceedingly fast.

What is real is that every missile is aimed at the Soviet Union, the industrial/military powerhouse of that third of the world where capitalism has been overthrown. A recent U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency document states that the present arsenal can destroy 200 Soviet cities. About 60 warheads would strike Moscow, for instance, with 1,400 times the megatonnage that hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "Not a building or a tree would remain standing."

Our opposition to the war drive of the American ruling class, which includes its "disarmament" hoaxes, is not that of pacifistic liberals. We recognize that the USSR, based upon a collectivized economy, is, despite its oppressive Stalinist bureaucracy, a great historic gain for the workers of the world. We defend the Soviet Union against imperialist militarism and support its having whatever weapons are necessary for that purpose.

The danger is that the Soviet bureaucrats believe in the illusions of détente, in their desire to reach accord with and rely on the imperialist "doves." In contrast to the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucrats who peddle "disarmament" schemes, revolutionaries recognize that war and nuclear armaments will end only with the advent of international proletarian revolution. We stand in the tradition of Leon Trotsky, who posed the question 40 years ago:

> "But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers."

Behind S.F. Night of Gay Rage

page 3

Save Jailed Iranian SWPers!

In the wake of the Iranian government's bloody suppression of the recent struggle for Arab rights in southern Khuzistan Province, the center of the country's oil industry, hundreds have been arrested in sweeping raids organized by the murderous "Imam's Committee." Among the victims are nine members of Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party, fraternally linked to the American SWP and the United Secretariat [USec]). As we go to press, the whereabouts of seven of the arrested militants remain unknown, and it is clear that their lives are in grave danger.

A united-front defense must be immediately undertaken to publicize internationally the case of these courageous militants if they, together with the dozens of Fedayeen arrested in the aftermath of the Turkoman and Kurdish uprisings, are to be saved from execution. This defense must be based on the left and labor movements internationally and must seek to mobilize the powerful Iranian proletariat as well as other oppressed sectors of Iranian society. There can be no temporizing with regard to this urgent task of defending the leftists against Ayatollah Khomeini's white terror. But the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. and the USec have seriously undermined their own defense by tying it to continued support for the same "Islamic revolution" which now holds a gun to the heads of their comrades.

Free the Fedayeen and the nine HKS members! Hands off the Iranian left! End the attacks against national minorities and women in Iran!

Australasian Spartacist

Australian SWP and SL/ANZ contingents before the SWP abandoned the HKS comrades' defense and went home.

"We're Going to Arrest You All"

The HKS in the oil refining center of Ahwaz had been harassed and brutalized for months by the religious fanatics of the local Revolutionary Committee, who repeatedly disrupted their public sales with physical attacks and arrests.

According to the 22 June issue of the SWP's *Militant*, on May 30 HKS members Omid Mirbaha and Mohammed Poorkahvaz were dragged from their car by Imam's Committee guards, taken to Committee headquarters and brutally beaten. When HKS member Hamic Shahrabi and the brother of Poorkahvaz attempted to secure the release of the two victims, they also were arrested by guards shouting, "We're going to arrest you all." (Poorkahvaz' brother was later released when it was determined that he was not a member of the HKS, but Shahrabi was led by the guards into the arms of a waiting gang of reactionary thugs who beat him viciously and left him severely injured.)

The HKS responded to the arrests of Mirbaha and Poorkahvaz with a statement which appeared on May 31 supporting the Arab struggles against Khomeini and demanding the end of martial law in Khuzistan. The mullahs' armed goons retaliated the very next day by arresting seven more HKS supporters in their homes and confiscating their books, newspapers and even their clothes. Khuzistan's military governor, Admiral Ahmad Mahdani, in recounting his brutal suppression of the Arab uprising to the press, labeled the arrested militants "masked leftists in the service of international imperialism." This was followed shortly thereafter by the publication of an even more ominous statement by the Council of Revolutionary Courts in Ahwaz citing the arrest of "CIA collaborators," including four men and two women charged with having "provoked" the Arab populace.

Australian SWP Dumps Defense Demo

The SWP's defense appeal, addressed to "supporters of the Iranian revolution around the world," continues to build illusions in a non-existent "progressive" wing of the reactionary-clericalist government that rules Iran. Having heralded Khomeini's coming to power as a great proletarian victory, the SWP is now reluctant to draw a sharp line of opposition to the mullahs and to expose the treacherous, reactionary essence of the "Islamic Republic." By continuing to cover for the crimes of the butcher Khomeini the SWP has weakened and narrowed its own defense efforts.

In Australia the SWP actually disbanded a demonstration rather than permit a contingent of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) to march with slogans demanding the release of *all* the arrested leftists and an end to the veil and to the rule of the mullahs through workers revolution. After the Australian SWP's cowardly abandonment of its own picket line, leaving the SL/ANZ and independents alone to maintain a spirited defense of the HKS and Fedayeen, SWP National Committee member Ron

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

passive.

The Sandinistas remain confident that "the morale of the infantry has been broken." On June 17 they named a junta of five to head a provisional government of "national reconstruction." The composition of the group clearly demonstrates the FSLN's commitment to preserving capitalist rule after the fall of the dictatorship. It is headed by the widow of assassinated newspaper publisher Joaquin Pedro Chamorro, a leading business opposition leader; includes industrialist Alfonso Robelo, a well-known friend of Washington, Moises Hassan Morales, a leader of the National Patriotic Front (FPN) popular front, a pro-Sandinista university professor and Daniel Ortega Saavedra, the leader of the right wing of the FSLN. The minimum program of the government is limited to expropriation of Somoza family holdings and a purge of the most corrupt National Guard officers.

The United States, which put Somoza's father in power in the early 1930s and above all fears a genuine social revolution in a region where U.S.-supported military dictators are facing mounting popular opposition, is worriedly pondering how to make the best of a bad situation. The current instrument of American imperialism is the Andean Pact group, whose legalistic declaration of a "state of belligerency" is a feeble attempt to gain a toehold of influence over the nature of a post-Somoza government. More important levers of influence, however, are the FSLN's ties to the bourgeois governments of Costa Rica, Panama and Venezuela.

U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Latin America, particularly the more than a dozen military dictatorships in the region, have good reason for nervousness over the fall of Anastasio Somoza. The overthrow of this quintessential banana republic caudillo will have a tremendous psychological impact throughout the area, both directly in neighboring El Salvador and Guatemala where mass protest has been rising, but also on such major powers as Brazil, Argentina or Chile, whose dictatorial stranglehold has been challenged in recent months. And while the Sandinista leadership has clearly sought to restrict the fighting to a clash of regular forces, the final toppling of the regime may bring about a popular insurrection in the capital and major cities.

If Somoza falls, it will be the first successful popular uprising against a Latin American dictator since Batista fled Cuba on 1 January 1959. Proletarian revolutionaries must fight to give the anti-Somoza struggle a working-class leadership, to spark a powerful popular insurrection which would go beyond a mere political revolution and begin to attack the capitalist underpinnings of the dictatorship. Any attempt to establish a regime of "Somozaism without Somoza" through negotiations with the bloodthirsty strongman must be opposed, and all efforts to maintain the mercenary private army intact must be countered with the demand for popular tribunals to try the National Guard criminals. In the U.S. the left and labor movement have a special duty to vigorously demand: U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!

Who Are the Sandinistas?

Before last September's insurrection the imperialist press most often referred to the FSLN guerrillas as "pro-Castro terrorists." Even today the "Somoza lobby" in Congress remains powerful, publishing a full-page ad signed by 125 senators and congressmen under the headline "Please, Mr. President, Not Another Cuba!" and calling for restoring military aid to the tottering regime. Yet it is obvious from all press accounts that the recent Sandinista offensive has received the backing not only of the poor but also of the vast majority of the petty bourgeoisie and even of the biggest capitalist families in the country not directly under the thumb of the Somoza dynasty. What is the reality? Who are the FSLN guerrillas and what do they stand for?

The Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional takes its name from General Augusto Cèsar Sandino, who from 1927 until his death in 1934 led the Nicaraguan armed resistance to the U.S. Marines who had ruled the country directly for a decade and installed the father of the present dictator, Anastasio Sr., as head of the National Guard. Assassinated in a trap at a dinner held by the American ambassador, Sandino became the hero of anti-Yankee nationalism. Sandino's legacy of armed struggle was revived in a series of guerrilla actions begun under the influence of the Cuban revolution, and in 1962 the FSLN was founded as an amorphous petty-bourgeois radical Jacobin nationalist grouping much like Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement before it took power.

For years the movement led a marginal existence, but in the upsurge of mass opposition to Somoza in the late 1970s the FSLN split three ways. The Prolonged People's War (GPP) tendency retained the rural guerrilla strategy of the early Sandinista movement combined with a "Marxist-Leninist" Stalinist ideology. A GPP guerrilla zone in the northeastern mountains was brutally repressed in 1977, leading to the massacre of more than 300 peasants by the National Guard. The Proletarian Tendency of the FSLN remained within the Castroite tradition while organizing support in the urban shantytowns and among students, while remaining militarily largely quiescent.

The third force, or *terceristas*, was the most recently formed faction and represents a sharp turn to the right by some of the historic leaders of the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 234 **22 June 1979**

Behind S.F. Night of Gay Rage

SAN FRANCISCO, June 17—Next week's "Gay Pride" demonstrations are expected to be large and angry as homosexual communities across the country are still indignant in the wake of the "night of wrath" at San Francisco City Hall on May 21. After years of peaceful celebrations, legislative lobbying and candlelight prayer vigils, the "gay ghetto" of San Francisco exploded, battling the cops for six hours. That confrontation—occurring in a city so many homosexuals consider their own—highlights some hard questions about bourgeois politics in the "gay Mecca."

It began when the Dan White "voluntary manslaughter" verdict was announced on May 21. White, an ex-cop, ex-supervisor and permanent bigot, had confessed to the November 27 killing of Mayor George Moscone and popular S.F. Supervisor Harvey Milk, a homosexual Democrat. As the Market Street crowd swelled so did the indignation: "If it had been the other way around..." began the statements of many of those who gathered near City Hall. If a homosexual had shot down a big-city mayor and another city official, the case would likely have become a national media witchhunt over "the pervert mass murderer" and the killer would probably face the chair.

A crowd of thousands fought the cops well into the night and early morning. Nearly every window in City Hall was broken and doors were smashed. Mayor Dianne Feinstein and other big-wigs were trapped inside while 15 cop cars and a couple of paddy wagons went up in flames. When the tear gas cleared and the broken glass was finally swept away, an estimated 165 had been injured including 106 cops (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 June).

The Progressive

Police cars burn outside SF City Hall on May 21. Gays battled cops for six hours.

Gays vs. Cops

The signs read "Avenge Harvey Milk!" but there was more to it than that. Repressed rage had accumulated over months of increased cop harassment since Feinstein's takeover. On March 30, patrons of Peg's Place, a lesbian bar, were assaulted by two off-duty cops. Throughout April it became increasingly clear that the mayor's "red light abatement" campaign to "clean up" the seedy Tenderloin area had targeted gay hotels. The news broke that a six-month investigation-and-entrapment campaign against gay private clubs had been undertaken by the Vice Squad. The office of Supervisor Harry Britt, the homosexual Democrat chosen to replace Milk, reports a flood of calls about cop harassment.

On the night of May 21, using "the riot" that same evening at City Hall as a pretext, cops invaded a quiet Castro district. The cop cars rolled into the area full of cops packed like sardines. Police captain George Jeffries told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (23 May): "We lost the battle at City Hall. We aren't going to lose this one." When the search-and-destroy convoy reached 18th and Castro at the fashionable "sexually integrated" Elephant Walk Cafe, some 20 riot-helmeted cops waded in with clubs swinging, splitting heads and breaking ribs of a dozen customers, according to a bartender.

But this revenge was not sufficient to soothe the cops' humiliation at having been chased down the streets around City Hall by a bunch of "queers." The cops turned on police chief Charles Gain, a liberal Moscone appointee who has been calling for gay cops to "come out of the closet." Last week the Police Officers Association voted an overwhelming (1,081 to 22) "no confidence" in their "soft cop" while Gain joked that he would be more welcome on Castro Street than in the station house. This is undoubtedly true—and a tragic reflection of many homosexuals' illusions in cops with a slicker strategy for repression. The latest program for "reforming the police department" calls for the addition of 110 gays to a police force which increasingly sees itself as an organized anti-gay battering ram. Open homosexual cops in San Francisco will be about as welcome on "the force" as alcoholic atheists in Khomeini's "Revolutionary Committees." Following White's arrest, cops were seen wearing "Free Dan White" buttons; slogans like "Dan White, live like him!" and "Kill a fag!" were scrawled on the walls of police locker rooms.

Mayor Feinstein has tried to balance between giving the cops room to do their brutal work and angling for the considerable electoral clout of the gay community. So far she has backed Gain, who describes her as a "law and order moderate." But one thing is certain: a cop is a cop. They have a job to do for the capitalist state, and while they sometimes play "hard-cop, soft-cop" games, that job includes the repression of "deviant" behavior.

The Progressive

Riot cops invaded Castro Street in brutal revenge for City Hall "defeat."

"Gay Power" Fraud

Castro Street saw the White verdict as a direct and official attack on their whole community, a declaration of open season on homosexuals. Milk was the symbol of gay respectability, "proof" that gays could "make it" in the public life of the bourgeoisie. Milk was a Democratic Party power broker, and through him official approval seemed to flow. Homosexuals saw the White verdict as a betrayal. After all, hadn't they voted for the liberal Democrats? Hadn't they put one of "their own" on the Board of Supes? Weren't they part—perhaps the best-organized part—of the Democratic liberal establishment?

Revolutionaries solidarize with the legitimate outrage of San Francisco's homosexuals over the light sentence given to this bigoted, reactionary, killer ex-cop. And we fully support their defending themselves against the rampaging goons of the capitalist state. But the identification of many San Francisco gay people with Harvey Milk generally translates into political support for the liberal-chic wing of the Democratic Party, a ruling-class group whose policies toward workers and the poor are often harsher than their more traditional, old-line "machine" opponents. And we warn that cries for vengeance against White could easily be exploited by law-and-order liberals and capital-punishment fans who want "tougher justice"—which means the legal murder of poor and black convicts. This case could also buttress efforts to narrow the basis for "temporary insanity" legal defenses and may feed into sentiment to extend the *lèse majesté* laws (which define an attack on the U.S. president as more serious than attacks on "ordinary" people) to other public officials.

The gay milieu sees the Dan White killings as simply "homophobic" (anti-homosexual). Now Dan White was certainly a neanderthal and an all-American bigot who seems to have believed everything the Catholic church taught him about sex and communism. But Dan White also killed George Moscone; in fact, he killed him first. The evidence seems to indicate that it was Moscone—the debonair mayor who appointed someone else to White's seat—who was the killer's main target.

The charge that White is a "homophobic" assassin is shared by all those who wept for Moscone and Milk. But the killings were the dramatic culmination of an embittered in-house political squabble in the Democratic Party. When the killings took place, on the heels of the mass suicides in Guyana, there was a massive outpouring against violence "in general." From Pacific Heights to Noe Valley, liberals throughout the city portrayed Moscone and Milk as progressive martyrs shot by reaction. Castro Street bought the scenario and for the most part "forgot" the heterosexual "martyr."

But there is no class difference between these actors in the Democratic Party's vengeance drama. The public tears shed for Moscone and Milk were a form of political support to the liberal wing of the Democrats. The candlelight marches and Harvey Milk's memorial birthday party (in which the reformist Socialist Workers Party participated) are meant to garner political support to the Democrats. In contrast, *WV* wrote:

> "Just who are these 'elected officials' anyway? Isn't Moscone the same capitalist politician who crushed the 1976 San Francisco municipal craft workers strike? Isn't Milk responsible for funneling votes of the large homosexual 'community' to the party of Anita Bryant, the Dixiecrats and the Vietnam War? Not according to the SWP. For them the Milks and Moscones are the voice of bourgeois 'sanity' menaced by crazy right-wingers....
>
> "While the ex-cop did not fit in with the claque of slick professional pols who make up the S.F. Board of Supervisors—the well-off businessmen, realtors and lawyers for whom such *open* contempt for the oppressed is considered bad taste. So naturally the

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Revolutionary Leadership Key to Democratic Rights Struggle

"GAY POWER" AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

- Night of Wrath in S.F.: What is Behind the Dan White Verdict?
- Socialist Workers Party on the Age of Consent. "Save the Children" Bigotry
- Marxist Analysis of Homosexual Oppression and How to Fight It

Speaker: Michael Weinstein
Founder, Lavender and Red Union/Red Flag Union
Spartacist League Central Committee

Thursday June 28, 7:30 p.m.
New York University Meyer Hall of Physics, Room 102
4 Washington Place (two blocks east of Washington Square Park, between Broadway and Mercer)

NEW YORK CITY

1,400 Farm Workers Drag Scabs Out of Fields

SAN FRANCISCO—On June 11 over 1,400 embattled United Farm Workers (UFW) strikers engaged in a swirling eight-hour battle with scabs and cops along a 70-mile front in the lettuce-growing area of the Salinas Valley in northern California. It was the first time since union brother Rufino Contreras was killed in February that the UFW ranks have been able to hit back at the army of private thugs, armed scabs and police guards which have been thrown against the union by the growers. Although the Monterey County Sheriff's Department and the California Highway Patrol arrested over 100 strikers, it took the cops more than eight hours to get the situation "in hand." Meanwhile, 14 deputy sheriffs were allegedly injured, traffic was blocked for a time on vital Highway 101 and numerous armed scabs were taught a lesson in the fields by union militants.

Three days later the Santa Cruz County Sheriff's Department invaded Monterey County and raided the UFW union hall in Pajaro. The sheriff arrested eight people, seven of them picket captains, on charges related to Monday's battle in the Salinas fields. Among the charges were "suspicion of rioting" and trespassing; three were charged with assault on police officers. When the union demanded a warrant, the cops replied they didn't need one. The UFW responded by picketing the Santa Cruz Sheriff's Office.

Meanwhile, on June 13 opportunities for the UFW to link up with other unions increased when several hundred state water and power workers went on strike for higher wages, temporarily halting the flow of irrigation water for up to 700,000 acres of farm lands and shutting down three hydroelectric power stations, including the key Oroville Dam complex. Although parts of the water and power system have been restored by scab labor, the strike has continued in defiance of a court restraining order, and has already spread to other state labor such as the hospital workers and government maintenance workers, all of whom have been suffering under post-Proposition 13 cutbacks. A massive joint strike by the 120,000 state employees alongside the UFW could bring victory for both unions. However, the labor bureaucracy stands in the way of such joint actions (most notably the leadership of the California State Employees Association, which has ordered its members to cross picket lines of the water and power workers).

The United Farm Workers strike, which began on January 19 against lettuce growers, has turned into a major test of strength for the union, putting its very existence in the balance. The initial dispute was over wages, the union has been demanding an increase from a paltry $3.70 per hour to $5.25, while the growers have been hiding behind President Carter's "wage guidelines" and offering only a measly $3.95. The strike quickly mushroomed into open class warfare in Southern California's Imperial Valley, and now has spread to Northern California as the lettuce harvest moved north.

While the growers have since upped their "offer" to $4.12, their main tactic has been open violence against the picketers—Ku Klux Klan terrorism, attacks by private guards and scabs, and finally the county and state police forces. When a union picketer was killed in February, the three foremen arrested for the crime were later released for "lack of evidence"—a classic example of the bosses' double-standard "justice."

UFW leader Cesar Chavez has predictably attempted to repeat his treacherous 1973 retreat (which killed the organizing strike) by winding down this strike in favor of a consumer boycott (in this case, a boycott of Chiquita bananas, which are sold by Sun-Harvest, a major lettuce grower). However, the militancy of the strikers has not permitted that avenue of betrayal as yet. Similarly, Chavez' appeals to his Democratic "friend," Governor Jerry Brown, have not defused the strike. Brown's response to the latest battle was to issue an ostensibly neutral letter urging "frequent and intensive bargaining" and condemning "violence." Brown's hypocrisy is transparent: he only became concerned about "violence" when the strikers began to defend themselves on June 11.

Imperial Valley Press

More than 2,000 striking farm workers and supporters rally February 1 in Calexico.

But Chavez' tactics have been crippling the strike. In Southern California the union struck only 14 out of the 28 growers, and in Northern California only 6 of 17 unionized growers have been struck. Like the United Auto Workers (UAW) "Apache strategy," this partial strike has served not to divide the bosses but the workers

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Huelga Si, Migra No! Victory to the UFW!

REPRINTED FROM "THE UAW MILITANT" 30 MAY 1979

The embattled farmworkers are out to smash Carter's wage guidelines by striking for a 40 percent pay hike from their current (supposed) hourly rate of $3.70. The growers have responded by unleashing hired guns, cops and the KKK at the cost of one UFW member's life already. Rufino Contreras must be avenged. This strike must be won.

The heroic battles against cops and scabs waged by roving mass UFW pickets in Imperial Valley a few months ago show the way forward for the Salinas strikers. Their militant fighting tactics to rid the fields of scabs have proven a thousand times more effective than any consumer boycott in keeping scab produce off the market. If these tactics were extended in a California-wide shutdown, the strike could be over today—it would be won.

Instead, these fighting tactics by the UFW rank and file are being discouraged and suppressed by the Chavez leadership in favor of an ineffective boycott of Chiquita bananas. This is a tragic repetition of 1973 when the union leadership capitulated before the violence of the Teamster/grower/government alliance. Chavez liquidated the strike in southern California and substituted a years-long grape and lettuce boycott that nearly bled the union to death. By 1975 only a small percentage of California's fields were covered by UFW contracts. That number must be raised to 100 percent!

The UFW needs help from other unions, not only cash donations, but most importantly by "hot cargoing" or refusing to handle scab produce. Stop scab produce from reaching the supermarkets! Appeal to California labor unions to send busloads of volunteers to build mass pickets in Salinas and elsewhere—chase out the scabs and shut down all the lettuce fields!

The union should stand for full citizenship rights for foreign workers—Prevent the growers from pitting undocumented workers against the rest. To the great harm of this cause, Chavez and the rest of the UFW leadership have launched a bitter attack on undocumented workers. Chavez appeals to the U.S. Immigration Service (INS) to deport undocumented workers from struck fields! The hated INS or "La Migra" is all too willing to harass and deport undocumented workers—only they go after union members, not scabs! "La Migra" has a long history of union-busting and terrorizing raids on California warehouses, factories and fields. In response to a proposed INS "census" in San Jose in 1975, our own UAW Local 1364 passed a motion initiated by UAW Militant Caucus members that condemned the phony census and raids. Our local is on record for supporting full citizenship rights for foreign workers.

The May 11 *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that since Chavez' call for stepped-up deportations, the Salinas unit of the INS has doubled its normal arrests to 75 a day. A Chavez spokesman is quoted complaining that the INS has not raided a single struck company in Salinas for scabs. Instead, the article says, "More than 90 percent of the 667 arrests in the Salinas Valley since May 1 have been in non-struck fields involving both union and non-union crews. Two of the arrests were union pickets."

This disastrous policy grows from the practice of Chavez and the rest of the U.S. labor bureaucracy of relying on the bosses' Democratic Party politicians instead of mobilizing the strike power of the labor movement. Chavez and the officials subordinate and sacrifice the just struggles of the farmworkers to maintain their relations with the capitalist politicians. The truth is that Jerry Brown, Jimmy Carter and the Democrats are every bit as much the enemy of labor as the Republicans. They will use everything from anti-labor legislation like the ALRA (the Agricultural Labor Relations Act which outlaws mass picketing, hot cargoing and strikes for union recognition) to calling out the National Guard to break strikes and organizing drives. In order to score a decisive victory against the growers, the UFW must break with the cops, courts, politicians and agencies of the bosses' government.

Huelga Si, Migra No! Victory to the UFW!

Polish Pope Can't Wash Hands of Auschwitz

Pilgrimage for Anti-Communism

From the moment of his landing to the tumultuous ringing of Warsaw church bells until his farewell mass before huge crowds nine days later, Pope John Paul II, former Archbishop of Krakow, took possession of Polish soil like some temporal prince reclaiming his ancestral lands. From the high walls of the ancient fortress Jasna Gora, shrine of the Black Madonna, the pope led a million pilgrims, who dropped instantly to their knees at the wave of his hand, in consecrating Poland to the Virgin Mary, eternal "Queen of Poland."

But beyond demonstrating the church's social power in Poland, the pope's tour was an unambiguous declaration that the Vatican intends to be an active political factor in Eastern Europe. The Western press found the "human rights" pope a propaganda bonanza, as his pontifical statements were blazoned daily across the front pages. The *Wall Street Journal* (7 June) was ecstatic: "Pope John Paul II has fulfilled all the worst fears of Poland's Communist leaders and sent tremors into the Kremlin as well," with his reaffirmation of the West's "moral authority." Repeatedly citing his concern for the faithful of the "forgotten nations," the Czechs, Yugoslavs, Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Russians, et al., the pope proclaimed: "Is it not the intention of the Holy Spirit that this Polish Pope—this Slav Pope—should at this precise moment manifest the spiritual unity of Christian Europe?" (*Time*, 18 June).

The pope's aggressive anti-Communist challenge comes at the "precise moment" that Western imperialism has stepped up its ideological offensive against the Stalinist regimes of Eastern Europe, the expression of its counterrevolutionary appetite to reconquer the Soviet bloc for capitalist exploitation. As we pointed out when Cardinal Wojtyla was elected pope, "Jimmy Carter may figure he has a pope in his pocket, which can only increase the intensity of his bellicose anti-Soviet 'human rights' crusade" ("The President's Pope?" *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). For the Polish Stalinist regime the visit was highly embarrassing, sharply contrasting the spontaneous enthusiasm shown the pope with the sullen hostility and cynicism of large sections of the Polish people toward the bureaucracy. Party secretary Edward Gierek's nervous attempt to claim the papal tour as a victory and the usual burbling enthusiasm about the pope as a "man of peace" by the ever-hopeful American Communist Party are pathetic evasions of this uncomfortable fact.

UPI

Pope's Auschwitz visit can't hide Holy See's silence as four million were slaughtered!

This Polish pope is on an anti-Communist crusade. That the Vatican has no interest in fighting for the oppressed, for the poor, for "human rights" in *capitalist* countries was graphically proven by the pope's visit to Puebla, Mexico, in January. Here he warned Latin American priests to steer clear of support to revolutionary agitation against brutal dictatorships: "The mission of the Church is of a religious character, not social or political. Liberation, in the proper mission of the Church, cannot be reduced to the pure and simple economic, political or cultural dimension" (*Le Monde*, 30 January). Even when the cathedral steps run red with blood—as in San Salvador in May, when 23 people were massacred at the Metropolitan Cathedral by General Romero's machine guns—the pope warns the people to keep quiet and not offend capitalist Catholic dictators.

But for Poland it's a different story—*there* the church sees no limits to its dominion. As he warned Gierek, the Catholic church intends to claim "the temporal dimension" of people's existence as its province; its mission is "to make man...more courageous, conscious of his rights and duties...." The church must have its "total place" in society, not just "freedom of religion." To the Polish bishops the pope preached a different message than in Mexico. In Poland, the state must be "subordinate to the full sovereignty of the nation"—i.e., to "Catholic Poland." Church-state "détente," he proclaimed, "flows from respect for the rights of the nation and for human rights."

The Vatican and Auschwitz

The pope wasted no opportunity to stake out the Holy See's claims to Poland, waving his crucifix not only over the living but the dead. With breathtaking arrogance the Vatican even raised its white and yellow flag over the barbed wire of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the Nazi death camp where four million, including two and a half million Jews, perished in gas chambers. The pope's mass there met with cheers from ostensible socialists and Western reporters alike. Most fulsome in its praise of John Paul II's "courageous affirmation of religious liberty and human rights for all members of God's human family" was the Zionist American Jewish Committee, whose national director sent the pope a glowing telegram of congratulations (*New York Post*, 8 June).

That the head of the Roman Catholic church could stride triumphantly under Auschwitz' iron gate with the Nazi slogan "Arbeit macht frei" and raise his crucifix over those slaughtered there—to this loud applause—is a vile insult to the dead. Is the history of the fanatical Eastern European Catholic fascist organizations—the Croatian Ustashi, the Romanian Iron Guard, the pogroms against Jews led by Polish Catholic reactionaries—so long forgotten? The clerical-fascist regime of the Catholic priest Tiso in Slovakia? The German Catholic church's support to Hitler? The Holy See's pact with Mussolini? Has it been forgotten that thousands upon thousands of Jews and socialists were slaughtered not only under the sign of the swastika, but also under the crucifix?

The bland indifference of Pope Pius XII to the extermination of the Jews—even under his very windows in Rome—is no secret, but scarcely a whisper of it broke through the enthusiasm of the Western press for their new hero. In 1964 Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* caused an international sensation with its sharp condemnation of the Vatican for washing its hands of the Jews' extermination. Hochhuth even admitted he had *softened* the real historic facts, as too horrible to be believed, but the historian Guenter Lewy in his book *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* spells out the searing record in detail. As early as 1933 the Holy See (Pope Pius XI at that time) received warning of Hitler's anti-Semitic goals, from a Jewish convert to Catholicism, Dr. Edith Stein (dragged out of her convent and gassed at Auschwitz nine years later), but refused to write the requested papal encyclical protesting the danger.

From 1941 on the Curia was fully informed on the progress of the Nazi extermination machine, but insisted on "impartiality." The papacy kept silent for over nine months in 1943 while the Nazis shipped over 1,000 Roman Jews to Auschwitz—many grabbed in the very shadow of the Vatican itself. Above all, because of its fear of communism, the church supported the Nazis and fervently backed the crusade against godless Bolshevism. As Pius XII explained to the Berlin correspondent of *L'Osservatore Romano* why he wouldn't condemn the murder of the Jews: "Dear friend, do not forget that millions of Catholics serve in the German armies. Shall I bring them into conflicts of conscience?"

The Church in Poland

From Western propaganda one might think the entire Polish nation had been on its knees to the pope. It is certainly

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Goldberg/Sygma

Hawkins/Sygma

Pope tells Latin American poor to suffer in silence as San Salvador cathedral steps run red with blood of protesters against Catholic dictator.

Trotskyism and the Sino-Soviet Split

PART ONE OF TWO

American "normalization" of relations with the People's Republic of China marked the first major shift in global big power alignments since the onset of the Cold War. A Washington-Tokyo-Peking diplomatic alliance is now taking shape in East Asia, with parallel communiqués in late 1978 denouncing the common enemy of "hegemonism," i.e., the Soviet Union. The Chinese invasion of Vietnam in February, primarily motivated by China's appetites for regional hegemony, was undertaken with obvious U.S. complicity. The ominous implication is that the China of Mao's heirs is well on the way to becoming the spearhead of capitalism/imperialism's implacable drive against the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state.

China's Vietnam adventure also posed a crucial test for would-be revolutionary tendencies. Those who act as loudspeakers for the ruling bureaucracies in the Kremlin and the Forbidden City, of course, simply snapped to attention. But for claimants to the tradition and program of Trotskyism the challenge was more exacting: not only to define a position in the armed conflict, but also to explain the origins of the first major war between states resting on the collectivized property relations of proletarian rule. What was the relation of this confrontation to imperialism and Stalinism? And what does Peking's current reactionary alliance with the No. 1 imperialist power on earth tell us about the content of the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s?

For the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), the Vietnam-China war and the Vietnamese army's overthrow of the bloody Pol Pot regime in Cambodia exposed the profound differences among these false pretenders to Trotskyism on the key question of Stalinism—as well as their common capitulation to the "human rights" imperialists over defense of the USSR. While the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) put the blame for the Chinese invasion exclusively on Washington, the USec majority under Ernest Mandel at first hardly even mentioned imperialist hostility to Vietnam—and both denied that the Soviet Union was in any way threatened.

This has since reached the stage of a sharp public polemic, with Mandel (*Intercontinental Press*, 9 April) all but accusing the SWP leaders of abandoning Trotskyism for Shachtmanism on the "Russian question" (for terming Pol Pot's Cambodia capitalist), and the SWP retorting that USec statements on the China/Vietnam/Cambodia imbroglio were "fundamentally wrong," failed to "counter the imperialist propaganda campaign" and so on (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 June). Meanwhile, a USec-affiliated Chinese-language magazine in Hong Kong (*October Review*) failed to even demand that China withdraw its invasion force from Vietnamese territory. But the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) upheld the banner of revolutionary Trotskyism by immediately demanding, "China: Get Out of Vietnam Now! Don't Be a Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism!" and "Soviet Union: Honor Your Treaty with Vietnam!" (See "Spartacist League Press Release," WV No. 226, 2 March 1979.)

During the first critical week of the war, the iSt put itself on a campaign footing, holding pickets in front of Peking's diplomatic offices and participating in demonstrations protesting the invasion. On February 24, the largest of these demonstrations in the U.S. was held outside the Chinese mission to the UN, attracting considerable media coverage. Our banner calling on China not to be a cat's paw for Jimmy Carter caught the attention of the country's most prominent newscaster, liberal Walter Cronkite, who hailed the left in a radio commentary for its supposed inability to comprehend reality:

> "If back in 1969 you had suggested that ten years hence China would mount an invasion of a communist Vietnam, while Washington clucked like a maiden aunt about the threat of small wars turning into bigger ones, if you had suggested such a thing then, company would have been uncomfortable in your presence. The idea would have clashed with everyone's stereotypes, and it would have been much too far from perceived reality even to have been funny."
>
> —CBS Radio, 27 February

There was, however, one organization which did not accept "everyone's stereotypes" about the actual relation between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet and Chinese Stalinist bureaucracies. Back in 1969, at the very height of Maoist "radicalism," the Spartacist tendency projected

> "At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the USSR's avowed policy of 'peaceful coexistence' while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League" (30 August 1969), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

This was not a fortuitous act of crystal-ball gazing, or just a quirky projection that accidentally turned out to be right. Rather it was derived from a scientific, Marxist understanding of the Sino-Soviet split that can be traced back to the earliest documents of our tendency. While Mandel and the SWP leaders were giving "critical support" to the supposedly more militant Chinese in the early 1960s, the forerunner of the SL/U.S., the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP, pointed out that the rift was the product of conflicting Stalinist-nationalist regimes under differential pressure from imperialism.

We recognized from the first that Maoist "anti-revisionism" was, as we put it, "Khrushchevism under the gun" -a response to the then-greater hostility of the United States. The Sino-Soviet split originated in the late 1950s as the Kremlin attempted to police China for the sake of "peaceful coexistence" with Washington. The Soviets reneged on their promise to help develop China's nuclear capacity. They maintained a loud silence when in the fall of 1958 John Foster Dulles threatened China over its shelling of the Taiwan Straits islands. And in 1960 they abruptly cut off all financial and technical aid, gravely damaging the Chinese economy.

But the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy's greatest crime against the Chinese revolution was its support to the bourgeois Nehru government in the Sino-Indian border conflicts of 1959-62. During the 1962 China-India war Moscow joined the imperialist chorus in condemning the Chinese side, and immediately after the war sent New Delhi modern military aircraft as a conspicuous act of solidarity. Thus it was the Soviet bureaucracy that first supported a capitalist government against its rivals in Peking. In that sense, Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) may claim to be paying off "debts." But revolutionary politics has nothing in common with the nationalist vendettas of the Stalinists.

If we now focus on the defense of the USSR against imperialism, it is not because Brezhnev & Co. are any more "socialist" or "internationalist" than their Maoist counterparts. Rather it is the *objective* economic/military capacity of the Soviet Union which makes it the major target of imperialist counterrevolution.

Chinese army maneuvers in Manchuria. China's alliance with U.S. imperialism marks first major shift in big power alliances since the outset of the Cold war. The target: the Soviet Union.

Fake Trotskyists Hail Chinese Stalinism

Decisive in the centrist degeneration of the once-revolutionary SWP was its uncritical support to the emerging Cuban Stalinist regime in the early 1960s. The SWP's embrace of Castroism was not an isolated error, but rather the cutting edge of a general turn to seeking substitutes for the proletarian vanguard party in petty-bourgeois

bureaucratic formations (usually of a Stalinist or nationalist variety). Thus if the SWP found in Castro an "unconscious Trotskyist," it also discovered that Mao was "moving toward Trotskyism" (though he, too, didn't know it). While the SWP went all the way with Fidel, at this time it also went half way with Mao.

In particular, support to the Chinese Stalinist leadership against their Soviet counterparts was an important element in the political convergence of the Socialist Workers Party with the European Pabloite revisionists of the International Secretariat (I.S.), leading to their unification in the USec in 1963. "The leadership of the Communist Party of China has of course adopted a kind of ersatz of Trotskyist positions," wrote the SWP's Canadian followers in an introduction to a pamphlet edition of the document "Dynamics of World Revolution Today" from the founding congress of the United Secretariat. They also agreed with the charge by Kremlin ideologist Mikhail Suslov that Trotskyism was "the source of the political wisdom" of Mao & Co.

In April 1963, as the unification with the I.S. was underway, the SWP brought out a pamphlet on the Sino-Soviet split by its leading "theoretician," the Polonius of American Pabloism, William F. Warde. Warde presents the Maoists as moving toward revolutionary politics, albeit with certain Stalinist hangovers:

> "How should the essence of the Chinese positions be appraised? The most important feature about them from the standpoint of revolutionary socialist politics is this. On most of the key issues of the international class struggle in dispute Peking is to the left of the Kremlin and takes more militant stands. The Chinese Communists have thereby moved closer to correct Leninist positions on these points, although have by no means arrived at a consistent Marxist world outlook."
>
> —*Moscow vs. Peking: The Meaning of the Great Debate*

In general the SWP approached the Maoist regime as if it were a centrist party which had just broken to the left from Stalinism. In a separate article, Warde pedagogically lectures Mao, Chou & Co. that Khrushchev's policies derive from Stalinism and if they really want to become "consistent" Marxists they must understand this:

> "So long as the Chinese Communists refuse to regard Khrushchev's 'revisionism' as the prolongation of Stalin's anti-Leninist bureaucratic nationalism under changed circumstances and in new forms, they will be unable to give an adequate Marxist explanation for the division or develop a correct policy for coping with it."
>
> —"New Judgment on the Sino-Soviet Rift," *International Socialist Review*, Summer 1963

As if the Maoist regime was *capable* of breaking with bureaucratic nationalism! Contrast this to the SWP's 1955 convention resolution, "The Third Chinese Revolution and Its Aftermath" (reprinted in *Education for Socialists* bulletin "The Chinese Revolution and Its Development"). The then-revolutionary SWP wrote:

> "One thing is certain, there is no solution along the course of the Peking and Kremlin bureaucracies. Their narrow nationalist course, their coexistence line, brings them into conflict with the needs of the world socialist revolution, but it will not save them from imperialist assault."

Thus by the early 1960s the SWP had moved close to the line of the European Pabloites. With its long-standing orientation to the self-reform (or more precisely) self-revolutionization of the Stalinist bureaucracies, Michel Pablo's International Secretariat early on went bearing gifts to the Maoist regime. Among the first gifts were the heads of the Chinese Trotskyists, imprisoned by Peking in 1950-51; Pablo and his henchmen stalled efforts for an international campaign on their behalf and squelched a projected "open letter" to Mao denouncing the arrests and even murders (see "Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries," *IVI* No. 63, 28 February 1975).

However, by 1960 the Pabloist I.S. did finally get around to writing "An Open Letter to the Leadership and Members of the Chinese Communist Party," though hardly the one the Chinese Trotskyists would have wanted. It is an unintentionally humorous effort by a mouse to seduce an elephant:

> "The International Secretariat of the Fourth International welcomes this discussion that you have reopened in the whole of the Communist movement, a discussion which is full of possibilities and prospects for the world revolution.
>
> "The International Secretariat invites you to discuss openly and frankly, with no false addresses, without appealing to ideological terrorism, in a clear manner understandable by the whole of the communist movement. It invites you to open the road of discussion, of free expression of positions, to all communist militants, to all communist organizations, including the Jugoslav Communist League and the Fourth International."
>
> —*Fourth International*, Autumn 1960

Pablo, Mandel et al. were wise not to try to distribute their "open letter" openly in China. What they would have gotten is a lot worse than "ideological terrorism."

Moscow/Peking and the Birth of the USec

As we noted earlier, "critical" political support to the Chinese Stalinist leaders against the Kremlin was one of the important bases of the unification of the Pabloite I.S. and the SWP in June 1963. The Sino-Soviet split was the subject of a separate resolution at the USec's founding congress. The core of that resolution is the assertion that:

> "The Chinese leaders, while displaying certain similar attitudes [as the Soviet bureaucrats]—notably in the case of Indonesia—express much more critical views about the national bourgeoisies, insisting on the leading role of the proletariat and the uninterrupted character of the revolution (which puts them in opposition to the Menshevik concepts of Stalin on revolution by stages and brings them close to the Trotskyist concept of permanent revolution). As a result, the Chinese in general have a tendency to support the most revolutionary movements in the underdeveloped countries...."
>
> —"The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Situation in the USSR and the Other Workers States," *Fourth International*, October-December 1963

Not only politically capitulatory, such assertions are factually wrong. From the outset, the Peking Stalinists, like their Soviet counterparts, sought accommodation with their bourgeois neighbors and, when the occasion permitted, with the imperialists directly. At the 1955 Bandung conference, Chou En-lai along with Nehru and Sukarno enshrined the five principles of "peaceful coexistence." And at the 1954 Geneva conference which ended the first Indochina war, Peking was if anything more conciliatory with imperialism than was the Kremlin. It was Chou who proposed that the Viet Minh forces withdraw from the kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia, and that these French neo-colonies be granted international recognition.

Chou En-lai with Sukarno in Jakarta, 1965. Peking gave blessings to Indonesian Communists' suicidal subordination to military regime. The toll: half a million leftists murdered.

Unlike the Pabloists and their SWP recruits, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP refused to take the Maoists' polemics at face value. While centering its fight against the SWP's rampant liquidation of Trotskyism over Cuba, the RT also presented a lengthy resolution on the Sino-Soviet split for the SWP's national convention in the summer of 1963. The "radicalism" of Mao & Co., the RT resolution pointed out, was simply a rationalization for their own bureaucratic-nationalist interests:

> "Only confused centrists could try to explain the Sino-Soviet dispute in terms of the indigestible 'ideological' apologia issued by the two sides and limit their conclusions to a judgment as to which of the positions is more or less 'correct,' is righter or lefter. The Marxist, proletarian, view starts with the recognition that the political groups symbolized by *both* Khrushchev and Mao are mortal and irreconcilable enemies of proletarian democracy, of socialism, and of the working class. Only on *this* basis can the real issues in their conflict be grasped....
>
> "The real issues in the Peking-Moscow clash are posed in terms of conflicting power-political and economic needs. These needs reflect the different origins of the two wings of the bureaucracy, and above all they reflect the different relationship of forces between each, imperialism, and the working class. The differential impact of American imperialism upon the Chinese and Russian states raises their antagonisms to the level of sharp struggles. The Maoist leadership must contend with an American policy quite unreconciled to the Peking regime and actively employing all available means to destroy it." [emphasis in original]
>
> —Shane Mage, James Robertson and Geoffrey White, "The Sino-Soviet Dispute: New Stage in the Mortal Crisis of Stalinism," in *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 24, No. 21, June 1963

Precisely because the Mao regime's formal leftism vis-à-vis the Kremlin was but a reaction to the greater pressure of imperialism, it was reversible without even a major upheaval in the Chinese regime. In contrast to the USec resolution, the 1963 RT statement maintained that Peking's foreign policy was no less narrowly nationalistic than Moscow's, and just as class-collaborationist toward the few bourgeois-nationalist regimes friendly to China:

> "The success of Mao Tse-tung and his followers in channeling and distorting into the form of a national-bureaucratic strait-jacket the socialist drives of the Chinese revolution testifies only to the thoroughly and consistently counter-revolutionary nature of the Maoist bureaucracy. The profoundly nationalist outlook of the Chinese Stalinist leaders is reflected in the nationalism of their foreign policy....
>
> "In their polemics against the Soviet leaders, the Chinese Stalinists have pointed out aspects of the counterrevolutionary Kremlin line, its conciliation to imperialism and open revision of basic Leninist concepts. In practice, of course, the Chinese have gone as far as the Soviets in supporting those anti-working-class national bourgeois regimes which are willing to take a pro-Chinese line in foreign policy (Algeria, Guinea, Ghana)."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Mao's "Peaceful Road": Indonesia 1965

The class-collaborationist policy of the Maoists toward Sukarno's Indonesia was so blatant that even the USec had to acknowledge it in their 1963 resolution. However, these "reunited" renegades from Trotskyism dismissed Indonesia as an insignificant exception to Peking's generally "revolutionary" course. Yet no pro-Moscow Communist Party has ever been more integrated into a bourgeois government than was the Indonesian PKI under Sukarno. The 13 September 1963 *Peking Review* reprinted a speech by PKI leader D.N. Aidit in which he describes his party's program as in accord with that of the Sukarno regime:

> "...national unity in Indonesia also finds expression in the form of the National Front under the chairmanship of President Sukarno.... The National Front has adopted a five-point programme as the guide for its activities. This five-point programme accords with the current tasks of the Communist Party of Indonesia."

Nor was the attitude of the PKI toward Sukarno to the right of Peking's own line. Indonesia was China's most important international ally at the time, and in early 1965 the two governments issued a joint declaration of principles affirming their eternal comradeship in "the struggle against imperialism":

> "The frequent exchange of visits between the leaders of the two peoples have greatly enhanced their mutual understanding and trust. The two peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the common struggle to oppose imperialism and colonialism and defend peace in Asia and the world. Both parties were

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Keystone

Mao's verbal radicalism vis-à-vis Khrushchev masked qualitatively same Stalinist-nationalist outlook.

Iranian SWP...

(continued from page 2)

Poulson charged that the SL/ANZ opposition to the Islamic regime, which seeks to butcher his comrades, is "reactionary" and indistinguishable from that of the imperialists. Here the SWP reveals the real reason for liquidating its own defense rally—its overriding fear of being associated with the implacable opposition of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) to the mullahs.

On June 13, in another effort to put forward a non-sectarian defense of the HKS and Fedayeen, the Spartacist Club of Latrobe University in Melbourne, Australia succeeded in getting two motions passed at a university students general meeting: 1) noting the vicious, reactionary character of the mullahs' assault on the democratic rights of women and calling for "workers revolution to overthrow the theocratic Islamic republic of Ayatollah Khomeini," and 2) calling for the Australian Union of Students (AUS) "to initiate a national campaign of demonstrations to demand 'Free the Endangered Militants of the Fedayeen and HKS'!" Incredibly, an SWP supporter attempted to sabotage these motions by claiming that there was not a quorum. When this attempt was defeated and a vote was taken, he refused to vote for either motion!

USec attitudes toward defense have varied from section to section. In France, for example, the meager (300 people) USec demonstration on June 14 did not disintegrate at the sight of a dozen supporters of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF, sympathizing section of the iSt), who marched in the demonstration without incident. However, when the Bay Area Spartacist League proposed to the local Socialist Workers Party a united-front demonstration demanding freedom for the arrested HKS militants, we were told by the San Francisco organizer: "Not interested." No reasons were given for this cowardly sectarianism. The SL-called demonstration will take place, nevertheless, at 4:30 p.m., Friday, June 22, outside the Iranian Consulate in downtown San Francisco (see box).

With their lives hanging in the balance, the HKS and Fedayeen militants desperately need the support of the international left and labor movement channeled into a class-based united-front defense campaign. The basis for such a campaign already exists. What still remains is to convince misguided defenders of these militants that the winning of their lives and freedom depends not on appealing to Khomeini but in building a militant defense *against* Khomeini's reactionary repression. We earnestly hope this is a lesson which will not have to be paid for in blood. ■

Sino-Soviet Split...

(continued from page 7)

> proud of their comradeship-in-arms and held it in esteem."
>
> —"China-Indonesia Joint Statement," *Peking Review*, 5 February 1965

Eight months after this was written, Peking's "comrades-in-arms"—the Indonesian officer corps, abetted by Muslim fanatics—massacred *half a million* Communists and leftist workers and peasants. The annihilation of the class-conscious elements of the Indonesian proletariat was a counterrevolutionary event of world-historic significance. It removed the possibility of social revolution in the most important country in Southeast Asia for at least a generation. Therefore, the great victory for imperialism in Indonesia in 1965 limited the effect of the Stalinist-led social revolution in Indochina. The Indonesian counterrevolution contributed greatly to the willingness of U.S. imperialism to finally abandon Indochina, knowing that it was still dominant in Southeast Asia as a whole.

Yet the tragic outcome of Maoist class collaboration in Indonesia had no impact whatever on the Pablo ist tailists. The USec's "Eighth World Congress" held in December 1965, *right after* the Indonesian catastrophe, reaffirmed its position that Maoism was a break from Stalinism toward revolutionary politics.

> "The Chinese Communist Party cannot be considered to have been a Stalinist party in the strict sense of the term; that is, subordinated since the twenties to the bureaucratic leadership of the Kremlin. The Mao leadership had its own personality, and its policies, although often marked in practice by compromises with the Moscow leadership which led to the greatest deviations, had a generally centrist character leaning toward the left...
>
> "The differences between Stalinism and Maoism are involved in the Sino-Soviet conflict and are an important element for revolutionary Marxists in determining which side it is better to offer critical support in the interests of advancing the world revolution...."
>
> —"The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Crisis of the International Communist Movement," *International Socialist Review*, Spring 1966

But while Mandel and the SWP were giving "critical support" to the authors of the policy which led to the Indonesian counterrevolution, the Spartacist League denounced the Maoists' bloody betrayal:

> "The working people of Indonesia are now *paying with their blood* for the betrayal by the leadership of the 3,000,000-member, pro-Chinese Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), which must share guilt for the present violence. Workers and militants of all countries, particularly those who look to the CP of China for 'revolutionary' example and direction, cannot afford to ignore the warnings of this classic lesson....
>
> "Guided by the Mao government's 'bloc of four classes' doctrine and need for 'Peaceful Coexistence' with 'progressive, non-aligned' capitalist 'friends,' such as Indonesian President Sukarno (a former collaborator with colonialism), the PKI—largest Communist party in the capitalist world—has been helping administer Indonesian capitalism while suppressing the struggles of the Indonesian workers and keeping them wedded to Sukarno's police-state. Meanwhile the Chinese press has heaped continuous praise upon Sukarno...." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Indonesia: Lesson in Betrayal," *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Gay Rage...

(continued from page 3)

> SWP and CP paint Moscone and Milk as progressive martyrs cut down by reaction."
>
> —"No Tears for Moscone," *WV* No. 222, 5 January

The Twinkies Defense

How did Dan White get off so easy? After all, he was a confessed killer of two important government officials. It is of course fatuous nonsense to assume that every right-wing bigot with a gun will be granted a license to shoot liberal mayors, even by people who share his backward social attitudes. To explain the courtroom decision sentencing White for voluntary manslaughter rather than first-degree double murder, there have been cries of collusion between ex-cop White and the DA's office. But the probable truth is more interesting (and no less disturbing).

The jury knew that White had slipped into the building through a side door, with a gun. They knew he was furious at Moscone because the mayor had promised to give him back the Supervisor's position he had resigned, then gave it to someone else. Yet they believed the defense's claim of "diminished capacity," a kind of temporary insanity plea. The defense claimed White was incapable of malice or premeditation. It claimed White's mind snapped at the moment of confrontation with Moscone and Milk. It claimed he went to pieces under financial and social pressure. According to the testimony of one psychiatric expert witness, White committed the crime as a result of "a major mood disturbance compounded by a biochemical reaction in the brain brought on by twinkies, cupcakes, and chocolate bars and cokes." California-haters have seized on this "twinkies made me do it" defense as another indication that the West Coast is a strange place where being a junk-food addict is a morbid symptom of deep depression leading to a form of temporary insanity.

But the real point is that the jury wanted to believe White's defense. They evidently saw him as a "regular guy" pushed beyond endurance. Why? The answer is a clue to the political life of San Francisco. Here was an apparent open-and-shut case of premeditated murder in a city evidently horrified by the deed. The prosecution routinely impaneled the kind of jury prosecutors like to address in murder trials; its questions to prospective jurors were the usual ones centered on attitudes toward the death penalty. The defense cleverly laid back and a pro-death penalty jury was selected. A jury with this social profile would usually side with the prosecution. But as New York's *Village Voice* observed (4 June), the jury "was composed of people very much like Dan White—people who have grown increasingly invisible in the city." The jurors, working-class and middle-class, were drawn from those areas of San Francisco that are seen as "the last bastion of family life."

A quarter of the jury lived near White's neighborhood and could identify with his claim that he could not live on his $9,600 salary as an S.F. Supervisor. White was perhaps the only Supervisor to live on his city salary, as most of the rest were hot-shot lawyers, businessmen and real estate speculators. The defense explained that White and his wife had tried to start a small street vending business to supplement their income. The jury heard White's taped confession, where he complained of his frustration in dealing with the slick rich politicians who treated him with open contempt. Perhaps they identified with White's grievances against Moscone and Milk. What the jury shared with White was not simply "homophobia" but a fear, exploited by the reactionary White, that San Francisco has become unlivable for "just plain folks."

But this ex-cop turned Supervisor was not "just plain folks"; he was not some working-class guy driven into a crazy frenzy by some posh liberal snobs. Dan White was a dangerous reactionary politician. He exploited the fears, grievances and economic distress of San Francisco's ethnic Catholic lower classes for the politics of racist, anti-gay bigotry, just as Harvey Milk exploited homosexual oppression for the liberal-sophisticate face of capitalist rule. On a small-time, local scale Dan White tapped the same economic frustrations (and the same anger at the hypocritical middle-class liberal moralizing of politicos like Moscone) that fueled George Wallace.

The New San Francisco

The Dan White verdict is grounded in more than simple Anita Bryant-type bigotry. Sections of San Francisco society are grabbed by a backlash against the rapid economic/social/cultural change the city has undergone since World War II, particularly over the last decade. Since the most visible component of that change to the "new San Francisco" is the development of a huge gay population, homosexuals are an obvious target for those who yearn for the "good old days."

In the "old days" San Francisco was a labor town, its population largely Catholic of Irish and Italian descent. It was not so long ago that San Franciscans said they came from such-and-such parish. But the city shifted dramatically to become the banking and commercial center of the Pacific Coast. Industry and the proletariat began to move out as high-powered corporate groups like the Bay Area Council developed expensive high-rise complexes. In the 1950s Latinos moved into the Irish and German Mission District.

Working-class residents have confronted a process some have termed "gentrification" of San Francisco. The most distinct section of this "gentry" is the largely middle-class gay community, with its liberal-chic sensibility, gay bars and baths, and real estate speculators who "upgrade" the neighborhood. Rents have been pushed up in many cases more than 300 percent as former tenants are squeezed out and head for the East Bay or Daly City. The Castro district, with its fancy boutiques, elegant restaurants and high rents, was an Irish working-class neighborhood only a decade ago. Many of the people pushed out of this area relocated in Visitacion Valley, the district where Dan White was elected by a 2-to-1 margin on an anti-gay, anti-"sophisticates" platform (*Gay Community News*, 16 June).

The change in the economic and social character of San Francisco was reflected in the pattern of city government. Traditionally a labor town, the city was run by a version of that well-known class-collaborationist coalition of "New Deal" Democratic types with the support of the labor bureaucracy. Joseph Alioto was the last of the old-style mayors. Moscone inherited the labor bureaucrats' support, but he kicked them in the teeth during the 1976 craft workers strike.

The 1976 strike signaled a shift in the balance of political forces in the city. The building trades union ran head-on into a solid bloc of anti-labor opinion. The drive was led by a liberal-chic gang in the style of New York mayor John V. Lindsay. It was the Moscones and Milks, full of "progressive" rhetoric, who went after the trade unions with a new vengeance. And the huge, largely petty-bourgeois gay population (estimated at 125,000—nearly 30 percent of the electorate), well-organized in the Democratic Party, helped to tip the scales for Moscone's anti-labor mod-lib regime.

Go West, Young Gay Man

In San Francisco the sectoralist political strategy of "gay liberation" is played out for the benefit of the Democrats. The Milks act as political brokers for the huge bloc of gay votes; their wheeling and dealing in the upper reaches of bourgeois politics provide the illusion of "gay power." The gay leaders are an important part of the Democratic establishment, where they play a role similar to black Democrats. San Francisco probably defines the limits of "gay liberation" in capitalist America and is seen as a "liberated zone" in a "homophobic" country. In last year's "Gay Pride" march, an estimated 400,000 people marched. A favorite chant was "U.S. out of S.F. now!"

But the U.S. is not about to relinquish San Francisco. The city exists in bourgeois society with its reactionary ideology and institutions, its attacks on the democratic rights of the oppressed, its need to shore up the family. So even here, there is a noticeable siege mentality among gay people. And there is a special kind of desperation. The laddist escapism that characterizes so much of the decomposed New Left milieu has its most concentrated expression here. Castro Street is the end of the line. A homosexual who escapes the parochial puritanism of Sandusky and comes to San Francisco has nowhere to go from here.

The gay milieu's utopian illusions

were shaken by the Dan White verdict. The street battles that followed were a brief encounter with American social reality. The oppression of homosexuals, the class rule of the courts, the brutal hired guns in blue—it *can* happen here! Another gay Supervisor has taken Milk's place, but "gay power" illusions are threatened by a lurking suspicion that homosexuals can never be secure in this society. Reactionary demagogues are always ready to manipulate plebeian discontent and gays are ready-made scapegoats, walking targets for the periodic "moral uplift" crusades to strengthen the family against these times of crisis.

The limits of "gay power" are defined by the social organization of a petty-bourgeois ghetto as a political appendage of Democratic Party "constituency" politics. These politics prescribe setting one section of the oppressed against another. In San Francisco today, the votes of homosexuals are being used to fuel a vicious anti-labor drive in the name of "progressive" constituencies. The alliance of lifestyle radicalism, reformism and the Democrats can provide only token reforms which enrage "middle American" backwardness and touch off new waves of the same old backlash. The working class, armed with a vision of a truly free society, is the only social force which can defend all the oppressed and lay the basis for a new society through uprooting the material bases of social oppression. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 2)

FSLN. They are openly bourgeois nationalist in character, similar to liberal Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic, for example. In an interview last year *tercerista* leader Ortega said of differences with the other Sandinista factions: "There were those who wanted a more radical change to follow the fall of Somoza. Now we see that this is not possible for a number of geopolitical reasons, and our position now is for the imposition of...a government that joins together all those who fought against Somoza" (*Washington Post*, 16 October). The *tercerista* leadership is also closely united by familial ties to the richest anti-Somoza business circles. And where the GPP and Proletarian Tendency advocate the Stalinist dogma of "two-stage" revolution (first bourgeois democracy, "later" for socialism), the *terceristas* call for a "one-stage" political revolution to replace Somoza with a coalition of the different sectors of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie.

After the assassination of Pedro Chamorro in early 1978, the bourgeois opposition got together to form the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) which financed the work stoppages of January and September 1978. The Sandinista forces were represented in the FAO by the "Grupo de los Doce" (Group of Twelve), among whose number was Joaquin Cuadra Chamnrro, a rich lawyer. His son, Joaquin Cuadra Lacayo, is a prominent *tercerista* commander (the Lacayo family, his mother's side, bottles Coke in Nicaragua). Others active in the FAO were Eduardo Chamnrro Coronel, political secretary of the "legal opposition" Conservative Party; Alvaro Chamorro, acting president of the Conservative Party and a cousin of Pedro (the murdered *La Prensa* publisher) and Eduardo; and Jaime Chamorro, brother of P.J. and business manager of *La Prensa*.

After Somoza's bloody annihilation of the September 1978 uprising and his hardline refusal to leave office or accept a plebiscite on his rule, the FAO disintegrated as an effective force. On the one hand, this dampened the State Department's interest in a "peaceful transition" to replace Somoza by a less hated capitalist politician. And as the radicalized masses threatened to break from the bourgeois leadership of the opposition, the previously uninfluential pro-Moscow Stalinists stepped into the breach by forming a popular-frontist coalition, the United People's Movement (MPU), which included also the two more radical FSLN factions. And in February the MPU brought together the Patriotic Front, embracing itself, the Twelve (i.e., the *terceristas*), dissidents from Somoza's Liberal Party and a number of other bourgeois oppositionists.

Will a Sandinista-ruled Nicaragua become a "second Cuba"? In the "reunited" FSLN the *terceristas*, who sparked the uprising in September and whose military commander, Eden Pastora led the dramatic capture of the national "legislature" a month earlier, clearly hold sway. None of the wings call for expropriation of Nicaraguan and foreign capitalists, and all three rely on sympathetic Caribbean bourgeois governments for military backing. Most importantly, no sector of this nationalist movement has called for an insurrection by the Nicaraguan masses; the current general strike is marked by total inactivity. However, this does not seal the fate of the anti-Somoza struggle, consigning it to a mere political revolution such as the overthrow of Venezuelan dictator Pérez Jiménez in 1958.

Another possible pattern is that of Santo Domingo in 1965, before the invasion of the U.S. Marines cut short the revolutionary possibilities. In that case a section of the officer corps sympathetic to former president Bosch rose up under the banner of "constitutionalism." While the rebellion was clearly bourgeois-led, we pointed out that the participation of "the working class and students, especially in the proletarian sectors of Santo Domingo ... created a potentially revolutionary situation" (*Spartacist* No. 7, September-October 1966). Should revolutionary-minded workers and peasants in Nicaragua today transform the FSLN offensive into a mass insurrection, it could open the perspective for just the social revnlution which all wings of the Sandinistas—not to mention the more "moderate" bourgeois opposition—have sought to avoid.

For a Trotskyist Party!

As we wrote last fall at the height of the attempted uprising launched by the FSLN guerrillas:

> "...it is necessary that revolutionaries put forward demands which exacerbate the fundamental class divisions and thus frustrate efforts to 'reform' the dictatorship or impose a bourgeois provisional government. Naturally Marxists would unite in action on the barricades with the populist petty-bourgeois FSLN and even with the bourgeois anti-Somoza opposition against the present bloody dictatorship. But we would at all costs fight for the political independence of the working class from all capitalist and pro-capitalist forces."
>
> —"Nicaragua in Flames," *WV* No. 215, 22 September 1978

Our article included democratic demands such as for a revolutionary constituent assembly, for the smashing of the National Guard, for people's tribunals to punish the criminals of the Somoza regime and for a people's militia based on the workers and peasants organizations. In the framework of the Trotskyist program for *permanent revolution* we did not stop at calls for even the most radical bourgeois democracy, but demanded radical agrarian revolution which would put an end to latifundia; expropriation of the properties of the Somoza family and its accomplices; and expropriation of industry and commerce, by a workers' and peasants government led by a Trotskyist party. Unlike the narrow nationalists of the FSLN "radicals," whose maximum program is "socialism in one banana republic," we advocated a Central American workers republic in a Socialist United States of Latin America.

WV Photo

Anti-Somoza protest in NYC, June 9.

In the last few years, along with the rise in anti-Somoza struggle there has been a radicalization among students and within sectors of the Sandinista movement itself, leading to the emergence of individuals and groups identifying themselves with Trotskyism. The most significant is the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR—affiliated with the "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel), which grew out of a group expelled from the Revolutionary Student Front (dominated by the FSLN). In the struggles of last year, the LMR's programmatic calls often placed it significantly to the left of all sectors of the Sandinistas—e.g., their demand that the working class take over leadership of the January work stoppage from the bourgeois npposition (see "Nicaragua: El movimiento de masas y la crisis de la dictadura," *Folletos Bandera Socialista* No. 53 [May 1978]).

Yet with the bypassing of the conservative bourgeois opposition in the September FSLN-sparked uprising, the Mandelites forgnt about their calls for proletarian independence and began calling "For a government of the poor, calling on the Sandinistas to take charge of the government..." The LMR's Mexican comrades were even more explicit, calling for "a government of the FSLN" (*Combate* [Sweden], January-February 1979). Such a program accepts not only the bourgeois limits of the Sandinista program, but also subordinates the masses to the bureaucratic control of a military formation that has consciously and consistently opposed a popular insurrection.

But even more alien to authentic Trotskyism was a recent article in the American SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (11 June) by Fausto Amador and Sara Santiago, entitled "Where is Nicaragua Going?" Amador is a former member of the FSLN whose brother, Carlos Fonseca, was murdered by Somoza's lackeys. Fausto is a deeply compromised individual who left the Sandinistas out of personal demoralization in 1969, returned to Nicaragua legally from Cuba through maneuvers by his father, a personal friend of Somoza, then gave an interview that was used as an anti-Sandinista diatribe by the pro-government press. Later he served as a Nicaraguan cultural attaché in Belgium where he was recruited to the USec (*Intercontinental Press*, 27 June 1977). In his latest contribution, Amador denounces the FSLN for its "voluntaristic and precipitate action...in September [which] could not have succeeded." and denounced Sandinista preparations for a new uprising as "a fatal course."

To present this social-democratic cowardice and demoralization as having anything to do with Marxism is just about the worst thing the SWP/USec could do to besmirch the name of Trotskyism before the Central American masses. This friend of the SWP speaks in the language of senile Plekhanov, who complained that the Russian workers should not have "picked up the gun" in 1917. In their desire to maintain a semblance of capitalist "legality" and "order" following the overthrow of Somoza, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FSLN have insisted on limiting the armed struggle to their own units and thereby excluding the masses as active agents of the revolution. These are not the methods of proletarian revolution, which relies on the insurrectionary mobilization of the masses. But the answer is not to yearn for the orderly development of a legal trade-union movement, condemning all attempts to rise up against the bloody tyrant. When the decisive moments arrive, even if the battle is unleashed by opportunists and alien class forces, the advocates of permanent revolution must be at their posts.

Only the Trotskyists desire to take an anti-Somoza revolution through to the end—uprooting the dictatorship and the capitalist system off which it feeds, not only in Nicaragua but throughout the Americas. ■

Meiselas/Magnum

Sandinista leader "Cero" waves to supporters from plane taking hostages to Panama in August 1978.

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Farm Workers Drag Scabs...

(continued from page 4)

instead. In fact, the battle of June 11 began as an officially called "day of solidarity" in which UFW members at ten non-struck ranches were called out for the first time to join the rest of the strikers *for one day* on the picket lines.

Later in the week UFW leaders were still leading more carefully controlled *one-day* solidarity walkouts at several other ranches where the union has members but has not won official recognition. While these actions are token and inadequate, they represent an act of desperation for the UFW bureaucracy, which has always regarded the strike weapon as anathema. Chavez & Co. prefer to depend entirely on moralistic appeals to their "friends" in the Democratic-controlled state legislature and governor's office.

The strike has also been undermined by Chavez' endless chauvinist appeals to the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS or "La Migra") to arrest and deport so-called "illegal aliens" who have been brought in from Mexico to scab. A spokesman for Chavez complained to the press in mid-May that the INS had not raided a single struck grower in the Salinas Valley, but had concentrated on non-struck fields, often involving union members. Chavez' chauvinist policy has only alienated the "undocumented" workers and pushed them toward the growers. The union ranks must fight instead for full citizenship rights for foreign workers and oppose the INS raids.

Only a week before the Salinas battle, Chavez was peddling his pacifist class collaboration at a June 3 meeting of Fremont United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364, where he came to appeal for financial support. In his speech the UFW leader expressed surprise that the growers responded with such violence—"We never expected murder!"—and re-emphasized his time-worn boycott strategy: "If five percent stop eating bananas, that will bring the growers to their knees!" These treacherous comments demonstrated that Chavez remains riveted to his class collaboration, and must be dumped by the Farm Workers ranks. But of the numerous, self-proclaimed radicals and socialists in the meeting, only the UAW Militant Caucus dared to attack Chavez openly. The Militant Caucus distributed a leaflet criticizing his disastrous policies (see box), and also led a chant of "Huelga Si, Migra No!" while the opportunists sat in stony silence.

The UFW strike has reached a critical stage, threatening a defeat which might well break the back of the union unless the recent militant action is carried forward into a policy for victory. The growers have clearly hardened their stance and are in no mood for negotiations. But the Chavez leadership has no stomach for a real class battle. The ranks must act by electing strike committees to carry out the urgent tasks. Shut down all the unionized lettuce fields and call for sympathy strikes elsewhere! Mobilize the thousands of UFW members and sympathizers for a real defense of the picket lines! Appeal to other unions (Teamsters, IUWU, etc.) for help on the picket lines and to "hot cargo" all scab produce! Victory to the UFW! ■

Truckers Jam Interstates...

(continued from page 12)

protest against the gas rip-off. And in doing so they could unite a large section of the middle class behind organized labor in striking against the arrogant oil monopolies which are making the daily life of the nation's motorists intolerable.

A fighting socialist leadership of the unions would call for seizing the refineries and handing over the fuel; distributing it under the supervision of the labor movement, at vastly reduced prices so that everybody gets his fair share; removing the absurd 55 mile-per-hour speed limit, and expropriating Big Oil without a penny of "compensation" to these bloodsuckers!

"They're Killing Us!"

The independent owner-operators have been driven to the wall by the fuel crisis. In the Midwest the price per gallon of diesel fuel now ranges from 80 cents to $1.25, up from 63 cents a gallon a year ago. The 8 June *Wall Street Journal* quoted a protesting driver in Dallas who spelled out the arithmetic of the squeeze: "Most of these trucks carry 150 gallons, so with fuel up 40 cents a gallon since December, that's an extra $60 a fill-up. You fill up at least four times a week, so that's an extra $240, or $1,000 a month."

Unlike unionized fleet drivers the independent truckers (owner-operators) are not workers, but a middle-class stratum of the population which vacillates between the working class and the employers. Thus it is not surprising that the truckers' protests have mainly been a pressure tactic to achieve special treatment for themselves. Their most common demands have been for a surcharge on freight rates to reflect escalating fuel costs and a special allocation of diesel fuel such as farmers have received. At the same time they seized the opportunity to lash out over longstanding grievances, calling for an end to the interstate speed limit, and at least temporary relief from federal regulations restricting numerous freight categories to the chartered carriers.

Despite particularistic demands, fundamentally the protests are directed against high fuel prices and the manipulated gas shortage. "We feel the oil companies are raping us and the American public," a trucker participating in a convoy blockade on I-94 outside Chicago told the press. "With extra stops for more expensive fuel, and the 55 mile-an-hour speed limit, we don't feel we can last financially. They're killing us." The labor movement has no interest in seeming higher freight rates, which mainly benefit the big companies in any case; and given the contradictory position of owner-operators, it is possible their protests can be turned in a reactionary direction. In Chile, for example, the CIA mobilized independent truckers as part of its program of "destabilizing" the Allende government. But the current protests are clearly aimed against the highway robbery by the giant oil companies—supported by the Carter government—and deserve the militant support of labor.

"Cross a Picket Line? Certainly Not!"

On the night of June 3 a group of truckers seized the Union 76 Calumet Truck Stop in South Holland, Illinois, a suburb just south of Chicago. *Workers Vanguard* went out to talk to the protesters. A few hours after the action began some 200 trucks were blocking the large facility, the drivers either active participants in the seizure or trapped in the blockade. All were highly sympathetic to the protest, whether they were independent owner-operators, non-unionized fleet drivers, or a few stray Teamsters caught in the action. Most stayed because they considered it scabbing to run the blockade ...some because it was dangerous to leave. One independent (also a Teamster) told *WV* he would not even consider leaving:

> "It'd be like crossing a picket line. It's like if I pulled up to a factory and there was a picket line. Now would I cross that line? I certainly would not."

Twenty-four hours after the seizure began some 150 riot police from South Holland and adjacent towns arrived. By this time the action had become disorganized and confused. The original leader sneaked out earlier, after his "negotiations" with Union 76 came to naught. And while new leaders periodically emerged, they were without authority, program, strategy or even much in the way of militant tactics. When the cops arrived a simple show of force sufficed to dissolve the protest. A few days later, after officials changed the limit on diesel fuel to 50 gallons on the Indiana Toll Road, the drivers parked 300 trucks four abreast along a one-mile stretch near Gary in protest.

This leaderless, chaotic quality has characterized all of the truckers' protests across the country. Actions happen and unhappen, such as the "cat and mouse" games the truckers play with the cops, appealing to the freewheeling sentiments of the individualistic drivers. But to be successful, they need a coherent, militant leadership to lead a fight against big business. And that the owner-operators, desperately struggling to hold their heads above water financially and fiercely competitive with each other, cannot provide. Without the intervention of class-struggle militants to link the protest to the organized workers movement, and to direct it consciously against the capitalists and their government, the drivers' actions will peter out without achieving lasting gains.

The present actions recall the truckers' protest in late 1973 and early 1974, when gas prices soared following the OPEC oil embargo and the drivers mounted work stoppages, blocked the truck stops and picketed the terminals. For the first time the finger was pointed at the real culprits, the oil majors who were using the OPEC boycott as an excuse to jack up their profits. The truckers' demands at that time were almost identical to today, centering on a fuel price rollback and calling for uniform interstate weight and size regulations.

We demanded then as we do now that the Teamsters union (IBT) take the lead in the protests and use them to reopen its own contract talks on the Master Freight Agreement. But even though over-the-road IBT drivers have taken a wage cut of up to 20 percent as a result of the speed limits, and the recent wage settlement doesn't even keep up with galloping inflation due to pressure from the same Carter government, IBT chief Fitzsimmons hasn't lifted a finger to solidarize with the protesting independents.

We pointed out in 1974 that except for a small handful, the owner-operator truckers will never be able to make a decent life for themselves, being forced to keep up a backbreaking pace of work to make ends meet, as long as they are small fish in the capitalist sea dominated by big business. We called on the Teamsters to appeal to the "independent" truckers to link up to the power of the labor movement by organizing themselves in tandem with the unions. This is already the case, for example, with a large percentage of the steel haulers.

Meanwhile the oil company tanks are overflowing with crude, petroleum imports are up sharply and the refineries are plodding along at 80-85 percent of capacity as the companies try to further jack up the price of gas. Even Carter's energy secretary James Schlesinger criticized the oil majors at a June 14 press conference for holding back production. Although Schlesinger demagogically threatened to take crude petroleum from companies that were stockpiling it and turn it over to those who were ready to refine it, he has no intention of doing so.

But the labor movement could provide an answer. We demand that the oil companies' books be opened to union inspection, so we can see what their profits are and what they're holding back. If the companies refuse to release their stocks, the OCAW (the oil workers union) should just turn on the refineries while the Teamsters line up the tankers to haul the stuff out to where it's needed. Above all, we demand the expropriation of Big Oil without compensation.

The total complicity of the Carter government with the energy trusts in their conspiracy to drive up prices has been demonstrated over and over with the Democratic administration's moves to decontrol oil prices. It's obviously absurd to place any reliance on this party of big business to undertake an attack on the "holy" rights of private property. That is why labor must break with the Democrats and build its own party, to fight for a workers government that will put these parasites out of business for good ■

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Papal Pilgrimage...

(continued from page 5)

true that Poland, partly for historic reasons, is the most Catholic of any Soviet bloc state. But there have been repeated protests and uprisings by the proletariat of East Europe against the Stalinist bureaucracies—East Berlin 1953, Hungary 1956, and in Poland demonstrations and strikes in 1956, 1970, 1976—*none* of which sought the restoration of the Vatican's power, but which represented independent proletarian struggle in the context of upholding the gains of the social revolutions in those countries.

While *any* secular regime in Poland, including even a revolutionary socialist regime firmly rooted in soviet democracy, would have to confront the entrenched power of the Catholic church, it is the policies of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy which have allowed the religious hierarchy to maintain and strengthen its base in Poland. The Gierek regime, heavily in debt to Western creditors, has attempted to resolve Poland's economic crisis through holding down the urban proletariat's wages and raising food prices, in order to appease the agricultural petty bourgeoisie, much of whose produce is intended for export. It is these peasant smallholders, who still own some 80 percent of the land and are often quite wealthy by East European standards, who form the main social base of the Roman Catholic church and a bastion for potential capitalist restoration. Given this significant social base, the regime has maintained a policy of wary cooperation and concessions to the Catholic hierarchy.

Naturally one expects the pope to go around pontificating for the Holy Roman church—but what was particularly ominous about the pope's tour was that the church has by no means forgotten its historic role as defender of "Catholic Poland," and intends ultimately to reconquer it. Only the creation of the Polish deformed workers state after World War II broke the church's dominant position in alliance with the nobility and landed gentry. At the pope's farewell mass in Krakow this not-so-ancient glory was flaunted: a huge red flag with the white eagle and crown, symbol of the Polish monarchy, hung directly before the altar, and as John Paul II mounted its steps, balloons flew up bearing an anchor-shaped "P.W."—"Polska Walczaca," the insignia of the anti-Communist forces in World War II (*New York Times*, 11 June).

The church's only concern for the Polish working class is to regain its hold over them. Much was made of the pope's preaching to miners from the working-class district of Nowa Huta, but at every key point when the Polish workers have risen up for their own demands and rights, the church has opposed them, throwing its weight into support of the regime's repression. In 1976 Polish workers held mass demonstrations and strikes to protest sharp food price increases decreed by the government, but the Catholic church, while joining in the universally popular call for the release of arrested workers, endorsed Gierek's austerity measures and called on the masses to make "sacrifices." In 1970 when workers revolted in the Baltic coast port cities, the Catholic church called on them to go back to work.

Stalinism and the Vatican

To draw the conclusion from this history that the Stalinist regime and the Catholic hierarchy have fundamentally common interests would be dangerously shortsighted for Marxists. Yet this is just what the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) does. One would think from reading the *Militant* (22 June) editorial on the pope's tour that Edward Gierek never had a better friend than Pope John Paul II. According to them, the imperialists, the Stalinists and the Vatican are just one big happy family: "The capitalists... reap enormous propaganda gains from being able to portray the church—that bastion of reaction and repression—as a defender of popular freedom.... At the same time, they appreciate the church's services in helping to stabilize the Stalinist regime against the workers." The Stalinists let the pope into Poland because "they *need* the Polish Catholic Church," says the *Militant*.

Gierek needs this pope like he needs a hole in the head. The Stalinists are unable to wipe out the church's influence and forced to concede to it, but they surely don't like it very much. Why does the SWP insist on their identity? Above all, it seeks to deny that there can be any conflict between imperialism and the Stalinist regimes of the deformed workers states, in order to avoid the basic Trotskyist duty of *defending* these states against American imperialism's growing onslaught. Particularly, the SWP denies that the U.S. "human rights" offensive, of which the pope is an integral part, has any connection with counterrevolutionary imperialist designs because it wants to act as a left pressure group on Carter, posing as the most "consistent" defender of (supposedly classless) democracy in the Sino-Soviet states.

Marxists have never sought to forcibly root out religious beliefs—unlike the oh-so-democratic Catholic church. But against the reactionary attempts of the religious hierarchies—from the Holy See to Khomeini's Islamic dictatorship to the Israeli theocracy—to hold down the oppressed, communists have fought relentlessly. As we wrote in "The President's Pope?":

> "The victorious Bolsheviks in Russia gutted the temporal power of the Orthodox church by expropriating its gigantic estates worked by knout-driven serfs. While carrying on some anti-religious agitation, their fundamental tack was to eliminate the hideous poverty and rural isolation which were the basis for the hold of religious obscurantism on the masses. The measures which began to free women from the oppressive limits of the family thereby undercut another of the principal sources of active religious participation.
> "But with the triumph of Stalin, all this was reversed. The family was reinforced, collectivization was carried out in a brutally bureaucratic manner, and during World War II Stalin directly built up the authority of the Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox church in order to tap nationalist sentiment in the 'Great Fatherland War'."

The reformists and Stalinists have once again miserably confirmed their inability to defend the working class against the imperialists' onslaught, which today uses the Vatican as an anti-communist spearhead in East Europe. Only the Trotskyist program of political revolution against the capitulationist Stalinist bureaucracies can defend the social/economic conquests of the degenerated/deformed workers states against their mortal enemies. And it is only Trotskyism today which upholds the Marxist, communist program of international socialist revolution which will sweep from the face of the earth once and for all the "holy alliance" of reaction. ■

Chrysler...

(continued from page 12)

week when company spokesman Harwood Rydolm bluntly informed members of the City Council, "As far as changing the corporation's position on this issue, I'm afraid there's no chance whatsoever." And as it became more evident that the UAW International will not lift a finger to stop the layoffs, local bureaucrats and their lackeys on the left have begun squabbling over *who* should be laid off. Reportedly, officials at Dodge Main Local 3 have demanded that laid-off workers at Hamtramck be permitted to bump workers at Dodge Truck with less seniority. On the other side of the coin, the ill-named "Justice Caucus" of Dodge Truck Local 140 decided it was only fair that "voluntary" inverse seniority be instituted—that is, that older, more senior workers be laid off first!

In the midst of all this defeatism and buck passing from Solidarity House, several militants at Dodge Truck have issued a call for a *real* fight against the layoffs, one which would unite all auto workers instead of squabbling over who gets the ax. Their leaflet, issued to build for the June 10 Local 140 meeting, posed the question sharply: "The next few weeks may be the last that many of us work for Chrysler, or it may be the beginning of a fight alongside our brothers at Dodge Main to challenge the 'right' of Chrysler to throw us into the street." And it continued:

> "Instead of mapping out a strategy to win, the International told the Dodge Main workers to write their congressman! They want us to go down on our knees to the strike-breaking Democratic Party—which invoked the slave labor Taft-Hartley law against the coal miners and railroad workers. When this union was organized the UAW did not say 'GM won't recognize our union, so we must write to our congressman.' NO! The UAW brought GM and Chrysler to *their* knees with its most powerful weapon—the sitdown strike! Chrysler workers were part of that proud tradition—there were sitdowns at Dodge Main and Dodge Truck to force Chrysler to recognize the union. As recently as 1973 Jefferson Avenue workers won their demands by occupying the plant. The sitdown is effective against massive layoffs because it hits the bosses where they live—their private property which they say gives them the 'right' to throw us out of work."

The Dodge Truck militants also put forward a resolution at the union meeting calling for sitdowns to demand no layoffs, unlimited unemployment benefits and recall rights, and full SUB funds guaranteed by the government.

Unfortunately, this resolution (which was supported by a number of Dodge Truck workers) was tabled, due in no small measure to the gang of phony leftists who showed that they, along with the bureaucracy, have abandoned the fighting traditions that built the UAW. A member of the Justice Caucus, whose newsletter ironically carries the caption "Spirit of '37," spoke against sitdowns, claiming that workers would find it too hot in the plants in the summer! Communist Labor Party supporters, comfortably ensconced in the in-power Local 140 bureaucratic caucus, brazenly accused the militants of being company provocateurs, claiming that Chrysler would welcome such a strike. The groveling Maoists of the Communist Party (M-L), denounced sitdowns as "crazy" and "a bitter pill to swallow," while a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party counseled that militants should fight for more "realistic" motions. For this junior labor lackey no doubt Chrysler's breadlines are a more "realistic" alternative than occupying the plants to stop the layoffs!

Ford Workers Call For Sitdowns to Save Dodge Main

The following resolution in solidarity with Detroit Chrysler workers was passed June 19 by the day-shift meeting of the Maintenance and Construction Unit of Local 600 at the Ford River Rouge plant.

Resolved:

(1) that this unit of UAW Local 600 calls on the International Union to organize a plant occupation/sitdown strike at Dodge Main and other plants slated for closing to save the plants and stop the layoffs;

(2) that the sitdown demands include the fight for a government-guaranteed SUB fund and unlimited unemployment benefits and recall rights;

(3) that the International mobilize all UAW locals and other area unions in mass labor defense of such plant occupations;

(4) that this motion be published in *Ford Facts* and distributed to all Detroit UAW locals and regional offices and sent to the local media.

Instead, the fake leftists channeled membership anger into support for a demonstration endorsed by the reformist Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC), called around the slogans of COLA on pensions and a shorter workweek. However, this demonstration is scheduled for July, *after* Chrysler guts Dodge Main and Dodge Truck! In fact, neither the ABC Coalition nor its bloc partners, UAW house oppositionists Hank Oginsky and Frank Runnels, even call for a strike around the contract! Oginsky and Runnels, in particular, openly lobby Democratic Party politicians in a futile effort to pass laws limiting the workweek.

This attempt to pressure Democratic Party politicians is the same fundamental strategy pursued by the UAW International, the first major union to endorse Carter's wage controls. But it is no accident that the same Democratic Party politicians supported by the UAW, from Carter to Coleman Young, are also the favorites of auto magnates like the Fords. The bosses know well that this big-business party stands fully behind their right to make a profit and will not lift a finger to halt the layoffs.

The great gains of the 1930s were won precisely by defying both the bosses and Democratic Party governors who attempted to break the organizing strikes with cops and the National Guard. If auto workers are to defend their jobs and living standards, it will only be by forging an authoritative class-struggle leadership that repudiates the labor fakers like Fraser and their alliance with the bosses' parties. What is needed is a workers party to defend militant struggles such as the sitdown strikes which are urgently needed today, and to take the lead in fighting to replace the whole boom-bust capitalist system which condemns auto workers to the endless cycle of speed-up and layoffs. For sitdowns to save Dodge Main and stop Chrysler layoffs! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Demand More Fuel, Lower Prices

Truckers Jam the Interstates

The gas crisis has infuriated not just the American motorist, waiting on the lengthy lines week after week and occasionally driven to outbursts of frenzy in the mad scramble to get the last drop. The fuel shortage and astronomical price gouging have also hit owner-operator truckers with a vengeance, and in the last two weeks they've done something about it. Congregating in the service plazas that are their only social centers, "independent" drivers were steaming and, pretty soon, as their anger rose the first truck stop fell, surrounded by scores of 40-ton tractor-trailers.

Soon the protests swept out onto the interstate highways, the lifelines which carry the vast bulk of the country's long-distance freight. Using their CB radios for communication, a few drivers would slow down to a crawl and quickly huge traffic jams of several hundred trucks blocked the road. Soon after came the horde of state cops, swarming around them like flies, their red lights flashing. It was like a scene straight out of the movie *Convoy*.

Within a week a truckers association was reporting more than 300 major truck stops across the country were closed. Protesting drivers had virtually shut off freight traffic along the southern route west of Dallas. And all along I-80, from the Golden Gate to George Washington Bridge, irate truckers were jamming the fuel pumps with their stalled rigs, protesting the soaring cost and shortage of diesel fuel.

The truckers' methods were effective—drivers who tried to run the blockade were yanked out of their cabs, their tires slashed or worse. In Rapid City, South Dakota one driver had his truck impounded and his load of hogs let out on the road. And in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, after a trucker's wife riding shotgun in her husband's cab was critically wounded by sniper fire, the National Guard was called up to escort trucks trying to break the blockades.

At press time some 75,000 trucks, roughly 60 percent of the national total of non-fleet, long-haul interstate trucks, were reportedly involved in the shutdowns. The government, clearly worried about the prospect of the country's main freight arteries being closed off by the truckers' tourniquet squeeze, was attempting to buy them off by authorizing a 5.6 percent surcharge for owner-operators. But with inflation running at 14 percent and diesel fuel prices up 30 to 100 percent since the beginning of the year, this amounts to a slap in the face.

The Carter administration clearly thinks it can weather the crisis, and given the leaderless nature of the truckers' protest it may be right. But a class-struggle leadership of the unions would seize this tremendous opportunity and use it to ignite a nationwide

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Sit Down Against Chrysler Layoffs!

DETROIT—As D-Day approaches for the mass "indefinite" layoffs threatening thousands of Detroit-area Chrysler workers and the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy still sits on its hands, several militants at Dodge Truck last week issued a call for the kind of fighting union action necessary to meet the employers' attack. Sit down to save Dodge Main and stop the Chrysler layoffs, was the message of their resolution which posed a challenge not only to UAW Solidarity House but to would-be militants as well.

One half the entire 7,000-man work force at Dodge Truck is scheduled to be first under the ax as Chrysler plans to shut down the second shift indefinitely at the end of June. And if the company has its way, in early July another 1,000 workers at Hamtramck Assembly will walk out of the antiquated eight-story factory for the last time. The remaining 4,000 workers there will be fired a year later when the plant is scrapped. The impact of the massive layoffs on Detroit will be devastating at Chrysler, the city's largest employer, and with auto/truck sales plummeting GM and Ford workers are already wondering "who's next?"

WV Photo

Hamtramck workers rally: "Save Dodge Main!"

But it doesn't have to be this way—with the strongest industrial union in the U.S., auto workers have the power to bring the companies to their knees and stop the layoffs cold.

The city "fathers" are crowing about their efforts at downtown redevelopment due to the new Ren Cen office complex, but if the bottom drops out of auto, Detroit is going down the tubes. Workers here vividly remember the 1974-75 depression days when whole shifts were laid off at virtually every auto, rubber and parts plant in the city. Unemployment lines extended for two blocks and more, one fifth of all city workers were slashed from the payroll, violent crime increased as ghetto youth unemployment reached astronomical proportions. Yet Chrysler workers could mobilize the more than one quarter of a million UAW workers in the Detroit area by demanding militant plant occupations to stop the mass layoffs, and back them up by shutting down every last Chrysler facility in the city! If Chrysler says it cannot afford to operate its plants, then militants must demand that they be expropriated without compensation! While Solidarity House goes hat in hand to beg from the company and Mayor Coleman Young to no avail, it was the sitdown strikes which built the union in the 1930s and they can stop the decimation of the Detroit workforce today!

As for Doug Fraser and the leadership of the UAW, they have already signaled their capitulation. Its ludicrous hopes of "persuading" Chrysler to keep Dodge Main open were dashed last

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Gas Lines, Layoffs, Prices Explode

Hot Summer Mad

While the imperialist leaders huddled in Tokyo for an "Energy Summit" and OPEC price-boosters gathered in Geneva, Americans in gas lines cursed the Big Oil Rip-Off of '79 and the cartel's man in the White House. Meanwhile, inflation is soaring at levels not seen since '46. In industry, particularly the key auto sector, layoffs are beginning to cascade as the bottom drops out of the market. And food shortages are beginning to develop as a result of the truckers' work stoppages. Even Jimmy Carter, notorious for mistaking the mood of the American people, can't miss this one. And an aide speculated on why his boss might not be reelected. "The American people are mad—hot-summer mad" (*New York Times*, 29 June).

There is plenty to be mad about. Americans need gas, and it sometimes can't be found at any price. The gas lines on the oil-thirsty Atlantic seaboard have become longer, nastier and more enduring than the earlier lines in California. Weekends have been nearly dry; weekdays are an infuriating struggle of each against all. Motorists with odd-numbered license plates begin their search often as early as 4 or 5 a.m. on "odd days," ermsing the freeways and streets hoping to find a station flying a green flag. What they find are lines that stretch blocks and sometimes miles, where they wait for hours, inching up toward the semi-precious fluid now selling for a dollar a gallon and more.

Independent truckers tie up highways in protest against the Big Oil Rip-Off of 1979.

Pokempner/Time

The most common time-killer on the lines is the morning paper wherein the victim reads about himself. He reads about the violence. In Freemansburg, Pennsylvania, an Amoco dealer's wife was accidentally crushed between two cars and lay bleeding while motorists continued to fill their gas tanks. He reads the "human interest" stories. These include a belly dancer and a $10-an-hour car-sitting service on New York's Upper West Side. He reads about the dozen cars that mistakenly lined up behind a parked funeral procession.

He is not amused. The gas shortage is

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Military Victory to Sandinista-Led Insurgents!

Down with Somoza—Workers to Power!

JULY 2—As the offensive of the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) against bloody Nicaraguan tyrant Anastasio Somoza enters its sixth week, the U.S. government seems finally to grasp that its puppet strongman may soon come crashing down. Washington is now desperately engaging in last-minute maneuvers to ease Somoza out while preserving his hated National Guard and setting up a more conservative "transitional government" than that backed by the FSLN. This attempt to preserve "Somozaism without Somoza" must be vigorously opposed. Proletarian communists stand for military victory of the Sandinista-led insurgency and the destruction of the brutal American-backed dictatorship down to its roots.

The Sandinista leadership, however, calls for stopping the revolution midway. Its call for a "provisional government of national unity" including all "consistent" anti-Somoza forces is a program for a capitalist regime of "human rights" democracy. It demands the expropriation of Somoza family property, but exempts that of the other leading clans. The Nicaraguan masses have already experienced the oppressive rule of the Chamorros and the other latifundistas, who called in the U.S. Marines to guarantee their profits. The heroic sacrifices of the workers and poor must not go to replace a greedy upstart exploiter with the traditional aristocracy! For a workers and peasants government, led by a Trotskyist party, to extirpate capitalist tyranny!

A deadly "calm" has reportedly returned to the Nicaraguan capital, as military necessity has apparently forced FSLN fighters to withdraw from the slums of Managua. But the storm must come. If the murderous oligarch is not toppled now, it will be a long time before the masses recover the strength and morale to rise again. And the key to victory is mobilizing the working class to impose its rule over the ranchers, bankers and branch-office bourgeoisie that provided the underpinnings for the Somoza dynasty. As negotiations go on behind the backs of the working people, the communists proclaim: Don't stop now—Get rid of all the Somozas and strike at their imperialist masters! Arm the masses—Workers to power!

The imperialist press has focused on Jimmy Carter's frantic efforts to entice the Nicaraguan dictator to quit so that he can be supplanted by a "broad, representative" government equally subservient to imperialism. But so far Washington has suffered one setback after another in this quest. The U.S. plan for an inter-American "peacekeeping" expeditionary force was shot down in a meeting of ministers from the members of the Organization of American States (OAS). Liberal Latin American regimes opposed another Santo Domingo-style invasion, while right-wing dictators saw it as a precedent that could be used against them.

"Tachito" Somoza

Dejean/Sygma

Finally a compromise resolution was passed calling for the "immediate and

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Break with the Democrats

Strike Ma Bell in '80!

The 41st annual convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), scheduled to open in Detroit on July 16 will spotlight all the political and economic issues facing the U.S. labor movement, as delegates meet under the watchful eyes of an increasingly angry and frustrated membership. The main tasks now facing the union include the fight to win the right of locals to strike and preparations for a solid national strike in 1980 to beat back the Bell System's rampaging attacks on the workforce, stop layoffs and forced transfers, and smash Carter's wage freeze.

Phone workers, like the rest of the U.S. working class, keenly feel the current 14 percent yearly inflation rate. At the same time, working conditions grow steadily worse as the Bell monopoly tries to get by with fewer workers doing an increasing amount of work. Some 100,000 workers have been forced off the payroll in the past five years, while the Bell System has been speeding up workers nationwide, forcing them to work long hours of overtime and trying to beat down the union every chance it gets. Discipline is harsh—workers with long years of seniority and many skills are fired at the drop of a hat.

In the face of this campaign, the CWA leadership of President Glenn Watts has been forced to make at least a show of concern. Thus on June 15 the union staged a series of "Job Pressures" demonstrations across the country. But the bureaucrats' policy of flashy publicity stunts (complete with rock bands and balloons in New York), media blitzes and a futile effort to pressure the Democratic Party (focus of the march in L.A.) were an attempt to divert phone company workers from the need for militant labor struggle to defend the CWA. As a leaflet distributed at last month's CWA West Coast regional "Job Pressures" conference by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Local 9410 said, "There is one way to win a contract that stops job pressures: a solid, well-prepared national strike in 1980 that shuts communications down right with mass picket lines and no scabbing."

Local Right to Strike

The job pressures CWA members now experience are the fruits of a policy of appeasement and passivity by the union leadership to a years-long Bell System automation/speedup/job cutting drive. And the Watts bureaucracy gives every indication that its fundamental policy of retreat and surrender before the phone company's onslaught will not change. During last year's convention the Watts team took up four out of five days trying to get a dues increase passed. The delegates, obviously feeling the heat from an angry membership, turned down this proposal. At bottom, the delegates rejected the bureaucracy's plea to finance its program of détente with Bell management and begging crumbs from Democratic Party politicians.

At that convention Watts ruled "out of order" a move to amend the CWA constitution so that locals would have the right to strike without prior authorization from the International. This was not because of any violation of the convention's procedural rules but because the CWA leadership is opposed to using the strike weapon against the phone company. Indeed, only a month after that convention Watts & Co. failed to back up the 31 Long Lines locals who were forced into a strike by AT&T's policy of trying to pick off locals one at a time. The Long Lines strike showed that the CWA membership is willing to take on the bosses when its vital interests—in this case the right to respect picket lines—are threatened. It is not the membership, or even wide sections of the union's local leadership, but the top International brass who are fearful of taking on Ma Bell.

The issue of the strike weapon will certainly come up in the 1979 convention. Last year the proposal to grant locals the right to strike was supported by over 50 delegates, including a number of local officers, indicating significant disaffection with the International's policy of burying its head in the sand in the face of company attacks on job conditions. And there is widespread anger over the International's sellout of the Long Lines' walkout.

Moreover, the convention takes place only a year away from both the U.S. presidential elections and the CWA's national contract expiration date. *Workers Vanguard* has learned that there will be at least one proposal to devote a convention day to discussing CWA strategy for the upcoming contract negotiations. This motion should be supported. The convention is the highest body of the union and should discuss, debate and *vote policy* on questions of substantial importance.

No to the Bosses' Parties

Glenn Watts, of course, can be expected to beat the drum for his recommended candidate, U.S. president Jimmy Carter. At last year's convention, Watts crowed:

> "...CWA has a proven friend in the White House. Jimmy Carter's record as President has indicated that although he is by no means in labor's hip pocket, as the saying goes, he is basically sympathetic to the interests of working people, and his record has proven that."

This was *after* Carter had invoked the slave-labor Taft-Hartley injunction to break the heroic miners' strike of 1978 and *after* this "right-to-work" peanut millionaire threatened similar injunctions against phone and postal workers! But this year Carter may be a lot harder to sell, with his 14 percent inflation/7 percent wage raise "guidelines" and his arrogant preaching that high gas prices are what the American people deserve.

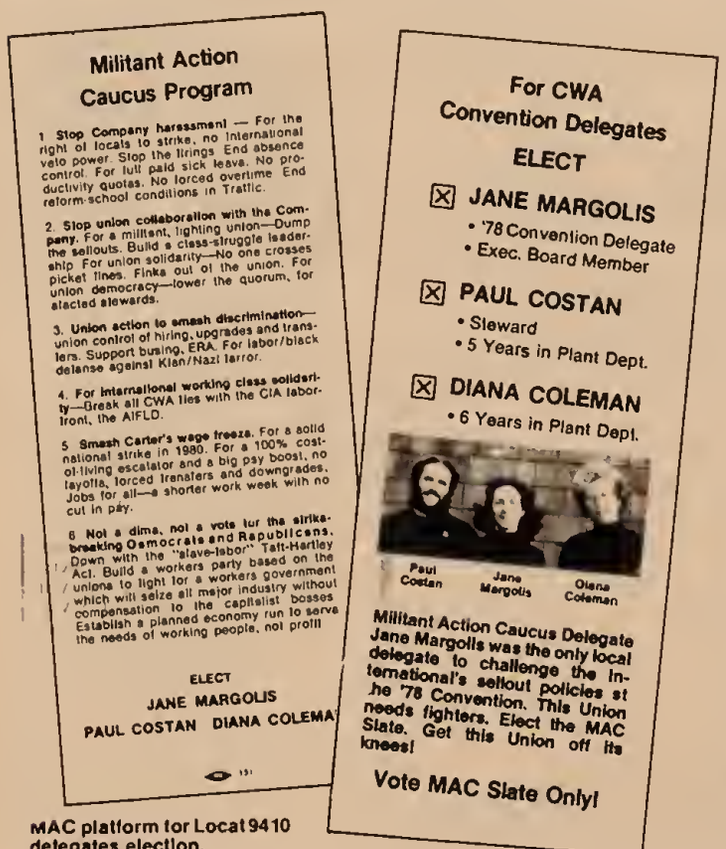
In these circumstances, the CWA tops certainly don't want a well-planned coast-to-coast phone strike in 1980 which could bring the company to a screeching halt and reveal Carter for what he has always been—an anti-union strikebreaker. The bureaucrats are locked into a policy of begging for a few favors from the bosses' parties in exchange for heading off strikes and mobilizing their ranks to support "lesser evil" bourgeois politicians. But the problem for the U.S. labor bureaucracy is that the capitalists and their government are in no mood or position to grant favors to buy labor peace. Carter and the Democratic Party-dominated "veto-proof" Congress have kicked labor in the teeth again and again. The old bureaucratic shell game of "don't strike—ask the Democrats to pass a law to help us out" is getting harder and harder to play.

For a Nationwide Phone Strike in 1980!

The only systematic political opposition to the current CWA leadership comes from the MAC, a class-struggle union caucus in San Francisco's Local 9410. MAC spokesman Jane Margolis, a member of the Local's executive board and delegate to the upcoming national convention, told *WV* that MAC has gathered significantly wider support in Local 9410 over the past year. This is shown by Margolis' strong showing (placing fifth in a field of 31 candidates)

WV Photo

June 15 "Job Pressures" rally, Los Angeles. Phone workers need militant labor action, not reliance on Democrats, to stop company attacks.



MAC platform for Local 9410 delegates election.

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No. 235 **6 July 1979**

Steelworkers Back Anwar

CHICAGO—On June 30, the fight to win back the job of Keith Anwar, the militant unionist fired by Inland Steel Company for respecting the picket lines of a Steelworkers (USWA) local striking his plant, took a major step forward when the District 31 Conference of the United Steelworkers of America endorsed his defense.

The statement and resolution submitted by Anwar, passed overwhelmingly by the conference, read as follows:

"Local 1010 member, Keith Anwar, was summarily fired for refusing to cross a Steelworker picket line at Inland Steel. An unprecedented 30-day suspension was meted out at Gary Works and several one-day suspensions have been issued at U.S. Steel's Southworks for the same 'crime.'

"It should be clear that the steel companies are waging a concerted attack on all vestiges of labor solidarity. With the absence of strong union backing numerous grievances have been either lost or cowardly dropped.

"The Conference must address itself to this urgent matter. The full weight of our powerful district must be employed to reverse these attacks against our union. We cannot allow the companies to pick off in ones and twos individual militants who believe that picket lines mean don't cross. The companies have served notice that *any* union activity they don't approve of will be ruthlessly dealt with. Only a united district-wide defense can stop them.

"I am asking for delegates' support to get the following resolution on the floor and fight for its passage:

"Whereas, the steel companies have systematically been victimizing union militants in several locals for honoring picket lines; and

"Whereas, union members have been victimized in Locals 65 and 1014 for honoring Railroad and Ironworkers picket lines at their plants; and

"Whereas, brother Keith Anwar of Local 1010 was fired by Inland Steel for honoring USWA Local 8180's picket lines; therefore

"Be it Resolved, that USWA District 31 use all available resources to reverse these attacks by defending all union members victimized for honoring picket lines, and

"Be it Further Resolved, that District 31 demand that Inland Steel reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay."

Three days prior to his important victory, steel workers at Southworks also led a successful fight to pass a union resolution pledging defense of members respecting picket lines. Last September three Local 65 members had been disciplined for honoring the lines of the striking Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks (BRAC). On June 22, USWA International staff representative Robert Hatch dropped their grievances without explanation. The resolution passed at the June 27 Southworks Local 65 meeting included demands that "the local condemn the dropping of the picket line grievances by the International," and resolved further that "Brother Keith Anwar of USWA Local 1010 be invited to address the 6/27/79 local meeting to speak in his defense and that the local pass the hat to raise money for his legal defense through the NLRB."

The defense resolutions passed at union locals and the District Conference represent an important achievement. But to insure that these resolutions are actually implemented will require a continued vigorous mobilization of the labor movement by Anwar and fellow militants. The trade-union tops who routinely order their members to cross picket lines, and who have for years accustomed themselves to subordinating labor solidarity to enforcement of no-strike clauses and meek acquiescence to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and anti-labor laws like Taft-Hartley, are at best indifferent, and often hostile to workers like Anwar.

Keith Anwar WV Photo

Nevertheless, the gains already achieved clearly demonstrate the possibility of mobilizing steel workers to defend Anwar. Anwar also told *WV* that the Keith Anwar Defense Fund had raised over $600, the majority collected from steel workers at plant gates as well as at union meetings, although donations and letters of support have come in from all over the country as well as Canada. Even more importantly, the fight within the USWA has tapped a layer of support among workers prepared to demand that the union begin to respect the norms of labor solidarity. As an official from 500-member USWA Local 3008, which organizes clerical workers at U.S. Steel's Gary complex, put it in addressing the District Conference in support of Anwar: "What is the use of organizing if we don't stand together. We've got to line up right with each other.... Anytime any of our brothers and sisters hit the bricks in order to get a little bit of dignity for their jobs, we should support them or else we cannot call ourselves organized labor."

The Anwar case is of crucial importance to all trade unionists. Victory for Anwar will strike a blow for reforging the traditions of labor solidarity within the labor movement, and for a class-struggle program that can genuinely defend the interests of all working people. ■

SL Forum in Detroit

Sit Down to Save Dodge Main!

DETROIT—In the midst of a wave of layoffs affecting thousands of auto workers, and with the first phase of Chrysler's plan to shut down Dodge Main going into effect this month, on July 1 the Detroit branch of the Spartacist League held a forum on the demand "Save Dodge Main!" Speakers included Don Alexander, spokesman for the SL, and Mike Adams, a worker at Dodge Truck who recently presented a motion in United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 140 calling for plant occupations and sitdowns to stop the layoffs. The forum, held in a Hamtramck meeting hall and attended by some 75 people, also received coverage in the 2 July *Detroit News* (see box). We reprint below excerpts from the speakers' remarks.

* * * * *

DON ALEXANDER: Chrysler wants to fire 1,000 workers at Dodge Main and next year close down the entire plant. Everybody knows what would be the effect of closing down Dodge Main—it would be absolutely devastating in both Hamtramck and Detroit. A lot of workers will lose their homes; a lot of their cars will be repossessed; their families won't be able to get any kind of medical care, even the inadequate medical care that exists today. And a lot of the Arab workers who send money home to their families trapped in poverty in the Middle East will face a greater hardship.

It'll mean that an entire community will face virtual destruction. It doesn't take a lot of imagination to think what Hamtramck will be like a year from now: more boarded-up businesses, more boarded-up bars and restaurants, and crime will increase. And with growing unemployment we're going to see a lot more cop terror, directed against everybody but with a bloody emphasis against the blacks and Arabs. A lot of workers recall with particular bitterness what the mass layoffs in auto were like here in '74 and '75....

Labor militants in the UAW will have to demand that the union call factory occupations, sit-down strikes in order to reverse this plant shutdown and halt the mass layoffs. If it were to occur, a sit-down strike would have to necessarily raise demands in defense of the unemployed, demands such as unlimited unemployment benefits for laid-off workers, government takeover of the bankrupt SUB [supplementary unemployment benefit] funds. The Chrysler corporation, like all capitalist corporations usually do, is going to plead poverty. In that instance, the workers must demand that Chrysler be expropriated without compensation. And in addition we call for an industry-wide strike for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay. This would have far-reaching implications for workers throughout the entire country.

The sit-down strike is a crucial militant trade-union tactic. That's what built the union in the first place, that's what built the UAW in 1937. In the Flint sit-down strike, the workers won union recognition, not by getting down on their knees and begging GM to recognize the union, but by the result of organizing for a fight. They occupied the plant for 44 days, they were aided by the women's brigades; thousands of workers in Detroit and Pontiac and throughout the country came to Flint to back up the union organizing efforts. They won because they relied upon their own organized strength and because they did not rely upon the exploiters. That's the reason why they won. And the same tactic that built the UAW in 1'37 is the tactic that's going to prevent the destruction of the Detroit working class today.

MIKE ADAMS: Tuesday morning at my plant the second shift gets axed and the entire plant goes down for a month. I lose my job, there are thousands of my brothers and sisters out on the street and at Dodge Main 5,000 people's jobs are on the line.

continued on page 11

Detroit News

—2 July 1979

Rally supports strike to keep factory open

By DENISE CRITTENDON
News Staff Writer

About 75 people, some of them auto workers, rallied last night in Hamtramck in support of a proposed sitdown strike intended to block the planned shutdown of Chrysler Corp.'s Hamtramck assembly plant.

Chrysler, faced with dwindling car sales, announced in late May that the historic plant, commonly called Dodge Main, would be closed by August, 1980, and its 5,000 workers either laid off or transferred.

The meeting was sponsored by a socialist labor group called the Spartacist League Forum. Donald Alexander, a member of the league, said the UAW "surrendered without a fight" in the Dodge Main closing.

HE CRITICIZED the UAW's "passive stand" and demanded more "militant action" to head off the layoffs.

"The UAW surrendered without a fight," Alexander said. "Their advice to workers is to write to their congressman. Workers who take that seriously will waste a lot of ink."

Noting UAW Vice-President Marc Stepp's lobbying to avert the closing, Alexander said Stepp "was trying to appeal to (Chrysler President Lee A.) Iacocca's humanity." This, Alexander said, was "a dead-end strategy."

Alexander added, "Labor will have to demand a sitdown strike to halt the shutdown (or) workers will lose their homes, cars, families and they won't be able to get medicare."

Members said the Spartacist League advocates overthrow of capitalism and greater emphasis on the needs of the working class. It also publishes the Workers Vanguard, which describes itself as a "Marxist working class newspaper."

ALEXANDER SAID the organization sponsored the rally at the Polish Roman Catholic Union club, and distributed leaflets outside auto plants informing workers of the rally.

Dora Arden, a Spartacist League public relations woman, said the auto workers would be urged to return to their plants and drum up support for the proposed sitdown strike. Ms. Arden said there would be more meetings later on plans for the strike.

PCI Takes a Beating in Italian Elections

In general elections held June 3-4, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) paid the price for three years of parliamentary support to the ruling Christian Democrats (DC). The cost: a whopping loss of 1.5 million votes, bringing the PCI's share of the total ballots cast for Chamber of Deputies to 30.4 percent (down from 34.4 percent in 1976). This was the first electoral setback for the Communists in more than 30 years, ever since the Cold War election of 1948. It hit them in vital areas: the Mezzogiorno (southern Italy), youth and workers in the industrial belts around the northern cities. And to underscore the PCI's vulnerability on the left, immediately after the vote there was an unexpected explosion of labor militancy which for many recalled the beginning of the *autunno caldo* (Hot Autumn) of workers' struggles in 1969.

The election was precipitated by the Communist Party's withdrawal from the parliamentary majority in late January, demanding seats in the cabinet as the *quid pro quo* for continued support. In the ensuing government crisis, Italy's 38th since World War II, all the "clans" of the clique-ridden Christian Democrats united to oppose direct entry of the PCI into the government. But while the DC vetoed Communist Party ministers, thus putting PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer's long-sought "*compromesso storico*" (Historic Compromise) between the country's two largest parties back into the freezer, "red" losses did not spell "white" gains. In fact, the incoming parliament closely resembles its predecessor, with the DC unable to put together a majority (unless it allies with the fascists) without the support of at least the Socialist Party (PSI).

For years the Italian bourgeoisie has been incapable of governing the country with just its own parties. During the 1960s and early 1970s a succession of "center-left" cabinets brought together the PSI, the Republicans (PRI) and Social Democrats (PSDI) under Christian Democratic prime ministers (and firm DC control of the elephantine government bureaucracy). Then, with escalating scandals (notably the Lockheed affair, which implicated President Leone) and large PCI gains in the 1976 elections, Communist Party support or at least tolerance became necessary. Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti worked out various formulas for PCI cooperation with his *monocolore* (single-party) DC cabinet, the last being a formal agreement admitting the Communist Party to the government majority.

L'Europeo

However, while willing to accept PCI support in parliament, the clericalist party bosses drew the line at ministerial posts. This veto, and the PCI tops' realization that there is no percentage in voting for a DC government which won't even let them near the patronage pork barrel, means that another Communist-supported "government of national unity" is unlikely at present. Even if there is a return to the "center-left" formula, however, the attitude of the PCI remains decisive. And Communist Party leaders have made it clear that they have nothing more threatening in mind than a sort of Her Majesty's Opposition *all'italiana*. The DC has given its nod, by again voting a PCI member (the widow of Togliatti) to head the Chamber of Deputies.

What the Election Showed

The June 3-4 vote results did not represent a shift to the right (the DC fell slightly from 38.7 to 38.3 percent, as did the fascist MSI from 6.1 to 5.3 percent). Nor did the "center" make significant gains, with the PSI, the other major reformist workers party, advancing from 9.6 to 9.8 percent, the Republicans oscillating around 3 percent and the CIA-instigated Social Democrats up from 3.4 to 3.8 percent. The biggest gains went to the maverick Radicals (PR), a "lay" bourgeois party which has gained publicity and support among "lib-rad" petty bourgeois by campaigning for referendums on divorce, abortion and other democratic rights shunned by both the DC and PCI. The PR shot up from 1.1 to 3.4 percent.

But even this did not explain the big Communist losses. Significantly, most of those who abandoned the PCI column either did not vote, or cast blank and spoiled ballots. Abstention, though small compared to other countries, was up by 3.5 percent, while more than 1.5 million ballots were either blank or void. And as *La Repubblica* (8 June) noted:

> "The most massive offensive for spoiling ballots came, however, from the BR [Red Brigades]... [Many ballots had inscriptions such as] 'Free Toni Negri' [the professor and '*autonomo*' leader imprisoned on accusations of complicity in the BR kidnapping/killing of DC leader Aldo Moro], 'Abolish the prisons,' 'Free all political prisoners.' [There were] quite a number of five-pointed stars [symbol of the BR] and hammers and sickles."

As for the so-called "far left" formations, the Partito di Unita Proletaria (PDUP) and the Nuova Sinistra Unita (NSU—United New Left), their combined vote increased only marginally over the 1976 electoral score of the Democrazia Proletaria (DP) coalition, from 557,000 (1.5 percent) to 795,000 (2.2 percent). The number of "far left" deputies stayed the same (six), all of them going to the PDUP slate. (The PDUP, the more reformist of the two blocs, has for years acted simply as a pressure group on the PCI. The loose NSU coalition is made up of holdovers of the relatively large New Left groups Avanguardia Operaia and Lotta Continua, once bitterly anti-PCI, which both fell apart shortly after Democrazia Proletaria's poor showing in the 1976 elections.)

The Communist Party losses were particularly evident in the large cities. Milano, Genova and Venice, 4 percent; Rome and Torino, 6 percent; Palermo, 8 percent; Naples, 10 percent. While it held onto previous gains in middle-class areas, the PCI itself was forced to admit that the losses were centered in working-class districts:

> "There are a few large municipalities in the Torino beltline—where the concentration of the industrial proletariat is extremely high—where our losses are of the magnitude of 6 to 7 percent. The highest losses are to be found in the working-class neighborhoods, ranging from 8 to 20 percent."
>
> —*Rinascita*, 8 June

It was also clear what had caused the disaffection: a young PCI militant, in Palermo, Sicily told Berlinguer that, "The alliance with the DC... led people

de Bellis/Panorama

After the vote: Auto workers take over toll booths and impose their own "value added tax."

ILWU Tops Ram Through Sellout Warehouse Contract

OAKLAND—Earlier this month officials of the Teamsters and of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) succeeded in saddling 12,000 northern California warehouse workers with a master contract that spells further erosion in their living standards, jobs and working conditions. Following ratification by key Teamster locals, ILWU bureaucrats including International secretary-treasurer Curtis McClain rammed through the sellout deal at a Bay Area Local 6 meeting on June 9 by a margin of 959 to 287. While Local 6 president Keith Eickman crowed about an overwhelming "yes" vote, the nearly 25 percent who voted "no"—in the face of almost unanimous leadership support for the package—represented a significant section of the membership which was willing to strike in defense of their living standards.

The new contract provides for a maximum 30 percent *total* hike of both wages and cost-of-living (COLA) pay over three years, compared to a current annual inflation rate of 14 percent. In order to hold the settlement down, the bureaucrats agreed to going one full year without COLA, and topped that off by placing a maximum on the total amount of COLA payments allowable over the life of the contract—thereby trampling the membership's demands for full, uncapped cost-of-living protection. Absent from the settlement was any mention of job security, a crucial issue for warehousemen who face erosion of jobs through runaway plants, automation and speedup.

Local 6 members who attended the June 9 meeting had not even been informed beforehand that a tentative settlement had been reached. After more than an hour of glowing reports on the contract by Local 6 officers, including such prominent supporters of the Communist Party (CP) as Joe Figueiredo, the leadership allowed a scant 15 minutes of discussion from the floor, abruptly cutting off debate after a spokesman from the class-struggle Militant Caucus (to widespead applause) demanded rejection of the contract, immediate strike action and replacement of the existing negotiating committee by a local-wide stewards council.

The June meeting was only the latest example of the bureaucracy's attempts to squelch militancy. As early as last February, Local 6 leaders joined with the CP/*People's World* crowd in an unsuccessful attempt to pass a "gag rule" that would have prohibited criticisms of the leadership's conduct of negotiations. The "gag rule" resolution explicitly singled out for attack the Militant Caucus. McClain, Eickman & Co., backed up by their Stalinist lackeys, attempted to frighten the membership from striking by pointing to an earlier, defeated Teamster grocery strike: "We'll do everything to avoid a strike," the hacks asserted again and again.

In contrast, the Militant Caucus demanded serious preparations for a strike around such demands as a shorter workweek at no cut in pay; full, uncapped cost-of-living protection; pensions equal to a full month's wage; and abolition of the no-strike clause. The same sellout artists opposed a Militant Caucus resolution for "no contract, no work" and succeeded in keeping members on the job past the contract expiration deadline on June 1. And while the Militant Caucus was demanding frequent stewards meetings and election of strike committees in the houses, the Local 6 bureaucrats did everything in their power to demoralize and confuse the membership: they canceled all regular union meetings in May and, in a local with a sizeable number of Spanish-speaking workers, refused to publish most bulletins in Spanish.

The ILWU bureaucrats were desperate to prevent a strike which would have posed pointblank the question of taking on government strikebreaking in order to win. To prove their loyalty to the companies and the Democratic Party, McClain & Co. forced through a settlement which lays the basis for a new round of employer attacks, including threats by bosses at houses not covered by the master contract to impose settlements even *worse* than the one ratified June 9.

Union militants in the ILWU ranks must draw the hard lessons of the latest contract sellout. The union needs a new leadership which draws the line against the companies and puts no faith in either of the two capitalist political parties. In the five and a half years since its founding, the Militant Caucus has fought to break the leadership's stranglehold on the union and its treacherous alliance with the Democratic Party. Those who are serious about reversing the string of defeats suffered by ILWU workers must look to join the Militant Caucus as the only way forward. ■

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to put us all in the same bag" (*Panorama*, 19 June). But the impotence of the misnamed "revolutionary left" over the course of the last decade, and particularly since '76, has meant that opposition to the PCI's popular-front policies was expressed above all through the negative gesture of abstention, blank and spoiled ballots.

Agony of the "Historic Compromise"

The 1976 parliamentary elections had raised the hopes of Communist Party leaders that they could finally achieve an alliance with the DC, Italy's perennial ruling party since the break-up of the post-war coalition. Several million voters also saw it as a chance to clean out the Augean stables of the graft, corruption and "immobilism" produced by three decades of Christian Democratic rule—and consequently crossed over to the PCI column on the ballot. As a result of that "mandate," Andreotti formed a minority government resting on PCI "non-defiance" (abstention on key votes) in parliament. This lasted until July 1977, when a six-party

Keystone

PCI's Enrico Berlinguer

programmatic accord was signed by the PCI, DC, PSI, PRI, PSDI and the "free enterprise" Liberals (PLI). The third incarnation of this misnamed government of "national unity" came in early 1978 when Andreotti agreed to a formal pact admitting the PCI into the governmental majority. The pact was voted on the very day of Moro's kidnapping, thus sealing the popular front over the body of the former DC chairman.

Meanwhile, however, the government was imposing anti-working-class "austerity" policies which provoked discontent among the Communist Party ranks. The six-party agreement called for a reduction in the real cost of labor, translating into attacks on the sliding scale of wages (COLA escalator) won by the labor upsurge of 1969. In cities such as Naples, where the PCI won in 1975 on promises of urban reform, all efforts were stymied by cuts in social services. Fearful of angering the Vatican, the Communists refused to touch "hot" issues such as abortion and divorce. And on terrorism, Berlinguer became the most hawkish of the witchhunters, supporting drastic repressive measures such as the Reale Law. The result was big PCI losses in by-elections and increasing pressure to either get cabinet seats or return to the opposition.

To left-wing voters it seemed that the PCI, like the Socialists before them, had simply been sucked into the Christian Democratic morass. And DC party bosses, seeing their adversaries in trouble with the electorate, decided to hardline it. At least 100 Christian Democratic deputies (out of 263) signed calls for the DC to refuse to govern together with the PCI after the elections. PSI leader Benedetto Craxi also embarked on an aggressive election campaign attacking Berlinguer & Co. for not dumping "Leninism." (This led left-wingers to accuse Craxi of "throwing out Marx and bringing in marks," alluding to his close ties with the German SPD.) As a result, most bourgeois commentators saw the vote as a referendum on the PCI's cherished Historic Compromise. "The result,"

Sabatini/Panorama

DC's Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti

concluded the London *Financial Times* (6 June), "was a clear 'no'."

But the ever-"responsible" Berlinguer wouldn't take no for an answer. At the PCI's 15th party congress held in early April, "Eurocommunism" was defined as a "third way" between the Soviet bloc and social democracy, while a "government of national unity" was reaffirmed as the party's immediate goal. The PCI tops even repeated their scandalous advocacy of anti-working-class austerity policies: "Austerity has been proposed by the PCI as an instrument of transformation..." (quoted in *Critica Comunista*, April-May 1979). And in an interview with the Christian Democratic newspaper *Corriere della Sera* (6 May), Berlinguer repeated his statement made during the 1976 election campaign, that he "feels more secure" in NATO than in the Warsaw Pact. But it is not only the Eurocommunists, seeking to distance themselves from Moscow, who push the "Historic Compromise." The supposed pro-Kremlin PCI spokesman Armando Cossutta in a post-election interview reaffirmed the validity of the PCI's "strategic line," calling for a policy of "national unity in opposition" (*Corriere della Sera*, 7 June).

"The Clash Begins Now"

The Italian bourgeoisie did not exult over the election returns. On the contrary, the economic weekly *Il Mondo* devoted the cover of its 15 June issue to the working class: "The clash begins now.... Nine million workers, the productive foundations of the country, with their contracts coming up. Metal workers, chemical workers, textile workers, construction workers...." *Il Mondo* was right, for only two days after the voting a series of explosive struggles broke out in big factories in the industrial centers of Milano and Torino. While the union bureaucracy managed to regain control after a couple of days of wildcat actions, and struck a militant pose against the DC government with a mammoth metal workers demonstration in Rome June 22, the potential for a major conflagration was there.

On Wednesday, June 6 workers at the Arese factory of Alfa Romeo near Milano walked out. On previous days workers had fainted due to excessive heat, and anger had built up over provocations by foremen. Now they formed a procession which wound its way out of the plant and onto the nearby turnpike where they seized the toll booths, with the solidarity of the toll collectors. There motorists were stopped by the red flag of the Metal Workers Federation (FLM) and contributed their tolls to help pay the costs to send a delegation to the Rome demonstration (*Lotta Continua*, 9 June).

The very same day there was a nearly identical action at the giant Fiat Mirafiori works in Torino. The action began as a normal three-hour strike

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Trotskyism and the Sino-Soviet Split

PART TWO OF TWO

The year 1965 marked a decisive turn in Chinese politics, both externally and internally. The U.S. escalation in Vietnam, especially the bombing of the North, opened up a major policy dispute within the Chinese leadership. This rift was among the scores to be settled in the savage intra-bureaucratic conflict known as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The "Cultural Revolution" was generally accepted at face value as an explosion of radical youth, encouraged by the aging revolutionary Mao, against bureaucratic conservatism. This superficial view was put forth not only by bourgeois commentators and New Left student youth, but also by the wing of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), headed by Ernest Mandel. In reality, the Cultural Revolution was a faction/clique fight within the ruling bureaucracy, in which the army played the decisive role throughout. A main precipitant of the bloody power fight was a difference within the Chinese Stalinist regime over Mao's *isolationist* position on the Vietnam War.

As the U.S. B-52s bombed ever closer to China's southern border, People's Liberation Army (PLA) chief of staff Lo Jui-ching anticipated intervention in Vietnam along Korean War lines. Concomitantly, he advocated rapprochement with the Kremlin, which itself approached the Chinese for cooperation in supplying North Vietnam. The PLA chief of staff's position had some support from Liu Shao-chi, the head of state, and party secretary Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing), who were to become the principal victims of the Cultural Revolution. The main opponent of military support to Vietnam was Defense Minister Lin Piao, who also called for a *de-escalation* of the war in South Vietnam back to the level of guerrilla forays. Lin's line eventually triumphed through the personal intervention of Chairman Mao.

Lo's position was stated in May 1965 in an article ostensibly commemorating the defeat of Nazi Germany:

> "We not only fully support these [Vietnamese] struggles politically and morally and help them materially to the limit of our capabilities, but are also prepared to send our men to fight together with the people of Viet Nam when they need us....
>
> "...we pay high tribute to and express our full confidence in the great Soviet people and the great Soviet army, who grew up nurtured by the brilliant thinking of Lenin and Stalin, who stood the test of the war against fascism and triumphed. We are deeply confident that we will be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will fight shoulder to shoulder against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism...."
>
> —*Peking Review*, 14 May 1965

The answer to Lo was Lin Piao's famous pamphlet *Long Live the Victory of People's War*. The strategic line of this central document was that of "self-reliance":

> "In order to make a revolution and to fight a people's war and be victorious, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance, rely on the strength of the masses in one's own country and prepare to carry on the fight independently even when all material aid from the outside is cut off. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems of the revolution in one's own country and does not rely on the strength of the masses, but leans wholly on foreign aid—*even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution*—no victory can be won, or consolidated even if it is won." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Peking Review*, 3 September 1965

The author of these lines became the chief executor of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." And to make sure his Vietnamese "comrades" learned the lesson of "self-reliance" well, Lin cut Chinese aid down to a trickle and hindered Soviet rail shipments to Hanoi, leaving the Vietnamese people to fight unaided against the most powerful imperialism on earth.

Lo Jui-ching was purged as PLA chief of staff in November 1965, the first victim of the Cultural Revolution. Red Guards were later to break his back. Lo's crime against Maoism: advocating military support to Vietnam in alliance with the USSR. The same month that he was purged, Peking officially rejected any military cooperation with the Soviet Union against the U.S.:

> "The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] are doing exactly what Khrushchev did before them, namely, pulling the Viet Nam question into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration. Since they are cooperating so closely with the U.S. imperialists in united action, it is of course impossible for Marxist-Leninists to join in and take 'united action' with them.
>
> "At bottom, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are clamouring for 'united action' on the Viet Nam question because this slogan is highly deceptive and is apt to create the illusion that it is still possible to have 'unity against U.S. imperialism' with the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. who are intent on Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination."
>
> —*Peking Review*, 12 November 1965

Since China and Vietnam started shooting at one another last fall, Hanoi has exposed the Mao regime's hypocrisy and treachery during the war against U.S. imperialism. For example, in 1967 the North Vietnamese officially protested against the Red Guards' disruption of Soviet arms shipments. Last November Vietnam's deputy foreign minister, Nguyen Co Thach, remarked acidly: "There was a joke in the Western press during the war that the Chinese would fight to the last Vietnamese. Those American journalists had no idea how true that was" (*Daily World*, 2 February). At the very outset of the Cultural Revolution, Mao signaled U.S. imperialism that as long as China was not directly attacked, it would not intervene even in the face of the most murderous attacks on the workers and peasants of its "socialist neighbors." Mao's message was not lost on the State Department and Pentagon, although it took them a few years to make a positive response.

Shumacher/White House

But the militarily far more powerful Russian Stalinist bureaucracy also did little to protect the Vietnamese people from massive imperialist terror. Even at the level of military aid, Soviet arms shipments were wholly inadequate, being inferior to those supplied to bourgeois regimes like Nasser's Egypt. Thus as early as 1965 the Spartacist tendency demonstrated outside the Soviet mission to the UN carrying signs demanding, "Soviet nuclear shield must cover China, North Vietnam!" (*Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965). A year later we picketed Moscow's attaché in San Francisco, distributing an open letter demanding real Soviet support to the Vietnamese revolution:

> "Why are you sending fifteen-year-old SAM II missiles to Vietnam when you have a plentiful supply of SAM III's which would provide real protection to the cities and villages of North Vietnam?"
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967

Healyites Join the Red Guards

The Cultural Revolution brought a new recruit among ostensible Trotskyists to the view that Maoism constituted a revolutionary opposition to Moscow-line Stalinism: the Socialist Labour League (SLL) of Gerry Healy and Michael Banda and their acolytes elsewhere. Up to that point the Healyites—despite grossly unprincipled organizational practices and a somewhat erratic line toward "militant" Stalinism (insistence that Castro's Cuba was capitalist, coexisted with outbursts of softness toward Ho Chi Minh)—had maintained generally orthodox affirmations of formal Trotskyism. But with their enthusing over Mao's Red Guards, the Healyites took the first decisive step toward "Third World" nationalism that would lead them a decade later into the political harem of Libya's Colonel Qaddafi.

A front-page article by Michael Banda in the SLL's *Newsletter* (14 January 1967) kicked off the Healyites' pro-Maoist phase with a screaming headline: "Hands Off the Chinese Revolution! Conditional Support of 'Red Guards' the Duty of Every Revolutionist." Two weeks later this was followed by the text of a speech by Banda which takes Mao-talk at face value, proclaiming the Cultural Revolution a youth-vanguardist attack on bureaucratic rule in China.

Lowe/Contact

Left, anti-Chinese rally in Hanoi after invasion. Right, Vietnamese soldier guards bridge destroyed by Chinese.

"The Chinese Communist Party (which was the creation of Mao Tse-tung), the Chinese trade unions, the Chinese youth movement, all these organisations have degenerated to a point beyond redemption. That is why Mao had to set loose the Red Guards...

"It [the Cultural Revolution] is a movement aimed at curbing the powers of the bureaucracy in the Chinese party and government and that is why it is the youth who constitute the main attack in the movement against the bureaucracy. "The youth instinctively hate bureaucracy, they detest this type of party which stifles criticism and creative thought, and it is against this that the youth react."

—*Newsletter*, 28 January 1967

A decade later the idea that the Cultural Revolution was a movement to stimulate "creative thought" would have provoked universal derision.

At that time the Spartacist tendency condemned the Healyite support to the Red Guards as a decisive political capitulation to Stalinism:

"Thus add to the Chinese revolution signifies in addition to military defense against imperialist attack, ruthless criticism of this Bonapartist clique at the head of the Chinese workers state and the call for its removal through a political revolution of the workers, given direction by a Marxist-Leninist party.

"Healy's prior theoretically rudderless response to the Chinese revolution has led to his pathetic inability to distinguish a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy from the massive purge the Maoists are now unfolding. From theoretical weakness it proved a short step for opportunist elements like Banda to push the SLL into giving essential political support to this purge under the slogan, 'Defend the Red Guards.' These departures by the Healy group from revolutionary politics signal the transformation of the unclarified civil war between Healy-Banda-Wohlforth and ourselves into a clear-cut political struggle between counterposed tendencies."

—"Healy at Liège and Peking," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967

Our analysis that Healyite support to the Mao faction represented a decisive political degeneration was soon confirmed as the SLL discovered the "Arab Revolution" in June of 1967, giving military support to the various Arab nationalist colonels and sheiks against Israel. Thus the organization which recently supported the murder of pro-Moscow Communists by the bourgeois-nationalist Iraqi Ba'athist regime started on its counter-revolutionary course in 1966-67 by hailing the Red Guards.

Mandelite Centrists vs. SWP Reformists

As we noted in the first part of the present article (see *WL* No. 234, 19 June), political support to the Mao regime against the Kremlin was one of the bases for the reunification of the rightward moving American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) with the Michel Pablo/Ernest Mandel revisionists. Resolutions on the Sino-Soviet split at the 1963 and 1965 USec world congresses were supported by both tendencies. However, when the Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966-67, the responses of the SWP and the Mandelites were significantly different. Where the centrist European Pabloists were taling the radical youth captivated by Mao's Red Guards, Joe Hansen's by now reformist SWP wanted to have nothing to do with any "Chicoms." Moreover, within the USec Hansen was associated with the old Chinese Trotskyist leader Peng Shu-tse, who sympathized with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Old Guard and critically supported Liu Shao-chi.

This widely divergent, three-way split was embodied in a curious pamphlet issued by the SWP in mid-1967 entitled, "Behind China's 'Great Cultural Revolution'," which contained an article for each different line. An article by Peng characterized the Cultural Revolution as a campaign "to create an atmosphere of terror in order to stifle criticism from the intellectuals and to assure maintenance of control over the masses who feel likewise." The Mandelite Pierre Frank, on the other hand, argued that "we cannot at all condemn an appeal to the masses against a bureaucratized party and apparatus, even if this appeal originates from a wing of the bureaucracy."

This counterposition came to a head at the USec's 1969 "Ninth World Congress" where the Mandelite majority and pro-SWP minority presented alternative resolutions on China. The majority resolution simply reaffirmed the Pablo ists' long-standing position that Peking constituted a left-radical opposition to the Kremlin. Moreover, it attributed this in part to pressure from the Chinese masses:

"The more radical line pursued by the Chinese leadership towards world revolutionary developments since the beginning of the Sino-Soviet conflict which, on several important questions, brought it nearer to the positions of revolutionary Marxism..., reflects both the specific relationship of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy towards the P[eople's] R[epublic] of China, and the *objective impact of the rising tide of world revolution on the Chinese masses*." [our emphasis]

—"Original Draft Resolution on the 'Cultural Revolution' and Proposed Amendments Arranged in Dual Columns," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, June 1970

Presumably "the rising tide of the world revolution" bypassed the Russian masses.

The Mandelite resolution inadvertently reveals their Pablist motivation, i.e., that they are praising Mao's China because this had become *de rigueur* in the student-youth radical milieu. The resolution cites as one of Mao's great virtues that many young leftists see in him a genuine expression of Leninist militancy.

"...the sharp campaign which Peking unleashed against the right-wing opportunist line of the CP's following Moscow's lead, and against some key features of bureaucratic rule in Eastern Europe, has objectively contributed to deepen the world crisis of Stalinism and to facilitate the upsurge of a new youth vanguard the world over. Inside that youth vanguard the general sympathy for China and Maoist criticism of the Kremlin's revisionism remains deep..."

During the 1930s-40s many more subjectively revolutionary worker militants and radical intellectuals looked upon Stalin as the great living authority of Marxism-Leninism. For Trotsky the fact that hundreds of thousands of would-be communists took Stalin as their leader made him *more not less* a counter-revolutionary force in the workers movement.

Superficially the SWP's 1969 resolution on China certainly seemed more Trotskyist than the Mandelites' praise of Mao. In fact, one wonders if Joe Hansen didn't crib from old Revolutionary Tendency and Spartacist material. For instance:

"While recognizing that for its own reasons Peking often pursues a more aggressive diplomatic policy than Moscow, the Fourth International also criticizes the opportunism of the Chinese Communist leadership. In seeking to gain influence in the colonial world, Peking uses a language that is strongly anti-imperialist.... Nevertheless, Peking's basic policy, as reiterated many times by its leaders and voiced once again upon the inauguration of the Nixon administration, has been 'peaceful coexistence' with U.S. imperialism. Out of narrow nationalistic considerations and in line with its doctrine that the revolution must first pass through a bourgeois stage before it can reach the socialist stage, Peking counsels and countenances support to bourgeois governments in Indonesia, Pakistan and other countries instead of mobilizing the masses for uncompromising struggle against the neocolonial regimes.

"The conduct of the Chinese Communist party leadership since it came to power proves that it has not shaken off its Stalinist heritage. These nationalistic-minded bureaucrats do not hesitate to subordinate the welfare of the Chinese masses and the interests of the international revolution and socialism to the protection and promotion of their own power and privileges."

Ibid

Reading this resolution, one would never know that a few years earlier the SWP had endorsed the position that the Maoist regime was a *non*-Stalinist centrist formation "leaning toward the left"!

What was really going on here is that under the impact of the French May '68 events and the burgeoning of New Left "Marxism-Leninism," the European-centered Mandelites moved to the left, specifically adapting to "Third World" Stalinist guerrillaism. They decided to outdo the Maoists and Guevarists at their own game. And although in the case of Maoism the USec majority's flirtation never went beyond paper resolutions, in Latin America they actually made a half-hearted attempt to put their talk of "armed struggle" into practice, for a time making common cause with dissident Castroite groupings like the Argentine PRT/ERP.

But while the ERP was kidnapping American executives, the SWP had become the "best builder" of the liberal antiwar movement in the U.S., establishing collaborative relations with Democratic Party doves of the McCarthy / McGovern / Hartke / Lindsay stripe. Naturally they were horrified at being associated with what the FBI was calling the "Terrorist International," and Joe Hansen began a struggle against Latin American guerrillaism (with which the SWP had had a platonic fling a few years earlier). For good measure, Hansen also took out the Mandelites' infatuation with the Red Guards, while conveniently forgetting its own support to China in the Sino-Soviet split of the early '60s (back in the days when the SWP was evolving into centrism).

Le Minh/Time

Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam: U.S. warns Hanoi against allowing Soviet naval base.

By this time, while the SWP condemned the Chinese Stalinists for opportunism vis-à-vis imperialism, in the major conflict involving the United States (the Vietnam War) the SWP *opposed* any expression of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. It fought to limit the antiwar movement to the "single issue" acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie—immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. In good part, it was this wretched liberal social-chauvinist line of the SWP which led most young American radicals to look to Maoism as the real communism of the day. For Joe Hansen these Stalinist reformists were..."ultra-lefts." So when in 1971-73 the Maoist movement went into crisis over the Mao-Nixon rapprochement, the Spartacist League, then far smaller than the SWP, was able to recruit significant numbers of New Left Maoists to Trotskyism.

Fake-Trotskyists Fall Out Over China-Vietnam War

In the early 1960s Washington definitely tilted toward Moscow in the Sino-Soviet dispute and perhaps contemplated a military assault on China over the Taiwan straits with the Soviet Union's benign neutrality. Today, in contrast, the U.S. is complicit in Peking's war on Russian ally Vietnam, and could become involved directly in support of its Chinese ally in the event of a Sino-Soviet war. The very day after Deng invaded Vietnam, even before Moscow had publicly taken a position, Washington warned the Soviets against "widening the war"—i.e., attacking China. In the first week of the war there was a world-wide fear that it could spark a nuclear holocaust. Thus the China-Vietnam war raised for Trotskyists the principled question of unconditional

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1967: Chairman Mao and his "closest comrade in arms," Lin Piao.

PCI...

(continued from page 5)

called by the FLM in the body shop, stamping plant and foundry, denouncing the auto company bosses' refusal to bargain seriously (they had obviously been awaiting the outcome of the elections, hoping that big PCI losses would dampen the workers' spirits). However, several hundred workers in the body shop formed a procession which then proceeded to march through the various departments and internal passageways of the complex, preceded by the red flags of the FLM, and eventually mobilizing an estimated 25,000 workers in front of the management offices. Later they left the plant and sat down (blocking traffic) in a major intersection which, as a Fiat management statement noted, was "exactly where the Hot Autumn began ten years ago."

Late in the afternoon the company decreed a punitive measure intended to intimidate militants: five workers (who headed the march), accused of kidnapping foremen, were fired. But on Thursday, June 7, the union issued a statement defending the fired workers and called a two-hour strike, holding a rally and procession of several thousand workers. Finally on Friday a third strike, of two and a half hours, was held by the unions without incident, indicating, as the capitalist press breathed a sigh of relief, that "Calm Has Returned to Mirafiori" (*Corriere della Sera*, 9 June). However, the PCI and union bureaucrats had heard the alarm. In the June 3-4 elections, the Communist Party vote in the municipality of Mirafiori fell by 9.2 percent.

The march in Rome two weeks later was perfectly tranquil, drawing roughly 250,000. It was a ("disciplined") show of strength by the PCI, whose supporters prominently displayed party emblems. But the Stalinists are exerting themselves to stay on top of things. With their combative actions at Fiat and Alfa Romeo, Italian workers announced that PCI electoral losses would not dampen their fighting spirit and showed that "the clash begins now."

The Bankruptcy of the Italian "Far Left"

The PCI's sizable loss of votes on June 3-4 was primarily due to disillusionment among workers, youth and the poor and opposition from the left to its alliance with the Christian Democracy. But the Italian "far left" which grew out of the explosive struggles of 1968-69 has proved incapable of providing revolutionary leadership to channel this unrest. The six deputies elected on the Democrazia Proletaria slate in 1976, for instance, undertook no initiatives to spur militant actions by workers against the PCI-DC austerity plans and the popular-front repression against the left. In fact, on the issue of terrorism the centrist and left-reformist groups in the DP simply collapsed in the witchhunt atmosphere, refusing to defend the Red Brigades against bourgeois repression. Expressing the widespread demoralization of the "far left," one DP deputy, Silverio Corvisieri resigned from the bloc and this time was elected on the PCI slate. And the only deputy of Lotta Continua, Mimmo Pinto, crossed the class line by entering the lists of the bourgeois Radicals.

In the 1979 elections a call was issued this spring by 61 trade-union officials for a united "far-left" slate. However, after extensive negotiations this came to naught, as the PDUP negotiated a separate agreement with the Communist Party to shift some PCI votes to them in the Milano area, ensuring the election of some PDUP deputies in exchange for being a "kept" opposition. Consequently, the Nuova Sinistra Unita was limited to the remnants of Democrazia Proletaria, and no NSU deputies were elected. This, in turn, meant loss of the state subsidies which were key to the financial survival of the "far left" daily newspapers (*Quotidiano dei Lavoratori* has already folded, while continuing to deny the demise of the New Left from its own deathbed). The NSU further proved its bankruptcy by forming a mini-popular front with the PR, running joint slates for the senate and some constituencies of the Chamber.

For Trotskyists, the disintegration of the New Left is not something to be mourned but an opportunity to reach thousands of militants who in a confused way sought to build a left opposition to the ultra-reformist Communist Party. However, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Italian section of the United Secretariat [USec]) instead politically capitulated to the amorphous New Left in the hopes of gaining easy popularity. In 1976 the GCR supported and ran candidates on the DP slate, even though the campaign of the "far left" centered on a call for a "left government"—a traditional popular front modeled on the Chilean UP. This time around the followers of Livio Maitan called for a vote to the reformist party of your choice: "Vote for one of the workers parties, but build the revolutionary party with us!" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 15 May). And the main GCR slogan, for a "workers vote" to "block the offensive of the right," was barely distinguishable from the Communist Party itself.

The Lega Comunista (Communist League — formerly Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria) of Ruberto Massari graphically demonstrated its USec origins and appetites by issuing an "electoral proposal" virtually identical to the à la carte electoral cretinism of the GCR: "Vote PSI, but fight against the center-left! Vote PCI, but fight against the alliance with the DC! Vote PDUP, but fight against a 'left government'! Vote for the NSU, but force it to take a position on a class governmental slogan, which in Italy is put forward by the Lega Comunista!" In other words, these pseudo-Trotskyist charlatans say that any vote for a reformist party or electoral bloc is "good enough" ... for a left pressure group. Not surprisingly, Massari & Co. are trying to get readmitted to the USec "family" of anti-Trotskyist revisionism, lacking an independent perspective of their own.

Finally there is the Gruppo Bolscevico-Leninista (GBL), which produced a special issue of its *Bolletino Trotskista* (printed by the GCR press) calling for "critical support to the NSU." However, this policy was restricted to the Chamber, while in the senate, in constituencies where the NSU ran together with the radicals, the GBL called for a vote to the PCI. This is a curious shift for a group which has sought to distinguish itself from the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) above all by calling for votes to the "workers parties of the popular front." Why not call for a vote to NSU candidates for the senate as well, comrades of the GBL? It is noteworthy that the GBL, also, is trying to return to the USec under the slogan of "unification of the Trotskyist forces." So much for their pretensions of fighting Pabloist revisionism!

The iSt and the Lega Trotzkysta d'Italia (L.t.d'I) have consistently fought popular frontism, putting forward the tactic of conditional opposition to the centrist and mass reformist workers parties participating in or politically committed to class-collaborationist coalitions with bourgeois forces. In the 1976 elections the iSt opposed votes for the PCI, with its project of a Historic Compromise with the DC, and for the DP with its more traditional "left" version of the popular front. In the June 1979 elections we point out that neither the traditional reformist parties nor their little brothers on the "far left" provide an avenue to express a vote for working-class independence. If the PCI is thrown back into the opposition, it is not because it has abandoned its perspective of "national unity," anti-working-class "austerity" and repression against the left. The PDUP is manifestly nothing but the tail of the PCI, and the NSU directly betrays the workers by its alliance with the Radicals.

The absence of a revolutionary alternative to the Eurocommunist Stalinists and impotent social democrats has tied the hands of hundreds of thousands of Italian workers opposed to the PCI's treacherous "Historic Compromise" with capitalist exploitation. Meanwhile, many courageous but despairing militants are attracted to the dead-end of the terrorist groups. The ostensible Trotskyists linked to and oscillating around the USec offer no way out—tailing after Berlinguer & Co. with their policy of unconditional "critical" support and simply washing their hands of the BR when the heat is on. In Italy today the key task is to build an authentic Trotskyist party through relentless struggle against this Pabloist liquidationism in order to reforge the Fourth International. ■

Sino-Soviet Split...

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military defense of the USSR against capitalism/imperialism.

For the United Secretariat the China-Vietnam-Cambodia conflicts have mainly caused plenty of confusion and a resurgence of barbed polemics whose tone is reminiscent of the decade-long USec factional struggle between Hansenites and Mandelites. The latest installment consists of counterposed USec majority (Mandel) and minority (SWP) statements on Indochina wars (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 June). On the surface, both sides score easy points against each other. The SWP's resolution takes the majority to task for practically ignoring the key fact of U.S. collusion in the Chinese invasion. Mandel, in turn, dismisses the SWP contention that Peking had no interest of its own in invading Vietnam, and makes mincemeat of the argument by Hansen's not-too-bright epigones that Pol Pot's Cambodia was a capitalist state.

An unmentioned but polarizing factor in this "debate" is the international Spartacist tendency. Mandel refers obliquely to our slogan "China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism" in order to warn Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters and their minions against inadvertently bringing in the taboo Russian question:

> "If Peking is not acting for its own interests against the Vietnamese bureaucracy but in support of Washington's counterrevolutionary drive, couldn't one tomorrow explain that, after all, in its conflict with Moscow it is also starting to act as Washington's cat's-paw?"
>
> —"Behind Differences on Military Conflicts in Southeast Asia," *Intercontinental Press*, 9 April

But after they get done accusing each other of aiding Washington and Peking respectively, it is evident that this is a pseudo-dispute, for both sides assert that the China-Vietnam war had nothing to do with imperialist hostility to the USSR. They merely use different arguments. Both the SWP and the Mandelites deny reality in order to duck the crucial question of Soviet defensism.

According to the SWP, U.S.-China collusion supposedly had the purely local aim of overturning the Vietnamese revolution. The 8 March *Militant* front-page editorial on the war does not mention that Vietnam is a military ally of the USSR. In fact, it does not mention the USSR at all! Moreover, the *Militant*'s first two articles on the war omitted the fact that Washington had warned Moscow about retaliating against China. The SWP's new theoreticians have discovered an ingenious way to abandon the Trotskyist principle of Soviet defensism: they just pretend the USSR doesn't exist! But while the SWP disappeared the Soviet Union during the war, they could hardly avoid dealing with it in their after-the-fact justifications. Here the USSR appears as... an ally of Washington against "the Vietnamese revolution," imperialism's fifth column in Hanoi:

> "To try to contain the Vietnamese revolution, the imperialists turned to Beijing for military aid, and to Moscow for diplomatic aid. While Beijing invaded Vietnam, Moscow pressured Hanoi to reach a Geneva-type settlement over Kampuchea acceptable to the imperialists."
>
> —USec minority resolution, *Intercontinental Press*, 4 June

This is a typical Third Campist conspiracy theory of history, in which capitalism/imperialism and the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy act as joint partners with common counterrevolutionary interests everywhere and at all times. This one-sided view sees only that the capitalists and the Stalinists are both sworn enemies of socialist revolution. It ignores the imperialists' fundamental hostility to the proletarian property forms on which the bureaucracy rests. The SWP's notion that Washington favors increased Soviet influence in Vietnam is on a par with their discovery the Gierek regime allowed the pope to make his anti-Communist pilgrimage because "they need the Polish Catholic Church... in helping to stabilize the Stalinist regime against the workers" (*Militant*, 22 June). The U.S.' present hostility to the Vietnamese Stalinist regime derives primarily from Hanoi's increasingly close ties to the Soviet bloc rather than out of vengeance for the defeat it suffered earlier in the decade. When the USSR and Vietnam signed a friendship treaty last November, rather than welcoming it as a restraint on "the Vietnamese revolution," the Carter administration warned Hanoi that it could not "normalize" relations with the U.S. while remaining allied to Moscow.

The leitmotif of Mandel's analysis is that peaceful coexistence between U.S. imperialism and Soviet Stalinism is the central axis of world politics. Rather in the manner of 1960s-vintage Maoism, the USec's leading theoretician rails against the joint domination of the superpowers:

> "So contrary to the analysis of [SWP] comrades Feldman/Clark/Waters, if there is a certain connivance between the Chinese bureaucracy and Tokyo and Washington in East Asia,... nothing has changed in the *basic* aspect of the world situation, which is the consistent pursuing of mutual peaceful coexistence and collaboration by Moscow and Washington on a world scale....
>
> "So from a world view, there is no difference between Moscow's and Peking's counterrevolutionary policy. There is no reason to feel that imperialism is more 'lenient' and 'understanding'

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towards one than towards the other, or that it is looking for an overall alliance with Peking against Moscow. Both counterrevolutionary bureaucracies are major obstacles on the road to a victorious world revolution. In no way do they have a substantially different relationship with world revolution and world imperialism." [emphasis in original]

—Ernest Mandel, "Behind Differences on Military Conflicts in Southeast Asia"

Mandel to the contrary, China is in the process of joining the U.S.-led global alliance against the Soviet Union. This fact is openly admitted by such an authoritative imperialist politician as Henry Kissinger who, not now being in office, needn't be so diplomatic about world power relations:

"On the one hand most major countries in the world (United States, western Europe, China and Japan) will be grouped on one side and the Soviet Union will be on the other. That may well be perceived in Moscow as a potential for encirclement."

—*Economist*, 3 February 1979

It was the Washington/Moscow "détente" that was a transitory conjuncture, while the deepening U.S./China alliance has a profound historic causation. The 1972-73 Brezhnev/Nixon détente was a temporary product of the U.S.' military defeat in Vietnam. But since the 1975-76 Angola war (when Washington officially dropped the term "détente"), U.S.-Soviet relations have progressively worsened. The purpose of Carter's "human rights" campaign was to revive popular hostility to "Russian Communist tyranny." To a significant extent he has succeeded. Anti-Sovietism in the U.S. today is so extensive that the essentially empty SALT II "arms control" treaty may well be voted down in Congress.

Underlying Mandel's curious notion that U.S.-Soviet détente is alive and well is a fundamental revision of Leninism. Like the Stalinist bureaucrats, Mandel believes that if the USSR pursues a sufficiently class-collaborationist foreign policy, the imperialists will be willing to "peacefully coexist" with its collectivized (proletarian) economic system. But ultimately imperialism must seek to keep control over Near East oil, to prevent socialist revolution in West Europe, to maintain its domination over Latin America, not by collaborating with the Kremlin but by overthrowing the Soviet degenerated workers state. This accounts for Washington's strategic alliance with Maoist China which so confounds Mandel. The imperialists understand that if they overthrow the USSR, reconquest of China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc. will follow relatively quickly and easily.

Six years ago, in the heyday of the Brezhnev-Nixon détente, we wrote:

"Whatever episodic changes occur in diplomatic moods, the objective relationship of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet Union is fundamentally different than that toward China. The Soviet Union is economically and militarily qualitatively superior to China, and the military peer of the U.S. Therefore it is the Soviet Union which is the core of the anti-capitalist regimes in the world, the main objective obstacle to U.S. imperialism. (Could China have supplied the U.S.-blockaded Cubans?) Conversely, the Soviet Union could defeat China in a major war without imperialist intervention, while China could expect victory only in alliance with another power. Thus the logic of the great power triangle is for a U.S.-China alliance against the Soviet Union."

—"Mao's China: From Stalin to Nixon," *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973

Who will deny that this analysis has been borne out, while the confusionism of the SWP and Mandel must resort to the crudest flights from reality?

During the 1960s, when Peking was verbally to the left of Moscow, the Mandelites and the SWP maintained that the Chinese leaders were moving "nearer to the positions of revolutionary Marxism" on several important questions. Today, when China is allied to U.S. imperialism, when it criticizes NATO for being "soft" toward "Soviet social-imperialism," Mandel and the SWP claim that Peking and Moscow now have the same relationship to world imperialism. This is more than just softness toward the Peking variety of Stalinism—it is a capitulation to the pervasive anti-Soviet climate in the imperialist centers. But the Spartacist tendency does not capitulate to the anti-Soviet chauvinism whipped up by the imperialist bourgeoisie. As we wrote at the height of the China-Vietnam war earlier this year:

"Should the Soviet Union be drawn into the fighting in a direct way it would pit the Russian degenerated workers state against the Western imperialists, principally the U.S., through the intermediary of their Chinese ally. This would pose pointblank the urgent task of militarily defending the USSR and the gains of the October Revolution. In this conflict the Trotskyists know where they stand: shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet workers against the counterrevolutionary attack. The Fourth International was founded on the principle of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and we will not flinch in the decisive hour!"

—"China Get Out!" *WV* No. 226, 2 March

The past pro-China line of the Mandelites and SWP in the Sino-Soviet dispute was based on *political* support to the Peking Stalinists against their Kremlin counterparts, on the claim that the Maoist regime was moving toward revolutionary politics. In fact, during the 1960s the USec rejected even the formal position for proletarian political revolution in China. If today we focus upon the *military* defense of the USSR against imperialism, it is in no sense because we deny that the Brezhnev regime is Stalinist and counterrevolutionary. On the contrary, it is the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with Jimmy Carter's America, its outright support to reactionary bourgeois regimes like Khomeini in Iran (and formerly the shah), that most *disarms* the Soviet working class in the face of the increasing imperialist threat. Only workers political revolution led by a communist, Trotskyist party can transform the Sino-Soviet states into bastions in the struggle for world socialism. ■

Hot Summer Mad...

(continued from page 1)

manifestly manipulated but the rage is real. The present situation is intolerable and insane. It is this experience of being trapped in an irrationality with no recourse to effective action that explains the particular character of this "hot summer mad."

In the steamy days of summer, drivers aren't keeping their cool as they use up gas searching for gas and sit waiting in lines that are disbanded by the cops when the station stops pumping. But it is not only the frustration and boredom, the canceled vacations, the price-gouging. The same newspapers that carried "Notes from the Gas Line" brought other news as well. All had. To the motorist who pulled up to the pump where unleaded premium costs $1.50 a gallon, the papers announced that "inflation was soaring under the impact of oil." The *Wall Street Journal* proclaimed that "the U.S. recession is under way" (27 June) while the *New York Post* headlined "It's All Gloom and Doom" and "Crisis City."

The entire U.S. economy is in trouble. Gone are the confident predictions about easy availability of home heating oil this winter. Now all the official talk is about sweating in summer and freezing in winter. Inflation is running at about 14 percent, with skyrocketing prices particularly for the necessities: food, fuel, housing. In the Northeast, home heating oil is expected to reach a dollar a gallon, up from 55 cents last year. Food money will go for fuel. With the independent truckers' work stoppage, wholesale warehouses began to empty out, threatening food shortages and "hoarders' prices" for produce and meat. And to top it all off, New York City raised rents 20 percent on new three-year leases for "stabilized" apartments and offered landlords a "pass-along" raise for increases in fuel costs.

The recession might be as deep as the one in 1974-75 and by most predictions may last even longer. During April-May the unemployment rolls rose 500,000 and government economists predict 800,000 more by the end of the year, with auto hit especially hard.

Gas crisis, inflation, recession, shortages. But apprehension, economic insecurity and even hardship do not account for the anger and the explosions. *What makes Americans angry is that they know it is all a hoax to jack up prices.* All around is evidence that they are being conned. In New York harbor and on the Delaware River, convoys of laden oil tankers stalled at anchor, waiting for the "spot" price to shoot even higher. Crude supplies which had been deliberately held down in 1979 were overloading the pipelines, refineries and "tank farms." Refineries were still working at about 85 percent.

In the face of this irrationality of oil everywhere and not a drop to buy, Americans are in no mood to hear how they must stop "guzzling." Calls for austerity find no ready audience at the gas lines. Only a small layer flaked from the petty bourgeoisie was pleased by the generalized attack on the automobile. The gas lines became for them a proving ground where they sold cookies and lemonade in the latest fashion of "depression chic." Yo-yo-laddists presenting the captives at the pumps with messages on the advantages of bicycling and roller skates, as they glide by the car windows of workers who live 25 miles from their jobs, only heightened the irrationality with absurdity.

The angry motorists are mainly resigned to the blackmail of Big Oil. For them, Senator Hayakawa's prescription seems the only real choice. They are willing to pay the blood money to the greedy oil companies if only the con-game act will stop and the gas will flow. Not since the deepest days of the 1929-33 depression, when farm "surplus" was dumped before the eyes of hungry millions, has the irrationality which is a constant feature of the capitalist economy been so widely and palpably displayed.

Rage in Levittown

To defuse the gas crisis furor, the government is looking to produce a scapegoat. The public having refused to plead guilty to "gas guzzling," Carter & Co. have turned to the old standby from the oil embargo/recession of 1973-74: OPEC. Indeed, the rich OPEC sheiks are getting richer, having just raised the price of crude up to $23.50 a barrel. Carter's imperialist strategy of becoming "energy self-sufficient" from "the Arabs" has been given its jingoist expression by the Senator from Tel Aviv, Daniel Moynihan. Appealing to racism and great-power chauvinism, Moynihan sounds like he would like to try out some old-fashioned gunboat diplomacy on the OPEC nations who are doing what is in the nature of the capitalist system: making the biggest possible profit. But this is a dangerous game, says Moynihan with the rattle of a sabre: "There are 100 ways to retaliate against the OPEC nations. You use arms shipments, you use credits, you use food ... They are our enemies" (*New York Post*, 29 June).

Even scapegoating OPEC won't get Big Oil off the hook. Everybody knows that every time OPEC makes a dime, so do the oil companies. It is hard to forget the 1973 profit bonanza for the oil trusts. Big Oil controls distribution and refining worldwide, and the sound of the cartel's gold jingling is not lost on the American public.

Ever since the truckers began their protests against the high cost and unavailability of diesel fuel, the press has pointed to the convoys snarling traffic on the Long Island Expressway or the Chicago Loop as responsible for the dwindling supplies of fresh meat and produce. But Levittown showed that angry Americans aren't buying this one either. When about 20 big rigs blocked the largely working-class "Five Points" area outside Philadelphia, Levittown residents saw the blockage for what it was: a protest against the Big Oil rip-off. Motorists waiting in the gas line at one of the four stations at the intersection joined the truckers' protest when the station closed before they could purchase gas. Local residents came pouring out of their homes in spontaneous solidarity. "More gas! More gas!" chanted the crowd which quickly grew to an estimated 1,500. And a huge sign was scrawled: "No gas my ass."

Then the cops moved in and two nights of street battles against Levittown residents and truckers began. The cops came from Philadelphia with riot gear, armored trucks, tear gas units and a large pack of dogs. When it was over, 200 demonstrators and 44 cops had been injured. Some 196 protesters were arrested. "We could have arrested 500 if

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Hot Summer Mad...

(continued from page 9)

we had the manpower," the chief cop proclaimed.

It was the first gas riot in American history—the contemporary rough equivalent of a food riot. They fought the cops and attacked the consumer-symbols of Big Oil. Gas pumps were destroyed, stations damaged, tires dragged to the center of the intersection and set afire, making a smelly blaze that shot flames 20 feet into the air.

It was the hottest expression of anger in the U.S. since the summer 1977 New York City blackout when ghetto blacks took to the streets to take what they could. The media whose racist epithet for that spontaneous outburst was "Night of the Animals" are now calling the Levittown protesters vandals and criminals. Just as then we demanded "Free the 4,000," we now demand that the charges against the Levittown 200 be dropped immediately.

Expropriate the Energy Trusts—For Socialist Revolution!

The independent truckers' actions are now reportedly slowing down, with rumors of a government agreement to okay higher rates, but the gas crisis is by no means over. To meet the tidal wave of anger and the demands for action, the administration—in imitation of the gestures of leadership—has tried one phony scheme after another, the latest being a "stand-by" coupon rationing plan. But since the "shortage" is contrived, so is the plan. The windfall-profits tax scheme; import limits, research and development programs all serve Big Oil. Synthetic fuel, which will take more energy to produce than it can supply for the next generation or so, is just a government give-away. And even mass transit is a pseudo-solution in a land where the private car *is* the fundamental means of mass transit.

At bottom the problem is political and demands a political solution. The gas crisis may be a hoax but the crisis of capitalism is quite real. The bourgeoisie does have an energy dilemma, rooted in its irrational economy. As the somber tones emanating from the Tokyo summit reveal, when all the schemes are played out and all the odd/even dice are thrown, the capitalists have only one "solution": get less—pay more—learn to like it.

Bourgeois pessimism is overwhelming and with it come increased demands from on high for "austerity" below. In general, Carter officials (following liberal economic opinion) have abandoned talk of Keynesian economic management and preach the inevitability of austerity as a form of public "inspiration." Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal proclaims: "The great question is whether we will have the courage, wisdom and discipline to maintain a true course involving short term sacrifices for long term gains" (*Wall Street Journal*, 20 June). Alfred Kahn, Carter's wage/price tsar, doesn't even limit austerity to the short term: "As far as I can see, there is no alternative in view to economic restraint for the next several years. There is no way we can avoid a decline in our living standard. All we can do is adapt to that" (*Newsweek*, 11 June).

Only one aspect of Carter's austerity program has had any impact at all: his frontal attack on the wages and living standards of the working class. While the 7 percent wage "guidelines" have been surpassed, with the help of the union bureaucracy they have kept down contract settlements. Thanks to the labor tops' class-collaborationist loyalty to the Democratic Party, workers' paychecks are limping behind the disastrous runaway inflation.

And as each government pseudo-solution fails, mass anger fixes more firmly on Jimmy Carter, whose "approval rating" according to the latest polls is only slightly higher (at about 29 percent) than Richard Nixon's was when he helicoptered out of the Rose Garden. *Newsweek* reports sighting bumper stickers reading "Carter: Kiss my gas." So Democratic kingmakers are looking ever more longingly at the "White Knight of Chappaquiddick." But Kennedy's empty "anti-trust" bill and anti-oil posture is nothing but Carter austerity out of office.

Carter might manage to grab another term in office if he seized the oil supplies. It's been done before. When it was a question of a strike Truman seized the railroads and steel mills in a hurry. But Carter is too much the "free market" ideologue for such a move, which the bourgeoisie as a whole would agree to only to stave off an imminent prospect of militant working-class action. Besides, he doesn't even know where the oil is. The oil companies keep their stocks a secret from the government which can't even get them to "open the books." Yet the idea of nationalizing the oil is so popular that it has been raised by the independent truckers' head, William Hill, as well as Republican presidential hopeful Howard Baker. Pollsters speculate it would be even more popular if most Americans did not project that nationalization under the present government would probably make the crisis even worse.

Something could be done, however. The workers who drill the oil, refine it and truck it could seize the oilfields, the refineries and the means of distribution, making sure everybody gets his fair share. But such a solution is chimerical unless it is understood that it would instantly precipitate a confrontation between labor and capital. A struggle for the expropriation without compensation of the energy trusts, with the capitalist rulers fighting tooth and nail against the attack on sacrosanct private property, would have to become an all-out fight for state power. Lacking this, the popular frustration could eventually be channeled in a reactionary direction by right-wing populist demagogues.

A revolutionary vanguard party, rooted in the working class, is vital to lead struggles over this deeply-felt immediate social issue toward a direct fight for working-class power. And only working-class power can solve irrational capitalism's energy crisis through the construction of an international planned economy. We must forge the mass proletarian party which will put the working class in the lead of the mass anger against this particularly hated section of the ruling class and direct that movement toward the final confrontation with the capitalist class as a whole. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

definitive replacement" of Somoza. Only General Stroessner's Paraguay voted with Nicaragua against the resolution, while Brazil and Chile abstained. However, lacking the cover of an OAS endorsement, the U.S. turned from armed intervention to sponsoring a conservative "opposition" junta to rival the five-person "government of national reconstruction" formed by the Sandinistas. This effort, too, failed when the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie—both the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) and the "Superior Council of the Private Sector"—refused to oppose the popularly supported FSLN.

Now the United States has reluctantly begun negotiations with the Sandinista-backed junta in neighboring Costa Rica, attempting to pressure them to include more "moderates" in return for promises of Somoza's resignation. Junta spokesman Sergio Ramirez did not rule out expanding the provisional government, but expressed disbelief that *El Jefe* would bow out quietly. Somoza reinforced this skepticism with his remark, "I'm not going to abandon my army men and supporters like the shah of Iran did." While he has reportedly indicated to the new U.S. ambassador a willingness to "consider" stepping down, his conditions—leaving intact his property and the National Guard—are obviously unacceptable to everyone except his imperialist patrons.

On the battlefields, Somoza's praetorian guard continues to hold out, relying on superior weaponry to forestall an FSLN victory. Although government troops have only two tanks and 15-20 light planes for their bombing raids on the Managua slums, the Sandinistas have almost no heavy weapons at all. Somoza has continued to receive armaments, at least until recently, from Israel, Argentina and Spain, and has a considerable stockpile of U.S.-supplied weapons received before Washington turned off the pipeline. However, despite this military balance of forces, the dominant pro-bourgeois *tercerista* faction of the FSLN has sought to avoid a *mass* insurrection, fearing that it might get "out of hand"—with unpleasant results for the businessmen who finance them.

Esteli, September 1978.

Nevertheless, in the course of clashes in the capital and other cities large numbers of militant workers and youth have been drawn into the fighting. Unlike on the southern front and in the northern cities, where FSLN "regulars" appear to hold sway, in the Managua slums there have appeared many "insurrectional areas." A variety of defense organizations and committees have been thrown up, many of them associated with the United People's Movement (MPU), dominated in turn by the more radical tendencies of the Sandinistas and the pro-Moscow Stalinist parties and labor organizations. While FSLN leaders report that "people are complaining that we're holding them back" (*In These Times*, 27 June-3 July), genuine communists would seek to develop *workers militias* by demanding that the masses be armed.

Another factor in the fighting has been the participation of several "international brigades" under Sandinista command. By and large these are tokens of bourgeois-nationalist "fraternity," including the former Panamanian health minister, the son of former Costa Rican president Figueres and former Bolivian president Siles Salinas. There is also reportedly a "Simón Bolivar Brigade" sponsored by followers of the veteran pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno. However, the Morenoites explicitly portray themselves as a pressure group to push the Sandinistas to the left, thereby imposing at best a bonapartist petty-bourgeois leadership on the working masses.

The key question in Nicaragua today is that of revolutionary leadership. The dominant forces in the anti-Somoza insurgency, in alliance with those business circles not directly tied to the apron strings of the ruling family, intend only to purge the parasitic dynasty while preserving intact the structure of neo-colonialist dependence and capitalist exploitation. When the conservative-led FAO became discredited last fall, as a result of its failure to negotiate a U.S.-mediated transfer of power from Somoza, the small Stalinist parties rushed to the aid of the impotent business opposition by forming the class-collaborationist National Patriotic Front. Including such friends of Washington as industrialist Alfonso Robelo, its role is to tie the workers to their "democratic" class enemies. Revolutionaries must certainly give military support to the Sandinista-led rebel forces. But the Nicaraguan masses have not shed rivers of blood and sacrificed thousands of their youth in the name of replacing the Somozas with the traditional leaders of the Conservative Party. Proletarian communists call for the arming of the working people to seize the possibilities for a working-class-led insurrection, which could bring in behind it the peasantry and urban poor, to form not a bourgeois "government of national unity"—which will demobilize the masses and construct a new National Guard—but a revolutionary workers and peasants government. Instead of limiting the struggle to the narrow confines of this quintessential banana republic, they call for a Socialist United States of Latin America. ■

Corrections

In our last issue, the article "Nicaragua Civil War" prominently raised the demand, "For a Popular Insurrection Against the Dictatorship!" As indicated both in the headline and the text, Marxists of course stand for military victory to the anti-Somoza rebels, while calling for a workers and peasants government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. However, the term "popular insurrection" as a political demand (rather than a sociological description) does not correspond to the *class centrality* of our call for *proletarian* revolution to uproot not only the Somoza dictatorship but also the capitalist foundations on which it rests. The article should have stressed *working-class*-led insurrection, drawing in the peasantry and other exploited sectors of the petty bourgeoisie.

The same article referred to the Russian Menshevik leader Plekhanov's lament that "it was wrong [for the workers] to take up arms" and relating it to the 1917 October Revolution. The remark actually applied to the 1905 Revolution.

In the previous issue (*WV* No. 233, 8 June), a sentence in the article "Hate Carter!" inadvertently dropped the word "capital" from the phrase "April orders for non-military capital goods fell by a whopping 14 percent." Finally, in the same issue, the article "Stop the Executions!" gives the date of the killing of 15-year-old black youth Randy Evans by killer cop Robert Torsney as Thanksgiving Day 1977. It should have read 1976.

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Your Comrades May Die...

(continued from page 12)

for this despicable abstention. Nevertheless, the SL went ahead with the protest, and some 40 people demonstrated in San Francisco outside the Iranian consulate June 22. Protesters, including SLers and supporters of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America and the Militant Caucus of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, marched under banners proclaiming, "Hands off the Iranian left, Free the imprisoned HKS and Fedayeen supporters" and "No to the veil, Down with Khomeini, For workers revolution." Chants included "Hands off the Iranian left" and "From Teheran to Kurdistan, Fight Khomeini's bloody terror."

In New York that same day the SWP carried out its most brazen act of sectarian exclusion so far, barring an SL contingent from participating in a protest outside the Iranian consulate. An SWP spokesman, Arnold Weissberg, later that evening sneeringly "informed" the SL that "the picket line today was called for people who supported the revolution in Iran." A subsequent 6 July *Militant* article tried to cover this exclusion with the slanderous lie that the Spartacist League had attempted to "assault" and "disrupt" the pickets. In reality, the SL simply walked up to the protest and was immediately shoved away by an obviously prearranged 50-person goon squad. Rather than let the SWP's criminal action turn into a free-for-all, with the cops standing by ready to intervene, the Spartacist contingent of 50 people set up another picket line across the street, vigorously chanting "Don't split defense of Iranian left!" and "Women in veils, Workers in jails, Stop Khomeini's attacks!" Among the SL picket signs were "No asylum for the shah" and "Down with Khomeini, For workers revolution!"

It certainly was a "private picket line," as one SWPer described their protest in an attempt to justify the exclusion. The SWP deliberately did no written publicity, advertising the picket by word of mouth in order to keep the Spartacist League away. And when the SL found out about it anyway, they changed the site at the last minute from Iran's UN mission to the consulate. Moreover, in their signs and chants not once did the SWP mention the Fedayeen guerrillas, who have been a major target of the new regime. Neither did they criticize Khomeini or Bazargan, or so much as mention the attacks on women and national minorities by the Islamic "Republic." And at no point were there slogans for workers rule, soviets or even a constituent assembly, usually the be-all and end-all of the SWP program. On the other hand, virtually every SWP slogan had tacked on "Defend the Iranian Revolution"—thereby trying to reassure Khomeini that they are fans of his Islamic regime, not "infidels" who throwing up a smokescreen of slander: "The Spartacists' slogans ... were a clear echo of imperialist propaganda" (*Militant*, 6 July); "The SL openly states that Iran was better off under the butcher Shah" (*Intercontinental Press*, 2 July).

It is only four months since the *Militant* (23 February) triumphantly proclaimed "Victory in Iran!" and hailed Khomeini's "anti-imperialist" intransigence. Today the SWP's Iranian

WV Photo

San Francisco, June 22: SWP boycotted rally to defend Iranian left.

demand "Down with the shah, Down with Khomeini!"

"You Defend the Mullahs, We Defend the Left"

In the midst of Khomeini's reactionary attacks, the SWP chose to underline its covering for clerical reaction with an NYC forum on the same evening (June 22) entitled "Iran: The Revolution Continues." Despite an ad in the *Militant* and a leaflet distributed at the demonstration inviting "everyone interested in the situation in Iran," SL supporters who arrived found their entrance to the meeting blocked by SWP goons. When the SWP refused to allow more than two Spartacists inside to present the Trotskyist point of view, the SL threw up a picket line denouncing this cowardly exclusion. A number of the SWP goons were noticeably upset as the SL marched outside their meeting chanting, "Your comrades may die, But you defend Khomeini," and "You defend the mullahs, We defend the left!"

The SWP's capitulationist line on Khomeini places it in an excruciating position toward the defense of the HKS. It must limit its defense propaganda to tokenism, explicitly opposing even the most minimal political slogans. And it must oppose those who have consistently defended the democratic rights of the Iranian workers and oppressed masses, comrades lie in jail, facing frame-up accusations of being "shah's agents" or "CIA spies." Only deeply ingrained, willful opportunism could have blinded the SWP to the Iranian regime's attacks on anyone who did not submit to Khomeini's autocratic rule. At a March 4 SWP forum on Iran, an SL supporter warned of the need for united-front defense of the left, saying: "The Spartacist League will be defending your own comrades in Iran when they face the bloodbath that the 'Islamic Republic' will institute against them" ("They Wanted Khomeini, They Got Him," *IT* No. 227, 16 March).

But the "democratic" cretins of the SWP mistake their own pollyannaish view of the world for reality. For Khomeini a Marxist is an enemy of god; the only good one is a dead one. Yet the SWP wants to reassure the maniacal ayatollah of their loyalty. Neither the regime's brutal assaults on Iran's oppressed national minorities and unveiled women nor the arrests of its own comrades have shaken the SWP's political confidence in Khomeini's "Iranian Revolution." Khomeini's a "bourgeois democrat?" Then why not try suing him in an Iranian "socialist watersuit?"

Faced with the ayatollah's sinister threats to "cut off the hands" of the left, the SWP responded with the cringing of reformists everywhere: Don't rock the boat, don't anger Khomeini. This was the line of the reformists in Chile, who relied on the "democratic" army and saw danger only in the CIA and not in domestic reaction, just as today the SWP and HKS defend the "Imam's Committees" and only denounce the presence of ex-SAVAK agents within them. This was the line of Stalin in China, who responded to Chiang Kai-shek's attacks on the CP by reaffirming support for the "anti-imperialist" Kuomintang. The result was the tragic Shanghai massacre of 1927, which took the lives of thousands of Communists. It was the line of Mao in Indonesia, who preached confidence in Sukarno right up to the eve of the reactionary holocaust that slaughtered half a million leftists, workers and peasants.

Khomeini's aims are no secret. He openly proclaims his program of turning the clock back to a medieval Islamic society, denouncing anyone who even calls for a "democratic" republic! Yet in order to continue to cuddle up to the supposedly "progressive" ayatollah, the SWP smears the Trotskyists of the SL as "provocative" and even pro-shah and sabotages the defense of its own comrades in Iran. According to the *Militant* (6 July), to call for "Down with Islamic reaction" and to demand massive united-front protests against the arrests of the HKS militants is a "counterrevolutionary line [which] would seriously jeopardize their defense, providing ammunition for the frame-up against them." SWP members should recall how in Chile before the bloody 1973 coup Allende's UP government, not wanting to "provoke" the generals, refused to defend leftist soldiers arrested by the military. The Chilean workers paid dearly for this cowardly policy. Don't repeat the treachery of the Stalinists and social democrats who led the way to this bloodbath!

In the late 1960s when Hugo Blanco was arrested in Peru, hundreds of thousands marched in the streets throughout the world to denounce the reactionary repression and demand his release. Why isn't that happening today—right now? Because the SWP prefers its miserable "private picket lines" and support telegrams from notables, which will hardly impress the anti-communist zealot Khomeini. Don't fool yourselves—Iran today is no bourgeois democracy. Your comrades' lives hang in the balance! What is needed is an urgent mobilization of the international left and working class, of all those who stand for democratic rights, in a powerful united-front defense campaign. Free the HKS and the Fedayeen! ■

Dodge Main...

(continued from page 3)

This is a tremendous opportunity to link the struggle between the workers at my plant and Dodge Main. The company has no right to throw us out in the street and the union has the responsibility to fight to save our jobs.

When we put forward a motion in my local saying we're not going to take it lying down, we tapped a real vein. We got some people out that hadn't been to a union meeting in five years because they recognized something was at stake. Here [at Dodge Main] Local 3 called a meeting and 2,000 people came out there and they wanted to fight. At my meeting we put up a motion calling for sit-down strikes and plant occupations at Dodge Main, Dodge Truck and the other plants where massive layoffs are projected . .

Now, there are a lot of people in my plant running around calling themselves militants and leftists of some kind. But when I raised this motion in my local meeting, not only did they not support the motion, but they got up and fought against it. We got arguments like, that a strike plays into the hands of the company. Well, I want to tell you the company doesn't like sit-down strikes. You need a sit-down strike. You need to hit the company where they live. You plant yourselves on a few million dollars of their property and you're going to get some kind of response. Back up the sit-down strike by mass labor defense because one plant can't do it alone. Dodge Main can't do it alone, Dodge Truck can't do it alone. But believe me you have a sit-down strike to fight for your jobs, you're going to hit something in the membership, you're going to see some people out in front of that plant who want to fight.

One guy who supports *The Call* [a Maoist newspaper] gets up and says sit-downs are crazy. So 20,000 layoffs are sane? [Laughter.] So a plant closing is sane? They're not realistic, right? Sometimes you have to fight for what you need. They sold the membership short. A guy was there from the Justice Caucus. His newsletter has got a little caption in the right-hand corner, it says "Spirit of '37." He gets up and says, "Today's not 1937." So the spirit of '37 belongs in the right-hand corner of a newsletter, but don't try to bring it back into the rank and file? People around the SWP's *Militant*, the most misnamed paper I've ever seen in my life, say sitdowns aren't realistic. And what do they call for? Endorsing a demonstration on July 16 after the layoffs have already happened!

The brother on the block doesn't have much power, the brother in the plant does. Use the power while you're in the plant, then you can fight! ■

Ma Bell...

(continued from page 2)

in convention delegate elections and by the good scores of two other MAC candidates in the same election. At last year's convention the caucus initiated the move to grant the local right to strike, and Margolis indicated that this year MAC is cooperating with other CWA delegates to get this issue before the convention once again.

The MAC campaign platform stressed the need for a solid 1980 nationwide strike to fight the company's program of "absence control," transfer freezes, forced overtime, speedup, production quotas and secret monitoring. In the face of skyrocketing inflation and unemployment, MAC called for a fight for a full 100 percent uncapped COLA in all contracts, for an end to layoffs and forced transfers, and a struggle by the labor movement to win a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Its program insists, "Not a dime, not a vote for the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans."

MAC points out that the ongoing policy of appeasement of Ma Bell is a consequence of the CWA leadership's political alliance with the capitalist parties. Thus it calls for the CWA to break with the Democrats and take up the struggle for a workers party, based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. While at present the MAC is confined to only one CWA local, it has earned the respect of a growing section of union members by its long years of principled political struggle against the sellouts of the Beirne/Watts bureaucracy. To forge an effective class-struggle leadership to oust the bureaucrats and lead the CWA forward, it is necessary that the MAC expand its base of influence within the union. Today the caucus struggles to bring the political lessons of the current leadership's sellouts home to ever wider layers of the membership and to win them to MAC's fighting program. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

SWP Splits Defense of Iranian Left

Your Comrades May Die, But You Defend Khomeini!

The peril of nine arrested supporters of the Iranian Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party), already facing the threat of execution by rabidly anti-communist mullahs, increased sharply June 23 with the seizure of seven more party members who were circulating petitions calling for their comrades' release. This brings to 16 the total number of HKS members jailed by the "Imam's Committee" in the southern oil center of Ahwaz, most of them still being held incommunicado at unknown locations. As Khomeini continues to hurl anathemas against "satanic" Marxists, and mullah-led mobs chant "death to communists," the labor movement and socialists throughout the world must urgently raise an outcry to save these militants from the executioner's sword.

Yet in this crucial hour the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is doing its best to sabotage the defense. In an act of criminal sectarianism, they exclude all those who do not swear fealty to the "Islamic Revolution" *which threatens their own comrades' lives!* At the moment when freeing the jailed Iranian leftists depends on making this the cause of the international workers movement, the SWP grovels before Khomeini. Relying on telegrams from prominent personalities, they refuse to mount the broadest, most massive protests in the streets for fear that they would anger the fanatical ayatollah of Qom.

In repeated instances in the United States and Australia, the SWP has engaged in the most outrageous splitting of a united defense: refusing to vote for motions calling for the release of the HKS and Fedayeen militants, excluding Spartacist League supporters from public forums, shoving and kicking SLers off its "private" picket lines and even abandoning its own demonstration rather than be associated with genuine Trotskyists. To top it off, and to harden up their own members who may have gotten cold feet at such backstabbing treachery, they are now mounting a vicious slander campaign in the pages of the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*, accusing the SL of "disruption" and "provocative action" for demanding "Down with Khomeini, For workers revolution in Iran!" Yet history has shown many times over that the SWP's policy of appeasing reactionary zealots like Khomeini leads straight to disaster.

"Hands Off the Iranian Left!"

In Iran, the working class has shown the way with a strike by some 200 oil workers who sat in at oil company offices in Ahwaz demanding the release of two of their leaders who were jailed along with 20 steel worker militants and the HKS supporters. And in Paris on June 25, some 5,000 people overflowed the Mutualité meeting hall for a rally—jointly sponsored by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste and Lutte Ouvrière—demanding the release of the HKS militants. A message of solidarity with the imprisoned Iranian leftists from the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency) was read to the meeting. It stated in part:

> "When Khomeini has the executioners of the shah's regime executed, our only regret is that they didn't fall into the hands of proletarian justice. But when reaction is attacking the left and the workers movement, the most elementary duty of communists is the fight to defend the militants in danger."

Previously, on June 14, a contingent from the LTF had participated without incident in a picket line called by the FCR outside the Iranian embassy.

Elsewhere, the HKS' "comrades" in the USec took a sharply different, sectarian line in their "defense." In Australia, the defense of the HKS militants has become a hot issue at several universities. On June 13 at Melbourne's La Trobe University a student General Meeting passed motions introduced by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand calling for workers revolution to overthrow the theocratic "Islamic Republic" of Ayatollah Khomeini and for the Australian Union of Students (AUS) to initiate a national campaign of demonstrations to "free the endangered militants of the Fedayeen and HKS." A supporter of the Australian SWP present at the meeting first tried to table the question, then abstained in the vote on the motions. Ten days later, when participants from all over Australia were attending an AUS council meeting in Melbourne, a member of the SWP's youth group voted against a motion to temporarily disband the meeting to attend the defense demonstration called for by the La Trobe students' General Meeting.

At Sydney University, the Students Representative Council passed a motion similar to the one at La Trobe, but failed to call for protest demonstrations to be built. The task now is to make this motion national AUS policy and to mount large united-front demonstrations in defense of the HKS and Fedayeen prisoners. But instead, the Australian SWP has borrowed from the Stalinist arsenal with a slanderous letter from a party leader published in its paper, *Direct Action* (14 June), which attempts to justify their despicable and cowardly abandonment of their own picket line in Sydney, June 11, rather than march together with the SL. The letter claimed the Spartacist League turned the picket line into a "reactionary demonstration" and that because the SL denounces Islamic reaction, therefore "the logic of this is that the shah ... was progressive by comparison and should have been supported."

Not only does the SWP know perfectly well that the Spartacist tendency has vigorously opposed *both* the shah and Khomeini, but this standard smear technique is currently being used by the Healyite provocateurs against the SWP itself! Thus, the 11 June *News Line* of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain peddles the frame-up charges of Khomeini's tribunals that the HKS members "have been accused of having contacts with a network of United States agents operating in Iran." The Healyites argue that anyone attacked by Khomeini must be a CIA agent; using the same "logic," the SWP claims that anyone who doesn't support the ayatollah is "counterrevolutionary." Both bow to Khomeini—the only difference is, the SWP does it for free!

"Women in Veils, Workers in Jails, Stop Khomeini's Attacks!"

In the United States, the SWP flatly rejected a Spartacist proposal for a united-front demonstration in the SF Bay Area, its Oakland organizer cynically refusing to give any explanation

continued on page 11

WV Photo

"The Spartacist League will be defending your own comrades in Iran when they face the bloodbath that the 'Islamic Republic' will institute against them."
--SL supporter at SWP forum, 4 March 1979.

WV Photo

"You defend the mullahs, We defend the left!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 236 X-523 20 July 1979

Outrage!

Carter's Secret Service Drags CWA Delegate Off Convention Floor!

Spartacist League Press Release

DETROIT, July 16—In front of hundreds of stunned delegates, U.S. Secret Service agents this afternoon grabbed union official Jane Margolis, handcuffed her and dragged her protesting off the floor of the 41st Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Shortly before President Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak before the body, agents surrounded Margolis, 32, an elected delegate and member of the executive board of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco), as she was standing with her delegation. Without warning they rushed her from the hall and locked her in an adjoining room. When outraged delegates rushed to the speakers' microphones to protest this criminal assault, the mikes were abruptly turned off.

White House officials at first denied that anyone had been detained, but changed the story after a CBS newsman reported accidentally finding Jane Margolis in a back room to which she had been abducted by the agents. This is the first known time that the Secret Service has invaded a union convention and seized a union officer. Margolis has announced that she intends to seek maximum legal redress for this outrage.

Out of sight of the convention delegates federal agents manhandled Jane, threatening to hold her incommunicado for days—on the basis of "reports" from unidentified "sources"—for suspicion of threatening the life of the president. While she was being subjected to interrogation and refused access to a lawyer, Detroit police told Margolis she was under arrest on unspecified charges. Thirty-five minutes later she was released, without explanation, but subjected to continued intensive surveillance by the Secret Service even after returning to the convention floor.

Jane Margolis is a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus, an opposition group in the union which has repeatedly protested government interference in the labor movement, particularly by the CIA in Latin America. Earlier in the day she was prevented by the chair from presenting a motion that the union convention not allow itself to be used as a platform for the anti-labor strikebreaking policies of the Democrats. Clearly, a key purpose of the hamfisted, blatantly illegal action by the Secret Service was to keep union delegates from registering any dissent against Carter and his energy speech.

In New York, James Robertson, National Chairman of the Spartacist League/U.S., immediately issued a vehement protest upon learning of the seizure of Margolis, an SL supporter and long-time personal friend. "What the Secret Service did to Jane is an outrage against organized labor," he said. "We don't have kings here. According to the laws, every citizen is supposed to have equal rights. But Jimmy Carter's personal goons simply march into a union convention and mug a woman who is an elected union official! Furthermore, Jane Margolis was in that meeting by right—Jimmy Carter was an invited guest."

"We demand that Jane Margolis be released immediately," said Robertson, "so that she can resume her place with her delegation carrying out union business. And we demand that this Jimmy Carter apologize in his speech, both to Jane and to the entire CWA membership, for his unprecedented attack on the union. Jane Margolis never shut down any gas pumps!" ■

Jon P. Fishback

A CWA delegate snapped this photo as Margolis was illegally seized.

Jane Margolis: "One Critic Carter Didn't Hear"

"I'm going to reach out," said Jimmy Carter in his Sunday night sermon, and reach out he did. Through the long arm of his Secret Service goons, he "reached out" and mugged class-struggle militant Jane Margolis right on the floor of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Convention (see accompanying Spartacist League Press Release). The fact that Margolis was an elected delegate to the convention with the right and responsibility to present her views was obviously a matter of no concern to Carter. For the capitalist class which this peanut baron represents, the rights of working people and the integrity of their labor organizations can be violated at their whim. Carter himself, on the other hand, is protected by a host of *lèse majesté* laws which give his armed thugs the right, among other things, to grab all "suspicious" persons for preventive detention.

Jane Margolis was suspected of planning to do something which was absolutely intolerable to Carter—exercise her democratic right to speak out on the floor of the convention of her trade union and expose his little energy confidence game for the cheap hustle that it is. So, she was subjected to "preventive" gagging. But the only "weapon" that this trade-union militant had pointed at the heart of the president was the simple *truth* that the energy crisis is not a crisis of confidence or faith or prayer or the rest of Carter's empty "born again" hokum, but a crisis of *capitalism*. And it is *real*; not in our hearts and minds but in the streets!

Carter had said, "I'm listening to the voices of Americans," but, in the words of the *San Francisco Examiner* (July 18) headline, Jane Margolis was "One critic Carter didn't hear." Carter is so manifestly unpopular, his support so shallow and his program such an obvious con game that he can't risk the slightest encounter with the truth. What if this trade unionist had punctured Carter's hot air balloon?

Jane Margolis has the right to say what she went to the convention to say, and the working people have the right to hear it. *WV* asked her for the statement she would have made, and we publish it on page 4

Proletarian Poland

Dear Comrades:

As "Pilgrimage for Anti-Communism" (IFI No. 234, 22 June 1979) pointed out, the Western press presented the Pope's recent tour as if the entire Polish nation had been on its knees to the Holy See. As against this bourgeois vision of "Catholic Poland," it is important that Marxists uphold and restore the history of *proletarian* Poland—the Poland of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches, Julian Marchlewski and Felix Dzerzhinsky and so many others, of the SDKPiL (Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania), and of their revolutionary antecedents in the Proletariat Party led by Ludwick Warsinski in the 1880s. The long and often stormy history of Polish Marxism, its international importance and contribution of so many leaders to the Communist International and the Russian and German parties, its deep roots and mass influence among the Polish working class, represent a proud tradition of communist proletarian struggle.

Not the least of the Stalinists' crimes is their deformation and breaking of this tradition—including the bloody annihilation of many Polish communists during Stalin's purges—as Isaac Deutscher's "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party" makes clear. Gierek's shamefaced attempt to pass off the Pope's

Leo Jogiches and Rosa Luxemburg

anti-communist tour as a "victory" only reveals what a vast gulf separates his regime from this revolutionary Marxist tradition. The great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg forthrightly denounced the Polish clergy's reactionary appetites to the workers of Krakow, understanding that this was a vital educational task in consolidating them under the banner of Marxism during the great proletarian uprisings of 1905:

> "The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives on the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people. The clergy and the parasitic capitalists hate the organized working class, conscious of its rights, which fights for the conquest of its liberties."

She warned that the Church would not cease its attempts to mislead it with "honeyed words," concluding that "he who defends the exploiters and who helps prolong this present regime of misery is the mortal enemy of the proletariat, whether he be in a cassock or the uniform of the police" ("Socialism and the Churches," Krakow, 1905). The Vatican and Polish Catholic hierarchy have not altered their reactionary appetites one iota since these words were written.

As the *IFI* article pointed out, the Polish working class has fought for its economic and political rights against the Stalinist regime, in the context of upholding the socialized property forms of the Polish deformed workers state. To carry through the workers' struggles to the end—for political revolution against the Stalinist regimes, and international socialist revolution against capitalism—requires the political rearming of the working class. The history of Polish Marxism will be a powerful weapon in the hands of the Polish proletariat, which will once again play its part in the battle for world communism.

Comradely,
IJC

Brownshirts in the Green Swamp

Koblenz
West Germany
17 May 1979

To the Editor:

Concerning your two articles on nuclear power, I want to add the following in order to point out the reactionary conclusions of the international ecology movement and its "left" auxiliaries.

A logical culmination of this movement took place near the town of Koblenz, West Germany, in the last weeks of April. On April 21 members of the German Maoist KPD jointly marched with fascists of the youth organization of the NPD (National-Democratic Party of Germany) against a nuclear reactor under construction near Koblenz.

What happened?

Since the beginning of the '70s, many committees have existed in opposition to the reactor. Their opposition strengthened after the Harrisburg accident, because the reactor in dispute is of the Harrisburg type built by Babcock & Wilcox. Thus, two demonstrations took place (on April 21 and April 28) in the suburb Mülheim-Kärlich and Koblenz, with 800 and 3000 participants respectively. One of the main organizers of the latter demonstration was a group around the life-stylism paper, "Koblenzer Blatt" (KOB, organized by members of the Koblenz KPD branch together with some ecofreaks).

At the same time, the fascists learned to use the unexpected opportunities of a broad petty-bourgeois movement. The "Junge Nationaldemokraten" (Young National-Democrats), youth group of the [neo-Nazi] NPD, called into existence the "Grüne Zelle Koblenz" (GRZ, Green Cell of Koblenz), publishing the paper, "Grüne Fahne" ("Green Banner"). They took over all the anti-nuclear demands, leading an ecology-oriented electoral campaign and fighting for "a new ecology consciousness"—in a nutshell, joining the green swamp.

On April 21 they all got along very well: burghers liberals, ecofreaks, Maoists and... the fascists, with the sun shining on their T-shirts. To be sure, there were no attempts to crowd out the brown goons at all.

The half-hearted attempts by the KOB to distance themselves are contradictory. In KOB No. 4 we read: "The people present (at an electoral meeting of the Green Cell) evidently stated that there's no common interest between them and neo-fascist organizations..." (p. 12). On page 13, however, we hear from the KOB that at a meeting of some "green groups from the North Rhineland" in February, they both accepted the AUD, which the Maoists used to call fascist, as "in spite of the name, not a right-wing group," and on April 28 debated with... the Green Cell.

On April 28 the fascists were not allowed to take part in the second demonstration, but they leafleted their paper without resistance. Only after being asked about the fascists by a sympathizer of the FLD (Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands—German section of the ISt) did the Maoists have a reason to make a small protest against the presence of the GZK through their bullhorn. But for nukes sake, it wasn't an honest one. In the last issue of KOB we can wonder about an "analysis" of the Green Cell: "I don't want to say about the GZK that it's a Nazi set-up, but I think we must keep a watchful eye..." Shame on you! The members of the fascist Cell have been openly acting as fascists in this town for six years at least, and their connection with the Junge Nationaldemokraten and other rightist groups is well-known by every political person here—last not least by the KPD editor of the KOB. But why fight against the fascists at all? We get instead, the "solidarity of all living against the Green Death" (KOB), which, according to the speaker at the demonstration, includes "everybody, whatever his political perspective may be."

The counterrevolutionary consequences of the fetishistic "green" unity—and the hardened de facto collaboration of the Maoist charlatans—cannot be demonstrated better than by this actually consummated common bloc of self-proclaimed communists with Nazis.

Comradely,
Karl K.

Editorial Note

Australian SWP Cheers The Deer Hunter

When Michael Cimino's *The Deer Hunter* brought audiences to cheer for U.S. imperialism's murderous war in Vietnam, communists who sat through it gritted their teeth in repressed outrage. But the press of the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) cheered right along: "A subtle and immensely revealing work," raved Rentrey Clarke in the SWP's *Direct Action* (26 April) about a film even many bourgeois liberal commentators recognized as a sensationalist piece of reactionary propaganda.

Clarke's incredible thesis? Cimino's film is really directed *against* the war, if perhaps unconsciously: "Cimino's statements on the Vietnam war are ambiguous. But we are able to hate the conflict for the tragedy it inflicts on the film's heroes," the three steel worker buddies who go to Vietnam. The film's notorious Russian roulette scene depicting the NLF guerrillas as sadistic torturers turns reality inside out to make heroes and victims of the real torturers and mass murderers—the U.S. imperialist forces (see "*Deer Hunter* Lies," *IFI* No. 230, 27 April 1979). To Clarke, however, such matters as who tortured whom in Vietnam are beside the point in a film in which the "dramatic purpose is to develop themes hostile to U.S. intervention. In particular... the theme of arbitrary violence...." And he finds in the "impassioned camaraderie" of the patriotic protagonists "a powerful, if politically undeveloped, working-class solidarity."

Tragedy? "What about the tragedy U.S. imperialism's 'heroes' inflicted on the Vietnamese in the course of that filthy, counterrevolutionary war?" asks *Australasian Spartacist*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, in an article condemning *The Deer Hunter* and exposing the SWP review ("*Deer Hunter* Lies...and SWP Loves It," *Australasian Spartacist* No. 64, June 1979). Class solidarity? "Clarke might just as well label a pack rape by working-class youth as 'impassioned camaraderie.' 'Kill a few for me,' is the parting farewell of one of [the trio's] co-workers; and Michael [the hero] kills more

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IMG Drags Its Feet

British Spartacists Lead Defense of Iranian HKS

LONDON, July 14—Fifteen supporters of the Hezb-e Kargaran-e Sosialist (Socialist Workers Party—HKS) remain in prison in Iran, but their comrades of the United Secretariat (USec) continue to sabotage their defence. The fake-Trotskyist USec, having preached political confidence in Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," must now oppose the urgently needed united-front defence of the HKS. Instead, it humbly petitions the reactionary regime which threatens to kill supporters of the HKS and the Fedayeen guerrillas, begging Khomeini to desist from the campaign against "satanic Marxists" which has always been a key part of the mullahs' programme.

Apparently blinded by the opportunist illusions which are its stock-in-trade, the USec acts as if the fanatical Islamic clergy ruling Iran are just democrats in turbans. Thus they prefer to split the defence of the HKS rather than risk the slightest taint of association with opposition to the mullahs' reactionary regime. In the U.S. the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) physically excluded the Spartacist League from HKS defence actions under the cover of shameless Stalin-style lies. And the Australian SWP abandoned its own demonstration rather than be seen with the advocates of proletarian opposition to the mullahs.

Now in Britain supporters of the USec's International Marxist Group (IMG) are squirming as the international Spartacist tendency is militantly defending the HKS comrades while the IMG drags its feet.

It took more than a month for the IMG to get around to calling its first defence activity, a picket of the Iran Air offices in London on July 7. The IMG's publicity consisted of one small box on the back page of *Socialist Challenge*, which appeared two days before the protest. When an SL/B contingent of some 20 comrades arrived at the designated time, not a single other individual was present. Ten minutes later IMG leader Steve Potter and one supporter finally ambled up with some placards and watched grimly while the SL chanted such slogans as "Free the Fedayeen and HKS—Stop the persecution of the Iranian left!", "Down with all the ayatollahs—For a workers revolution in Iran!" and "No asylum for the shah—The workers must rule Iran!"

After 20 minutes another handful of IMGers arrived, swelling their ranks to seven or eight (out of a membership on paper of about 300 in London alone!). Five supporters of the Workers Socialist League also turned up in the end, seeming as unhappy as the IMG about the determined Spartacist presence which rescued what would otherwise have been a pathetic shambles. At the conclusion of the picket, the handful of IMGers joined with the SL to chant slogans demanding the freeing of the Fedayeen and HKS militants.

A tiny back-page report on the picket in the next issue of *Socialist Challenge* complained that the turnout had been "disappointing" and urged "all *Socialist Challenge* supporters" to appear the next Saturday. The SL/B immediately contacted the IMG and other left-wing organisations to urge a coordinated united-front defence around the slogans: "Stop repression of the Iranian left!", "Free the imprisoned HKS and Fedayeen supporters!" and "Stop Khomeini's government attacks on the national minorities of Iran!"

The IMG flatly refused. Thus, July 14 saw a repeat performance of the week before. The 30 SL supporters who began the picket were eventually joined by a dozen or so IMG members and sympathisers, including a group of Iranians, along with another four from the Workers Power grouping and two from Workers Action. Again, SL placards and chants dominated the picket.

Spartacist Britain

Who defends the HKS? The IMG contingent on the left or the Spartacist contingent on the right?

The IMG's Iranian supporters, who must feel acutely the repressive reality of Khomeini's regime that the IMG wilfully obscures, took up such SL slogans as "Down with the mullahs, down with the generals—Workers must rule Iran!" The demonstration concluded with a united chant of "Stop persecution of Iranian left—Free the Fedayeen and HKS!" and the protestors then sang "The Internationale" in English and Persian.

The IMG's refusal to work for a mass working-class-centred united-front defence of the HKS—or even bring out a small fraction of its own membership for the demonstration—reveals more than its notorious ineptitude and dilettantism. How, for example, can IMG national secretary Brian Grogan mobilise his membership to oppose Khomeini's repression? After all, a few short months ago he was touring Britain to recount his joy in chanting "Allah Akbar" ("god is great") on the streets of Teheran! Last year the IMG claimed that SL/B slogans like "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!" were "counterrevolutionary" and supported calling on the cops to exclude Spartacist contingents from anti-shah demonstrations.

It ought to be obvious to everyone that kneeling to fanatical anti-communist Khomeini is no way to free the endangered militants in Iran. Yet the IMG continues to grovel before the reactionary theocrat. Its Ad-Hoc Committee to Defend Iranian Socialists suggests that a "model telegram" be sent to the ayatollah's Islamic Revolutionary Council pleading, "We friends of the Iranian Revolution [!] call for the release of the 15 HKS members jailed in Ahwaz." And the IMG's defence leaflet for the July 7 demonstration goes out of its way to deny that the imprisoned HKS supporters are in any way "subversives."

A strong, united defence of the HKS, Fedayeen and all other Iranian leftists under the gun is a burning necessity. Yet like its USec brethren, the IMG is determined to cover for the Islamic theocracy, even if that means watching its comrades go to the wall. Stop the sectarianism and passivity—For united-front defence of the Iranian left! ■

Anwar Defense Committee Formed

The fight to reinstate Keith Anwar, militant steel worker fired by Inland Steel Company for refusing to cross a picket line, has moved ahead with the formation of the Keith Anwar Defense Committee. The Committee is dedicated not only to winning Anwar's job back, but to defending all those USWA members who have recently come under attack for honoring picket lines.

Organized around the demands: "that Inland Steel immediately reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay" and "defend all union members victimized for honoring picket lines," the Committee is urgently seeking support in the form of endorsements, donations and help with the work of publicizing the case.

Anwar, an apprentice millwright at Inland's 24-Inch Bar Mill and a member of USWA Local 1010, was fired on May 18 because he refused to cross the picket line of striking USWA Local 8180, a small local employed inside the Inland facility by Apex Steel and Supply Company. Other militants at the U.S. Steel Southworks plant in Chicago and at Gary Works in Gary, Indiana have also been disciplined for honoring railroad workers' and iron workers' picket lines.

These militants are on the front lines of the fight for the labor principle that "picket lines mean: don't cross!" It is crucial that all trade unionists support the Anwar case. A vigorous labor mobilization to turn this firing around could put a stop to company efforts to break down the traditions of labor solidarity and could reverse an attack which ultimately strikes at the foundations of the union itself. "Inland is trying to deny me the right to advocate labor militancy and to engage in union activity," as Anwar wrote in the June issue of the USWA Local 1010 *Steel Worker*. "'An injury to one is an injury to all' is an old labor tradition and a good one."

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee has been endorsed by a number of USWA officials, including the vice president of Local 1010, Anwar's own local, and the president of Local 8180, the local whose lines Anwar honored. Over $600 has already been collected by the pre-existing Keith Anwar Defense Fund, for Anwar's legal expenses in pursuing his case before the National Labor Relations Board. These funds came primarily from steel workers, but there have been donations from the Partisan Defense Committee, *WV* readers and supporters as far away as Massachusetts, California and Montreal. One unionist wrote: "By sticking to principles you can perhaps make a successful stand for proletarian tradition and necessity. It would be a great victory if you could return to work.... Enclosed find a day's pay."

The Committee has begun to generate publicity in the press of the Chicago and northern Indiana area. Articles have appeared in the *Hammond Times*, the *Gary Post Tribune*, the *Chicago Defender*, Chicago's black-oriented daily newspaper, and the *Daily Calumet* of South Chicago. WJOB Radio in Hammond aired an interview with Anwar and broadcast a statement of support by USWA District 31 director Jim Balanoff regarding the case.

But the defense of Anwar and other militants took its biggest step forward on June 30 when the USWA District 31 Conference passed a resolution pledging "all available resources to reverse these attacks" and demanding "that Inland Steel reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay" (see *WV* No. 235, 6 July 1979). Local 1010 has voted to endorse this stand. And on June 27, Anwar was invited to address a meeting of USWA Local 65 at Southworks. The meeting adopted a motion co-sponsored by two steel workers who were disciplined for honoring Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks (BRAC) picket lines, Tom Knight and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 236 **20 July 1979**

"Whose union is this anyway,

WV Interview with Jane Margolis

"Because I Denounce Carter's Anti-Labor Party"

JANE: I'm an elected delegate to the CWA Convention and I'm an Executive Board member in San Francisco Local 9410 of the CWA. Today Jimmy Carter was invited by our International officers to address the Convention. Early this morning, as soon as the Convention convened, I attempted to get the floor to make a motion that the CWA not allow itself to be used as a platform for the anti-labor strikebreaking policies of Jimmy Carter. I was not recognized by the Chairman of the Convention. I was not allowed to make the motion. Later on in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock, an hour before Jimmy Carter was to come to speak to the Convention, I was standing on the floor of the Convention. I was approached by a Secret Service agent who told me that they wanted to ask me questions in a back room. I told them that I did not want to talk to them until I got legal advice.... They then grabbed me and physically dragged me out of the Convention hall. I was surrounded by several Secret Service men and the Detroit police. They handcuffed me...

WV: Right there on the Convention floor, in front of all the delegates?

JANE: It was right outside the Convention floor they handcuffed me. They handcuffed me behind my back, and took me around to a back room in the back of the auditorium. I was protesting the whole way. When I got in the back they were saying that they wanted to ask me questions. I insisted that I was not going to speak to them without a lawyer. They told me that they had every right to detain me. When they had handcuffed me the Detroit police told me that I was under arrest and that I was going to be taken to the Detroit jail.

WV: For what? Under arrest for what?

JANE: Just that I was under arrest. They said that they had every right, the Secret Service, to ask me questions and I had to answer them. When I was in the back room they kept me handcuffed for a while...

WV: Did they let you talk to anybody when they had you in that back room?

JANE: No.

WV: People couldn't get in?

WV Photo

Jane Margolis at CWA convention. "I had every right to be on that convention floor. Jimmy Carter was a guest."

JANE: No. I asked for a lawyer and they said...[w]e have every right to detain you for 72 hours.

WV: For 72 hours?

JANE: 72 hours while the president is in the vicinity. And I said, why am I here? And they said, we have from a source that you were threatening the life of the president. I said, what is your source? They said they do not know the source, but they have from a source that I was threatening the life of the president. I said, no way was I threatening the life of the president. What I was was an elected delegate...and I was going to practice my democratic right of speaking on the Convention floor.

WV: So they never said where they got this supposed report?

JANE: No....

WV: When they were dragging you off the floor, did it cause any commotion?

JANE: Yes,...there was a bit of a ruckus. It was in the back of the Hall. Glenn Watts said...

WV: Now he's the president of the union, right?

JANE: Yes, he's the International President of the union. What he did was he told delegates to ignore the disruption in the back of the hall. There were a number of delegates from the West Coast and from my own delegation that were planning on having a walkout from the Convention in protest. First several of them tried to get the microphone on the Convention floor and protest to the International officers that I had been dragged off the Convention floor. The microphone was turned off, they were not recognized. They were not allowed to speak to the Convention. Watts had told people to ignore the disruption in the back of the hall. I was detained for about 30 to 35 minutes and then I came back in to the Convention. When I came back in to the Convention...

WV: Now wait a minute. They dragged you off the Convention floor, handcuffed you, said you were under arrest but with no charges—and they say that they have information that you're threatening the life of the president—and then they let you go?

JANE: Right. And then they let me go.

WV: Did they have any explanation for this?

JANE: ...[T]here was some kind of negotiations going on in an adjoining room which I do not know about. But there were several Secret Service men in there having a discussion and then they came back in and they released me.

WV: Some union delegates went to the Secret Service and protested?

JANE: Apparently my president Jim Imerzel went to the Secret Service and to the International and protested....

WV: I understand that after you were released you came back into the Convention floor. Were you allowed to speak then?

JANE: Okay, what happened when I came back...was that it was about 20 minutes before Jimmy Carter was going to be coming to the Convention. The procedure that they used for the question-and-answer period was that the first 20 people in line at the different microphones would be the people that would be able to ask questions.... When it was announced to get in line at the microphone, I got in line...and I was number 15 to get there. I was then read off as one of the 20 people that would be asking questions of the president. They had us sitting in a separate section. I was being watched by Secret Service men.... [A]t delegate number 12 they cut off the discussion and Jimmy Carter said that he had been there for 55 minutes and he was departing from the Convention.

WV: So it sounds pretty clear that the reason that they did this was in order to prevent there being any dissent.

JANE: Exactly. And it was clear to other delegates. A delegate who did get to speak came up to me afterwards and said, "If I had known that all 20 of us couldn't speak I would have given my seat to you." Other delegates came up to me and said, "Look it, I may not agree with everything you've said, but you have every right to be at this Convention and say what you want." Delegates were pretty outraged, appalled...

WV: Do you plan to lodge any protest about this tomorrow at the union meeting?

JANE: Yes. We're going to issue a leaflet. The point that we want to make to the delegates is that I am an elected Executive Board member, I am an elected delegate to this Convention and I was sent here by my membership. This is a union Convention. I had every right to be on that Convention floor. Jimmy Carter was a guest. I had more right to be on that Convention floor than he did. And his Secret Service escorted me off. Every trick in the book was put up in order to avoid criticism of Jimmy Carter on national press coverage and on TV. And that it's a real outrage that the President is invited to the Convention and the Secret Service and the same government agencies that are going to be used against workers in a national strike in 1980—against phone workers—these same government agencies were used to get me off my Convention floor, arrest me, handcuff me, slander my character, all to keep any public criticism of Jimmy Carter from getting on the floor.

WV: Now, you are a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus. Could you just mention briefly what the MAC stands for?

JANE: The Militant Action Caucus, we are a caucus inside the CWA. We are all CWA members. We want to fight to form a militant class-struggle leadership inside the CWA. We want to stop company collaboration on the part of our union leadership. We are fighting for a national phone strike in 1980 to stop the loss of jobs that is resulting from extreme automation. We want to fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.... We believe in no support to the Democratic and Republican Parties. Not a dime, not a vote to the strikebreaking capitalist parties. And we stand for a workers party that will fight for a workers government that will expropriate industry and form a planned rational economy. Also this year at the Convention we are planning to try and change the constitution for the local right to strike so that locals will be able to use the power of striking without the sanction of the International (who never gives it).... And we plan on contacting as many delegates as possible and trying to form a national opposition to fight for a militant leadership in the CWA ■

What the Secret Service Wouldn't Let Jane Margolis Say

(continued from page 1)

Brothers and Sisters,

Jimmy Carter came here today to get approval from the working people for his energy program—the program that blames *us* for the energy crisis because of our "greed," our "gas guzzling" and our "self-indulgence." While they hop around the country in their Lear jets and limousines, the capitalists would like to convince us that it is our duty to make sacrifices for the good of the country, to settle for the 7 percent guideline while the cost of living soars at 14 percent.

The present oil shortage is a well-known ripoff for Big Oil. The problem is that this rotten system delivers the profits to the peanut bosses, the oil magnates and the Ma Bells while we cannot even get enough gas for our cars.

The CWA convention must not be turned into a platform for the racist anti-labor Democratic Party of Jimmy Carter. I want to remind the delegates how in 1978 when the heroic miners shut down the coalfields for the right to strike and for adequate health and safety protection Carter invoked the slave-labor Taft-Hartley injunction to break their strike. Let's remember how in the face of soaring black unemployment and desperate ghetto poverty, Carter's callous response was simply that "life is unfair." Nor have we forgotten how he threatened to break our own proposed CWA strike in 1977 and how he will undoubtedly try to again if we prepare for the solid coast-to-coast phone strike we need next year!

I came to this convention on the platform—"Not a dime, not a vote for the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans!" This is the program I ran on. This is the program on which I was elected to my local Executive Board and on which I have twice in a row been elected a delegate to this convention. In Carter's speech last night he told us to "stop cursing and start praying." *Brothers, it's time to start fighting!* And our fight must be to break labor's ties to the bosses' parties and to form a powerful workers party to lead us as we struggle for a workers government ■

Carter's or the members'?"

CBS-TV Newsman Exposé

Secret Service Stonewall

We publish below excerpts from a transcript of a "Special Report on the President in Detroit" which was aired on Channel 2 TV (WJBK) Detroit, July 16, 11:30 p.m.

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TOM GREENE: His [Carter's] speech [at the CWA convention] was brief. He took only 12 questions from the audience. Most of the questions were friendly. One person that wanted to ask the president some hard questions was earlier taken from Cobo Hall in handcuffs by the Secret Service men who were reportedly told that she was a threat to Mr. Carter. She was later released, too late, that is, to ask the questions that she claimed the president couldn't really handle very well about his labor record.

MURRAY FELDMAN: You know if he had let it work down the line, there would be a lot of people asking hard questions.

GREENE: There sure would be.

FELDMAN: Thank you, Tom.

* * * * *

FELDMAN: But apparently President Carter has done much in solving his credibility problem, at least with the Communications Workers of America meeting in Detroit. Most of them are pleased and happy with the day's events. But there is one person who may be a little bit hitter. Tom Greene was an eyewitness to part of an incident earlier today when you were walking into Cobo Hall, Tom, and it appeared to us, to the reporters, as if somebody was trying to be silenced.

GREENE: Well, that was the feeling I got. This is purely accidental. I was stumbling around trying to find the room that the President was in because we get lost going in, but, there was this young lady in a room with a policeman, Ron Suskin, who used to be the president of D.P.O.A. [Detroit Police Officers Association], and she says, "Are you my lawyer?" I said no. She said, "Well, I'm being held here. I'm under arrest." I said, "For what?" She said, "Because I have a speech here that I wanted to deliver against Mr. Carter." It was her contention that she was being silenced by the Secret Service as a way to avoid any kind of an embarrassing situation for the president. She felt that the questions were going to be stacked by favorable people who are friends of Mr. Carter who would ask him only the kinds of questions that he could answer very well and handle easily. And she never did, as you know. She did eventually get back into Cobo. They released her, but she got in at a point where she could not be up front and get a chance to ask a question.

HARRY GALLAGHEN: She had been what, detained by the Secret Service, Secret Service bodyguard or whatever...

GREENE: I asked them, you know, Harry, we talked about this earlier, you said why; I asked them. They wouldn't even acknowledge that they had her. I said, "But she's in the other room." They said, "Don't know nothing about it."

FELDMAN: So some people, some of the delegates had told me, described her as a socialist, or at least a socialist in belief, whatever that means. But you see, they were disappointed that the people were apparently hand-picked. At least it appeared that way.

GREENE: There wasn't a real cross-section.

FELDMAN: Hand-picked to talk to the president.

GREENE: Yeah, no matter what they tell you, it was not a cross-section of the 4,000 people in that room.

GALLAGHEN: Well, we all got to look at the fact though that this of course was a political gathering for the president too. It was all set up. There was a large friendly group there, the Communications Workers generally patted him on the back. So I don't think we could say that he just came into a group that he didn't know and for which there was no organization at all.

GREENE: Oh no. No, that's normal.

FELDMAN: It was a group that the White House was darn sure would be friendly to the...

GREENE: Exactly. You see he needed this coming off of last night, and coming down from the mountain. He needs all this. You know, they want to give him the runway. ■

WV Photo

Carter's Big Sermon comes to Cobo Hall, July 16.

Secret Service Quizzes S.F. Union Leader

San Francisco Chronicle

San Franciscan handcuffed

One critic Carter didn't hear

Special to The Examiner

DETROIT — A militant San Francisco member of the Communications Workers of America was detained for 40 minutes by Secret Service agents yesterday, shortly before President Carter was scheduled to address the union convention.

Jane Margolis, 32, an executive board member of CWA Local 9410, said she was surrounded by about a half-dozen Secret Service agents, dragged off the floor of Cobo Hall and handcuffed in a back room.

There, she said, she was told she was being held for threatening Carter's life.

"I told them that was totally absurd," Margolis said in a telephone interview. "You know they

let me go if I had threatened the president.

"I didn't want the convention to be a cover for Carter's anti-labor policies and an opportunity for him to blame us for inflation," she said.

She spoke against Carter at last year's convention and said her anti-Carter positions are well-known in the union, where she speaks for the militant action caucus.

Margolis said she was also prevented from making a motion to prohibit Carter from addressing the convention. In addition, she said, the number of delegates to be permitted to question Carter was reduced from 20 to 12. She was 15th in line, she said.

Margolis, who is a UPW

San Francisco Examiner

Tuesday, July 17, 1979

Jane Margolis struggles to free herself from Secret Service man.

Carter critic

Delegate quizzed by Secret Service

Delegate Says She Was Stopped From Questioning the President

The New York Times

Police seize, question woman delegate at Cobo

By ROBERT E. ROACH
News Staff Writer

A left-wing woman delegate was dragged from the floor of a union convention in Detroit's Cobo Hall by Secret Service agents shortly before President Carter spoke yesterday.

The woman, Jane S. Margolis, a self-proclaimed San Francisco militant, said afterward that her forcible removal from the hall prevented her from challenging the President for his "austerity, anti-labor, strike-breaking policies."

Ms. Margolis said she was handcuffed in a corridor and questioned for about 40 minutes before being released.

threat to the life of the President, and that they could detain me for up to 72 hours while the President was in the vicinity," Ms. Margolis said.

MS. MARGOLIS was one of 20 persons scheduled to ask questions of the President in his nationally-televisioned appearance yesterday before the convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in Cobo Hall.

She was released and returned to the hall in time to present her question — but she was 15th on the list, and the President cut off questioning after receiving the 14th question.

Mr. Carter had answered

longer than his schedule originally had alloted.

"I had every intention to speak out against him, but they (the union leaders and Secret Service) obviously didn't want that to get out on national television," Ms. Margolis said.

"Our union convention should not be used as a forum for Jimmy Carter's anti-labor views."

Ms. Margolis was indignant about her removal from the floor of the convention.

"I'm an elected delegate and he was only a guest," she said later. "I had every right to be on that floor for every moment of that

a motion in the morning session opposing Mr. Carter's appearance

The Detroit News

Imperialists and OPEC: Rivals or Partners?

World Oil Blow Out

Jimmy Carter's July 15 sermon about the need for "faith in America" brought no amazing grace for working people angry over the gas lines, the highest inflation rate in decades and a recession bringing mounting layoffs. To justify his demands for increased sacrifice, Carter needed some villains in the temporal world to blame for the condition of the economy. He came up with the old standby: the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Carter quoted one of the "voices of the people" he said he listens to: "Our neck is stretched over the fence and OPEC has the knife." And he added, OPEC "is the direct cause of the long lines that have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline, a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face," a threat to "our economic independence and the very security of our nation," "a clear and present danger to our system." This is the language of war.

The announcement by the oil cartel in June of a new rise in crude oil prices made OPEC easy to scapegoat. Carter's chief advisor on domestic policy, Stuart Eizenstat, practically jumped on it. In a memorandum leaked to the press, he had urged his boss:

> "We have a better opportunity than ever before to assert leadership over an apparently insoluble problem, to shift the cause of inflation and energy problems to OPEC....
>
> "Use the OPEC price increase as the occasion to mark the beginning of our new approach to energy. It must be said by you—and by us—time and again publicly to be a watershed event. We must turn the increase to our advantage by clearly pointing out its devastating economic impact and as justification of our efforts against the OPEC cartel...."
>
> —*New York Times*, 8 July

Blaming the Arab oil sheiks is nothing new. In June the leaders of the major imperialist powers arrived at Tokyo's Akasaka Palace in 124 limousines for a two-day "energy summit." They emerged to tell the working masses of their countries to conserve oil and to

> "...deplore the decisions taken by the recent OPEC conference....The unwarranted rises in oil prices agreed to are bound to have very serious economic and social consequences. They mean more worldwide inflation and less growth. That will lead to more unemployment, more balance of payments difficulty and will endanger stability in developing and developed countries of the world alike."
>
> —*New York Times*, 30 June

And when Carter retreated to Camp David to prepare his alibis, he had not forgotten how well this gambit seemed to work in the 1973-74 oil crisis.

The OPEC chiefs point out in their defense that they are only catching up with four years of global inflation and the depreciation of the dollar. The run-up in the open-market oil price earlier this year benefited mainly the largely American middlemen and speculators. Most OPEC oil was sold under long-term contracts at less than half the going free-market price. Moreover, the recession they are supposed to have caused had already begun *before* the latest OPEC price action and *before* the gasoline "shortage."

But the anti-OPEC propaganda spewed out by American ruling circles is more than an alibi intended for domestic consumption. American capitalists don't want to pay $20 for a barrel of imported oil which costs 10 cents to produce. When Carter's man writes of "our efforts against the OPEC cartel," he doesn't mean just diplomacy or developing synthetic fuel. Not far behind Carter's martial rhetoric is the imperialist arsenal.

Last year the Pentagon got the go-ahead for a special mobile force of 100,000 for use in the Middle East or Persian Gulf. Now Washington is upgrading contingency plans to "use military force to preserve the oil flow," according to *New York Times* military writer Drew Middleton (4 July). The U.S. is putting together a large strike force capable of offering the sheiks a deal they can't refuse.

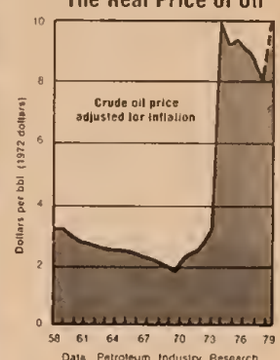
Even the suave, diplomatic Saudi oil minister, Sheik Yamani, is forced to take account of the military threats. One gets a sense of his nervousness as he protests perhaps too much:

> "If some people are thinking of a possible physical occupation of the oil fields, they can forget it. It cannot be done. The people would never stand for it. Sabotage of a few parts could halt production for years. And then where would we all be? No, we must think positively."
>
> —*Newsweek*, 9 July

The reformist left has responded to the oil crisis by simultaneously acting as lawyers for the oil sheiks and boosting chauvinist isolationism. "The charges against OPEC are all lies," says the Socialist Workers Party's Dick Roberts (*Militant*, 13 July). Roberts makes much of the argument that the U.S. *could* be self-sufficient if only the oil companies wouldn't hold back production (something Carter and Henry Jackson will be happy to hear). For the SWP, it is all a question of the reallocation of resources under capitalism, the old social-democratic illusion of less guns, more butter. Their denial that OPEC has any real effect on the American economy can only mean that U.S. military intervention would be an insane adventure, an *irrational* act of chauvinist militarism. Thus Roberts implicitly accepts the imperialist premise that *if* OPEC *did* inflict serious damage to the U.S. economy, then the U.S. would be justified in taking over the Arab oil states.

As revolutionary internationalists, our principled objection to U.S. occupation of the Near East oil fields is not based on conjunctural economic calculations, on whether the current OPEC oil price hike is really responsible for the high price of gas. The proletariat must stand opposed to all imperialist looting, first and foremost that of its "own" rulers. Whatever the role of OPEC in the world capitalist economy, for the working class "the main enemy is at home."

Plain Truth



OPEC price explosion benefits Rockefellers, sheiks, but not the workers who produce oil.

So Carter says OPEC is the villain and the reformist left portrays it alternatively as victim and hero. Carter says OPEC is totally responsible for the sad shape of the U.S. economy, the reformist left says OPEC has nothing whatever to do with the present agonies of U.S. capitalism. What is the truth about OPEC and the oil crisis? Why have oil prices increased ten times since 1970, 50 percent in the past six months? Are the OPEC and the imperialists partners or rivals?

In fact, the oil sheiks and the oil companies are acting in cahoots in a mutually profitable partnership. And the economics of the oil crisis begins a few decades ago.

1970-72: U.S. Encourages OPEC

Seeking to make the U.S. militarily self-sufficient, the Eisenhower administration in 1959 limited oil imports to about 10 percent of total consumption. This had a big impact on the world oil market. Since it costs much more to extract oil from American fields than in the Near East, U.S. crude oil prices remained higher than world market prices for the next 15 years. (West Europeans paid and still pay much more for gasoline than Americans, but that is due to much higher sales taxes.) With the American market suddenly cut off, a flood of oil was redirected toward Europe and so drove down the world price.

The "Seven Sisters" (the five American and two British firms which dominate world oil) then demanded of the oil producing countries a cut in the posted price on which these countries base their royalties and taxes. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries was formed in 1960 to resist this price cut. In this it was successful, but with inflation the real price of oil fell throughout the 1960s, and the oil companies were able to dominate the weak OPEC group.

1970 marked a turning point for OPEC and the world oil market. Col. Qaddafi's newly-fledged "revolutionary Islamic" regime in Libya took advantage of its good bargaining position (the closing of the Suez Canal and the cutting off of the Syrian pipeline to the Persian Gulf) to demand a large increase in both the posted price and state royalty. The oil companies could have walked out at that point, leaving Qaddafi's oil rigs to rot in the desert sun, but instead, after much and sometimes bitter high-level international haggling, the oil majors accepted the price hike. In the final negotiating session, Qaddafi's oil man, Abdul Jalloud, said he would be executed if he settled for less than $3.30 a barrel increase. Fortunately for him, he walked away with his price. So began the OPEC price explosion.

The U.S. State Department, through its leading Arabist, James Akins, was actively involved in the critical Libyan negotiations. It advised the oil companies to accept the price hike, knowing full well that all the OPEC countries would follow suit. Why? First, in 1970 the U.S. imported relatively little Near Eastern oil. Washington/Wall Street therefore calculated that American industry would gain competitive advantage over the West Europeans and Japanese if OPEC prices rose. Secondly, Nixon/Kissinger hoped to gain favor with the Arab rulers—at the expense of German and Japanese consumers. It is hardly a diplomatic secret that the U.S. government encouraged Qaddafi and the OPEC price hawks in the early 1970s, and its role is

routinely denounced to this day by pro-Zionist oil experts like M.A. Adelman.

Between 1970 and the beginning of 1973 the posted price of Saudi light crude rose from $1.80 to $2.59. But in the same period the actual world market price more than doubled! In other words, the Seven Sisters raised their prices more than did OPEC, as they *always* do when the market is tight.

In giving OPEC the green light in the early 1970s, the Nixon administration assumed that the U.S. was still largely self-sufficient in oil. But this assumption proved false, and the policy soon backfired. In 1970 American domestic oil production peaked. With the feverish economic boom of 1971-73, the oil import controls were first relaxed and finally ended in April 1973—just about the time the world price rose above the American.

This changed situation led to the passage in the U.S. of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act in November 1973, which attempted to prevent oil prices in the U.S. from rising as fast as the now skyrocketing world prices. "Old" oil, from wells in operation before 1973, was fixed substantially below the world price, while newly developed fields were to receive the world price. (Of course, this initiated the "old" oil into "new" multi-billion-dollar scams.) In addition, gasoline, heating oil and other petroleum products were subject to price controls.

This price control system has, not surprisingly, been a key target for big oil ever since. Because the oil industry, like other capitalist industry, is run along profit-maximizing lines, the post-1973 price controls simply cause the companies to periodically sabotage and disrupt the economy. When right-wing California senator S.I. Hayakawa said that the gasoline "shortage" would disappear if the price rose to $3 a gallon, he was expressing a certain capitalist rationality.

1973-1978: War and Oil Crisis, Glut and Stagnation

When the October 1973 war between Egypt/Syria and Israel broke out, the Saudis launched their long-talked-about "oil weapon"—an oil boycott of the U.S. and a progressive cutback in total Arab oil production. This was a political—not an economic—move, designed to push Washington into pressuring Israel out of the occupied territories. This tactic, if successful, would have guaranteed not the national liberation of the Palestinian people but rather their new subjugation by the Egyptian, Jordanian or Syrian bourgeois states. The political nature of the boycott was clearly demonstrated by the fact that the shah of Iran, always an OPEC price hawk, *expanded* production during this period. Of course, Pahlavi expected to be well rewarded for his services to American and Israeli interests.

The "oil weapon" turned out to have a rather low megatonnage, certainly insufficient to persuade the U.S. to force Israel out of the West Bank. By late December the Saudis, probably recognizing that Washington would not budge and might even retaliate, decided to abandon the boycott. But as compensation for laying down the "oil weapon" OPEC *quadrupled* the price of oil to $11.60 a barrel.

The oil majors were pleased enough at the big price jump, although they would have preferred it to have been more gradual and not associated with the anti-Israel boycott. But while the Seven Sisters and a few New York banks which handle Arab money gained from $11 oil, the American capitalist class in general was hurt by it. The cries of anguish and outrage within American (and West European) ruling circles were genuine, if exaggerated.

The Arab nationalists and their fake-left hangers-on portrayed the 1973 oil embargo as an "anti-imperialist" response by "Third World" countries. In October 1973 *The Call*, newspaper of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (then the October League) spoke for many of these mindless "Third World" cheerleaders when it said: "The question facing Libya, Saudi Arabia and other countries in that part of the world is, fight—or be ruined." In its latest issue (9 July) *The Call* has carried its slavish capitulation to the OPEC countries to the extreme of comparing them to the *working class*:

> "Furthermore, oil prices had remained frozen for nearly two years in countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, while the prices of industrial goods to the OPEC countries have risen steadily. The situation is not very different from that of workers seeking wage increases to offset the effects of inflation and getting blamed by the government for causing inflation."

But the oil crisis is hardly a concerted attack on international imperialism by its colonial victims. To begin with, the oil consumers are *not* limited to the imperialist countries. As is well known, the 1973 OPEC price hike hit hardest the *backward*, not the advanced, capitalist countries. It is obvious that India, Kenya or Peru could less afford $11 oil than the U.S., which, moreover, prints the currency with which it pays OPEC (no small advantage). From 1973 to 1975 the outstanding debt of the non-oil exporting backward countries went up over 50 percent! This financial catastrophe was not caused solely by the OPEC price explosion, but that certainly was a very big factor.

Partners with the OPEC cartel are such well-known "anti-imperialists" as the Rockefellers and Mellons, whose take on a barrel of oil reportedly climbed from $6.80 to $8.20 between 1973 and 1975. As Saudi oil minister Sheik Yamani said in 1975, when he was making a big show of being a price moderate:

> "The ones who want that [much higher prices] are, first and foremost, the oil companies. Obviously, when the prices rise, their profits increase."
>
> —*New York Times Magazine*, 14 September 1975

Obviously!

In fact, the OPEC countries do not control the oil prices themselves but with and through the Seven Sisters. When in 1975 the deep world slump sharply curtailed demand for oil and so tended to drive down the price, Aramco (consortium of Exxon, Mobil, Socal and Texaco) cut its Arabian production by a whopping 2.5 million barrels a day (mb/d) to restore a tight market.

So far from being an attack on imperialism, the 1973 OPEC quadrupling of the oil price transferred a large share of economic surplus from the backward as well as the advanced countries to some of the most *reactionary, parasitic elements of world capitalism* (the Rockefeller empire, the Arabian monarchy, the shah of Iran).

In January 1974 Nixon's war minister, James Schlesinger (now the hapless energy secretary) told the Arabs that there would be increasing public clamor to use force if they continued the boycott. One of the reasons that the U.S. ruling class did not resort to a military solution in 1974 was that it believed that the OPEC price leap would soon reverse itself. The assumption was that continuing global inflation would erode the real price of oil imports, that once market demand fell, the OPEC cartel would come apart through competitive price-cutting and that $11 oil would spur an enormous expansion of production and opening of new fields, especially outside the OPEC area. These expectations were in part—but only in part—fulfilled.

Inflation did reduce the relative cost of OPEC oil. Additionally, the sharp depreciation of the dollar, in which the OPEC price is fixed, further shrank the exchange value of a barrel of oil on the world market. Despite a few money price hikes, the real (relative) price of crude oil fell almost 20 percent between 1974 and the end of 1978.

Throughout this period there was a relative glut of oil, and by 1978 the OPEC cartel began to look ragged. Some countries, like Iraq and Kuwait, opened up bargain basements in "lower quality" crude.

But the expectation that the fourfold increase in oil prices in 1973 would stimulate a vast expansion in productive capacity simply did not materialize—and *not* because the world is running out of oil.

1979: What Happened?

In brief, the American oil companies created an entirely artificial shortage of gasoline in order to force through price decontrol. They did this by (a) *not* importing crude oil amply available on the world market and (b) *not* refining and marketing the crude oil they did have.

The Saudis did cut back production early in the year, presumably to show displeasure over the Camp David "separate peace" between Egypt and Israel. That action probably pushed up the open ("spot") market price but *in no way* caused the U.S. gasoline crunch. That particular rip-off was manufactured wholly in the U.S.A.

What about the supposed world oil shortage caused by the Iranian crisis? In January-April of this year crude oil production in the Persian Gulf states was only 500 million barrels/day (mb/d)

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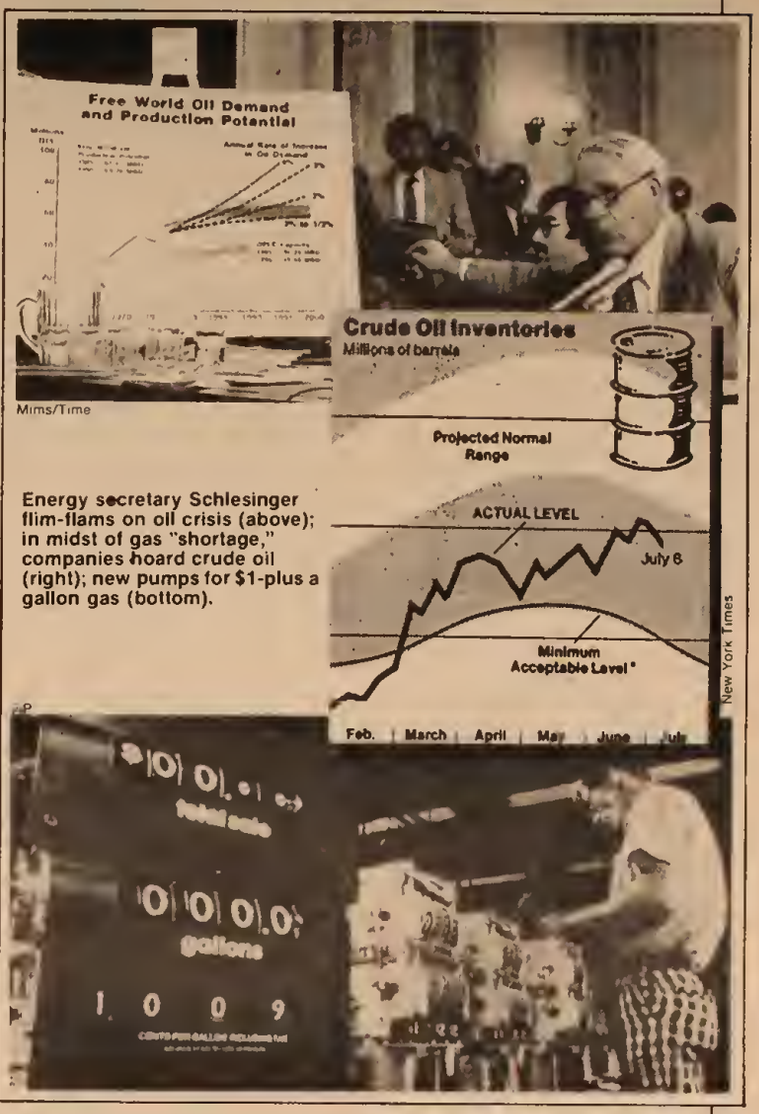

Energy secretary Schlesinger flim-flams on oil crisis (above); in midst of gas "shortage," companies hoard crude oil (right); new pumps for $1-plus a gallon gas (bottom).

Newsweek

U.S. troops train for desert action in 1973 war/oil crisis.

Betrayal in Boston—Why Not Beirut?

Revisionists in Glass Houses...

Ernest Mandel & Co. of the lake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" are used to abandoning one political line for a new one (more in line with their current opportunist appetite) without giving it another thought. But sometimes the cynical crew at the head of the USec are unpleasantly surprised to find their previous betrayals thrown back at them by indignant followers who had taken them seriously and assimilated the last revisionist turn all too well. So it was recently when a heated dispute broke out between the USec and its Lebanese supporters involving a range of what should be, for Marxists, principled differences.

The dispute arose in the aftermath of a criminal Palestinian commando operation on the Tel Aviv-Haifa road in March 1978 in which 37 Israelis were killed and 76 wounded. Using this pretext, Israel carried out a massive invasion of southern Lebanon, turning 200,000 Lebanese and Palestinians into refugees and massacring nearly 1,000 (see "Zionists Grab Southern Lebanon," *Workers Vanguard* No. 198, 24 March 1978). The U.S., fearful lest this full-scale operation by its Zionist ally upset the fragile balance of power and status quo in the Near East, insisted on an immediate session of the UN Security Council to demand Israel's withdrawal and replacement by UN troops. When the troops were sent, the USec issued a statement on 22 March (reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 10 April 1978) denouncing this "dispatch of 'blue helmets'" whose "job can only be to protect the new status quo from the Palestinian movement once the Zionist army has carried out its mopping up operations" and concluding with the demand: "No to UN intervention."

However, at the same time the USec's section in Lebanon, the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), was *welcoming* the UN intervention. The 1 May 1978 *Intercontinental Press* reprinted an interview with a member of the group's Executive Committee who claimed that the intervention had a "dual character," directed "both against the Israeli occupation and against the armed Palestinians." The RCG spokesman stated that, "insofar as [the UN forces] are able to force the Israeli army out of southern Lebanon and to protect the Lebanese border against Zionist intervention, we support the UN forces; to do anything else would be to allow the occupation to continue."

Even for the shameless opportunists of the USec, its Lebanese section's "critical support" to the UN must have been a public embarrassment. Opposition to the UN intervention in southern Lebanon should have been an elementary position for any Marxist. It was the UN partition dismembering the Palestinian nation which gave birth to the Zionist state of Israel. UN "ceasefires" and the UN troops to monitor them have provided imperialist sanction and border guards for each act of Israeli expansionism from the 1948 war to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year. That consignment to southern Lebanon became the fourth such "peacekeeping" force stationed in the Near East after Cyprus, the Golan Heights and the Sinai.

Accentuating the USec's embarrassment, the first soldiers to arrive in southern Lebanon under the UN flag were sent by Israel's historic ally, the shah of Iran! While the USec's Lebanese group was welcoming the shah's soldiers in "blue helmets" as liberators of southern Lebanon from Zionist aggression, the USec's Iranian group, the Sattar League, was denouncing the UN forces and Iran's participation as a "reactionary plot against the right of self-determination of the Arab people" ("Get the Shah's Troops Out of Lebanon Now!", statement issued by the Political Committee of the Sattar League on 7 April, reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 24 April 1978).

The public counterposition generated an exchange of correspondence between the USec and its Lebanese section (since reprinted in the American Socialist Workers Party's *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, May 1979). In a letter dated 17 April, the USec took the RCG to task for backing a UN force which the USec labeled an "army that serves imperialism." Furthermore the RCG had also uncritically defended the Palestinian raid seized on by the Zionists as a pretext for the invasion, saying that "it is not our business to make moral or pseudo-political judgments on this operation." The USec letter objects that an operation targeting all Israelis indiscriminately "does not help assure the long-term mobilization of the Palestinian masses in struggle" and "harms the goal of dividing the Zionist camp and winning the Israeli workers to support the rights of Palestinians." (We should say so.) And the USec criticized the RCG's liquidationist bloc with a nationalist/guerrillaist splinter group, the Palestinian Liberation Front, during the invasion.

Why so late with sage advice against liquidating into petty-bourgeois nationalist "armed struggle"? Too late for the Bolivian USec militants massacred at Teoponte, attempting to carry out the guerrillaist prescriptions of the USec's 1969 Ninth World Congress. And it was the same USec whose leading French section declared, following the senseless kidnapping by Palestinian commandos and resulting slaughter of innocent Israeli athletes at Munich in 1972, that "the action of Black September must be unconditionally supported" (*Rouge*, 30 September 1972).

But now these one-time armchair Guevarists are pursuing more respectable appetites toward the reformist bureaucracies of the mass European workers parties. They now find it expedient to distance themselves with tactical objections from indiscriminate terrorist acts committed in the name of the oppressed, without acknowledging that such acts are indefensible in principle.

Rubinger/Time

Lebanese USec group learned well from SWP betrayal in Boston, welcomed UN troops in Near East (above).

Federal Troops to Boston? Why Not UN Troops to Lebanon?

The RCG did not have so short a memory as the USec leaders might have hoped. So now they hear that UN troops must be opposed because they are an imperialist force? The RCG thought it was reminded of "a little analogy":

> "Take a city in the United States, Boston, for example... You know that during the racial violence in Boston the American Trotskyists did more: they organized a campaign demanding the intervention of federal troops! If memory serves us right, the USec Bureau approved of this campaign."

Correct: the USec's Mandelite majority did endorse the despicable SWP campaign to bring civil rights to Boston on the bayonets of the armed forces of U.S. imperialism. The USec can't have it both ways. If they are willing to betray in Boston, then why not in Beirut?

The RCG goes pretty far in the course of defending its position as fully consistent with the USec's revisionist methodology. The RCG has discovered that "The relationship of forces inside the UN (and outside the UN!) have evolved, and evolved considerably since the Korean War!" According to them, "today the USSR and China participate as permanent and full members with veto rights... the relationship of forces within the General Assembly is no longer favorable to the imperialists." Thus, "UN troops are no longer an imperialist intervention force; they rather constitute *an army charged with preserving the status quo jointly agreed by American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy*" (emphasis in original). But that "status quo" happens to be a world market dominated by imperialism in which those countries where capitalism has been overthrown are encircled and threatened with social counterrevolution. The RCG portrays the UN as a kind of global popular front with the "relation of forces" becoming increasingly unfavorable to imperialism. Thus the RCG applies to the United Nations, that modern-day imperialist "den of thieves" as Lenin aptly called its predecessor, the Pabloist objectivism learned in the USec.

Jullienne/Sygma

No side was "progressive" in Lebanon civil war, 1976. Christian militias slaughtered Muslims in Karantina (left); Palestinian militias (right) joined in Muslim reprisals.

Where Did RCG Guerrillaism Come From?

Who, furthermore, taught the RCG to liquidate into a "left wing" Palestinian commando group? The RCG knows. Bitterly, they ask how the USec can criticize a strategy of which it is the architect:

> "It can be described by a spot formula: a 180 degree turn. How can it be described otherwise when the leadership of our International after having advocated a 'guerrillaist orientation' for our Latin American embryos, an orientation scarcely 'implanted among the toiling masses,' comes around to re-

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World Oil Blowout...

(continued from page 7)

or all of 2.5 percent less than in the same period last year. But in this period Nigeria upped its output by 800 mb/d, more than offsetting the small drop in the Persian Gulf. In short, during this famous "world oil shortage" the OPEC countries as a whole were pumping *more* oil than last year!

Yet between December and April crude oil imports into the U.S. fell about ten percent. Obviously, the companies were *diverting* crude from the U.S. to other markets. It is a known fact that they did not buy crude available on the open market, arguing that it was not sufficiently profitable to sell it in the U.S.

But in any case the companies had plenty of crude; they simply didn't refine it into gasoline. According to official industry statistics, crude oil stockpiles increased 11 percent between late February and the end of June (*Oil and Gas Journal*, 2 February and 2 July). Through this April refineries were running at only 85 percent compared to 90 percent in 1977.

Even energy secretary Schlesinger, no anti-big-oil radical, tried to save his job by chiding the companies for their refining policies, which he termed "unduly conservative" and "not in the national interest." But while Schlesinger was trying to panic everybody over lack of Iranian oil, his department was importing large amounts of crude for the so-called Strategic Petroleum Reserve and burying it in caverns in the ground!

Few American working people follow statistics on world oil production, refinery runs, stockpiling, etc., but there was, nevertheless, a widespread certainty that it was the blackmailing oil companies, not the Arab sheiks, who were the principal villains. The timing of the gas "shortage" with big oil's and Carter's decontrol campaign was just too damned neat to be a coincidence.

The Solution to the Oil Crisis

While the immediate U.S. gasoline "shortage" was artificially created, there are long-term factors making for recurrent oil crises in the capitalist world. Oil as a source of energy is an important overhead capital cost. An increase in the relative price of oil reduces industrial profits and transfers this surplus-value to the owners of the fields and the petroleum industry.

Over a century ago Marx analyzed how an increase in the exchange-value of raw material can lead to a crisis:

> "More must be expended on *raw material*, less remains for labor, and it is not possible to absorb the same quantity of labor as before.... [It] is impossible because a greater *portion of the product* has to be converted into raw material, thus leaving less for conversion into *variable capital* [money-capital expended directly on labor]. Reproduction cannot be *repeated* on the same scale. A part of *fixed capital* stands idle and a part of the workers is thrown out on the streets [emphasis in original].
>
> —K. Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Chapter XVII

It is not surprising therefore that industrial capitalists in general favor cheap energy and this sometimes brings them into conflict with coal, oil, electric power, etc. interests. That is why most advanced capitalist countries have wholly or partially nationalized oil companies. Even before World War I, for example, the British imperialist government set up Anglo-Persian Oil (now British Petroleum), keeping 50 percent ownership.

The American (and West European and Japanese) capitalists have a serious interest in securing Near Eastern oil and not at exorbitant prices, and they have reminded the Persian Gulf satraps that they could get hurt if they pushed things too far.

There is at present plenty of oil in the ground. Proven reserves are 30-35 times current production and can be extracted for a fraction of the present world market price. Saudi Arabia can maintain its existing production for at least the next 60 years at a cost of 10-15 cents a barrel, and new areas like Alaska's North Slope and the southern Gulf of Mexico are potentially very important sources of oil. Furthermore, oilfields which would have been grossly uneconomical to exploit at pre-1970 prices would now be highly profitable. Yet, against the basic rule of textbook capitalist economics, an enormous increase in price has led to a falling off in the expansion of productive capacity. The reason why: the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel does not want to break the price.

The big companies have not used their "obscene profits" to find more oil but rather to buy coal mines, uranium deposits and nuclear reactors and generally to transform themselves into conglomerates. In one of the largest such deals on record, Mobil paid $1.2 billion for Montgomery Ward, the mail order house. Exxon is now offering over $1 billion for Reliance Electrical, an electrical manufacturer.

Like the Seven Sisters, the oil-producing countries have chosen *not* to expand their capacity. New, potentially big exporters, notably Mexico, have been careful not to flood the market and break the OPEC price. The Saudis have done little to expand their pumping capacity, in part as a bargaining weapon against Israel. In 1972, for example, Yamani offered to produce 20 mb/d (twice its present 1979 capacity) if Washington would drop its support to Zionism.

That the world market price of an important raw material like oil is now 200 times the cost of production is a particularly glaring instance of how capitalism strangles economic life and impoverishes the masses. A global socialist system would be able to produce more than enough oil until the world economy could be shifted mainly to the likes of nuclear fusion and solar energy, but capitalism is incapable of rational economic planning.

Just as the world oil crises are caused by the collaboration of the imperialist multinationals and feudal rulers of the Persian Gulf, so a *revolutionary internationalist* solution requires the *unity* of the working classes in the advanced capitalist countries and the Near East. In Arabia's great Ghawar oilfield, Palestinian workers slave for a few dollars a day so that Sheik Yamani can jet-set with Exxon chairman Clifton Garvin. In California and New York workers swelter waiting to buy gas so that Clifton Garvin can jet-set with Sheik Yamani. The solution to the oil crisis is to overthrow the parasitic scum atop Houston's Exxon building as well as in the oil ministry in Riyadh in order to build a workers world. ■

Carter's "Synthetic Solution":

Higher Prices, Higher Profits

After all the sermonizing, moralizing and breast-beating, what is Carter's great all-American answer to "the energy crisis"? A crash synthetic fuel program. From a strictly technical standpoint it's possible. It cost is no object, as is the case in total war, an advanced industrial country can replace its crude oil imports with synthetics.

Nazi Germany did it in World War II. Between 1938 and 1943 Germany's crude oil imports fell from 5.0 to 2.7 billion tons, but synthetics more than made up the difference, increasing from 1.6 to 5.7 billion tons (U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on the German War Economy* [1945]). But war-time Germany's synthetic fuel program required no small share of its total industrial resources, for example, about 10 percent of finished steel products.

Synthetic fuel is expensive, more expensive than OPEC oil. The lowest cost estimate for producing oil through coal liquification is about $25 a barrel or 25 percent higher than the world market price of crude petroleum. So the result of the synthetic "solution" will be higher gas and fuel prices, greater profits for the oil companies and probably also for OPEC.

But working people in this country are fed up with the typical capitalist solution of ever higher prices. While American workers do not have a generalized anti-capitalist consciousness, they know the oil companies are ripping them off and they want to *get Big Oil*. The demand for those sweating on the gas lines and shop floors is for the government to expropriate the oil industry, to produce gas and heating fuel for use not profit.

Deer Hunter...

(continued from page 2)

than a few NLF in expressing his 'class solidarity' for Nick and Steve [his buddies]."

Clarke's review has scandalized even the usually shameless SWP. In Sydney, SWP ranks are reportedly squirming, trying to get off the hook by blaming the author personally (a frequent SWP writer and public spokesman). But this won't do, because the question remains: How could an ostensibly socialist organization print such a bizarre and disgusting defense of lying, reactionary propaganda? The answer is that it is entirely consistent with the SWP's historic refusal to draw the class line in the Vietnam War.

The side of the working class was the *other side* in Vietnam. It was this fundamental fact of the class struggle which the SWP deliberately ignored when they refused to call for military victory to the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S. imperialism and Saigon. Furthermore, today the SWP writes about "working-class solidarity" in philistine glorification of the most backward, chauvinist "camaraderie." But in the antiwar movement the SWP actively opposed Spartacist calls for labor strikes against the war. Instead, spreading social-patriotic and pacifist illusions, the SWP built an alliance with the McGoverns and Hartkes, the imperialist "doves" who opposed the war as contrary to the best interests of U.S. imperialism.

Is it really so surprising that those who yesterday marched to "bring our boys home" today applaud Cimino's "Big Lie" in the service of imperialist rearmament as an indictment of the "tragedy" and "violence" inflicted on "our boys"? ■

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Somozaland

"The revolution taking place in Nicaragua is no ordinary political movement pitting left against right, or civilians against the military. Rather, it is a national mutiny in which almost every sector of the country—left and right, rich and poor—is united against a dynastic dictatorship that is now sustained exclusively by the 7,500-man National Guard, and that enjoys political support only from Somoza's own Liberal Party." So wrote the perceptive American reporter Alan Riding a year ago in the *New York Times Magazine* (30 July 1978). And last month, when the State Department tried to gain support for a "moderate" interim government to "peacefully" replace Somoza while leaving his mercenary National Guard intact, it found no takers even among conservative businessmen. In fact, at the end only those capitalists whose family fortunes are intimately linked to Somoza's own fate had not passed into the camp of the Sandinista-led rebellion.

In order to understand the background to this state of affairs, it is necessary to take a look at how Nicaragua became a sort of "Somoza, Inc." Since the 19th century the history of Nicaragua has been dominated by the intervention of American imperialism, with the willing acceptance of the docile native *(criollo)* bourgeoisie. In 1855 the American William Walker, the original "filibusterer" (adventurer), was invited by the Nicaraguan Liberal Party to lead their civil war against the Conservatives. Walker, who had previously staged an unsuccessful attempt to found an "independent republic" in the Mexican territories of Baja California and Sonora, defeated the Conservative army...and thereupon set up his own government. For the remainder of the century American and British imperialists disputed over whose "sphere of influence" included Nicaragua and its possible Pacific-Caribbean canal route.

But the modern history of Nicaragua began with the U.S.-sponsored overthrow of the Liberal regime of José Santos Zelaya in 1909 and the imposition, through "dollar diplomacy" and "big stick" interventions, of a series of puppet governments. The hapless Nicaraguan president had made the fatal mistake of negotiating loans and canal plans with Japan and Great Britain. As punishment, Teddy Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, had Zelaya removed and from 1912 to 1925 a Marine expeditionary force occupied the country. In order to guarantee repayment of a $2 million debt the U.S. government took over the Customs House while U.S. bankers took over the Banco de Nicaragua and the national railroad. The 1916 Bryan-Chamorro treaty gave the U.S. rights to a Nicaraguan canal and a 198-year lease for naval bases.

Augusto César Sandino

La Prensa

UPI

Top, Anastasio Sr., Luis and "Tachito" in 1954; dynastic dictatorship made in USA. Bottom, 1972 earthquake killed 10,000; "Tachito" lined pockets from devastation.

From 1916 to 1923 members of the powerful Conservative Chamorro family ran the Nicaraguan government for the U.S. When a maverick Conservative won the 1924 elections, dissatisfied loser Emiliano Chamorro led a coup d'état and called on the U.S. to back him. Two thousand Marines intervened to defeat the Liberals and the U.S., reshuffling the political deck, imposed the presidency of Adolfo Diaz. The Liberal generals, with the exception of Augusto César Sandino, surrendered and agreed to accept a U.S.-supervised election in 1928, providing it would be won by the Liberal Party (it was). For six years the Marines unsuccessfully attempted to put down Sandino's revolt, which ended only after the U.S. troops withdrew in 1933. In that time the U.S. built the National Guard and placed Anastasio Somoza Garcia at its head. A "peace" with Sandino was arranged through the good offices of Somoza's patron, the U.S. ambassador Arthur Bliss-Lane, who invited Sandino to a dinner party at the presidential palace on February 21, 1934 where Somoza's Guardsmen assassinated the nationalist leader.

Like the rich *criollo* families he succeeded in power, Somoza and his sons Luis and Anastasio ("Tacho," the current dictator) proved loyal servants of U.S. imperialism. At one point the portrait of U.S. ambassador Turner Shelton even appeared on a Nicaraguan $3 bill! With its bloody repressions and shameless service to Wall Street interests, the Somoza dynasty achieved infamy as the quintessential American puppet dictatorship in Latin America. But the main concern of the Somozas has always been enriching themselves in office. By the time Somoza I was assassinated in 1956 he had amassed a tremendous fortune and left his sons an empire known to Latin Americans as "Somozalandia."

The Somoza family fortune has been estimated by the Spanish magazine *Cambio 16* (22 October 1978) at more than $1.5 billion. This is quite a tidy sum in a country of only 2.5 million people and with a per capita gross national product in 1977 of only $838.30 per person. Somoza holdings include the national airline, the national shipping line, Mercedes Benz and other auto distributorships, a newspaper, TV and radio stations, tobacco, oil and construction companies, an estimated 20-30 percent of the arable land in Nicaragua, fishing companies, meat packers and the country's major Pacific port (named—what else?—Puerto Somoza). The bloodthirsty Somoza even bankrolled a vampire industry known as "Plasmaféresis" which exported blood plasma extracted from Nicaraguans to the U.S.

Somoza's properties, amounting to an estimated 40 percent of the Nicaraguan economy, are not even disguised through phony holding companies or front men. A government agency called the "Office of Supervision and Control of the Properties of General Anastasio Somoza Débayle" openly administered the tyrant's empire. But the full extent of Somoza's interests in Nicaraguan concerns and his foreign holdings can only be guessed. Long ago Nicaraguan entrepreneurs learned that the only way to avoid ruinous taxes and bribes was to give "Tacho" a piece of the action. In addition the dictator owns Miami real estate, a foreign publishing house and the coal mines of Colombia.

He also "owns" at least two U.S. Congressmen, Charles Wilson of Texas and John Murphy of New York, co-leaders of the "Somoza lobby" of Cuban expatriates and other reactionaries who continue to trumpet that the alternative to Somoza is "Castro Communism" in Nicaragua. When Jimmy Carter's new ambassador showed up in Somoza's office some weeks ago to "request" the dictator's resignation he found to his surprise that Somoza had invited the Staten Island Democrat Murphy to sit in on the negotiations. Somoza did not survive in power for so long without cultivating intimate ties with rich and powerful American sponsors. Former Ambassador Turner Shelton (he of the $3 bill) had run the Bahamas financial operations of Nixon friend Bebe Rebozo, and Somoza's "hospitality" once extended also to Howard Hughes, who spent a couple of years ensconced in a Managua penthouse.

"The Rebellion of the Bourgeoisie"

For years the traditional aristocratic families and small businessmen were willing to tie their fortunes to the Somozas' profiteering. Disaffection with Somoza among businessmen dates from the shameless legal looting and ruinous speculation that followed the catastrophic earthquake of 1972. As described by Francisco Lainez, founding president of the Banco Central de Nicaragua, in his book *Terremoto 72: Elites y Pueblo*, Somoza used the disaster (which claimed 10,000 lives and left a quarter of a million homeless) to garner immense profits. Downtown Managua was demolished and reconstruction prohibited—in order to force the relocation of the business community on "safer" suburban real estate owned by Somoza and his cronies, who demanded extortionate rents for the once-worthless land. Millions of dollars in international aid was appropriated by Somoza and distributed through the network of local Liberal Party patronage bosses to *el Jefe*'s friends. Earthquake damages were vastly inflated in order to secure huge loans from foreign governments and banks. The money was distributed to Somoza-owned construction firms through the Somoza-owned Banco de Centroamérica with the excess cash disappearing into the dictator's pocket.

Even by the standards of a banana republic the corruption and profiteering were outrageous. Moreover, the capitalist families not cut in on Somoza's rip-offs began to feel the pinch. It was this, rather than any "democratic" principles, which motivated the bourgeois opposition to the regime. At first the dissident businessmen tried various negotiations and pressure tactics in Managua and Washington, but to no avail. Meanwhile, however, in 1975 the Sandinista guerrillas split into two rival "Marxist" factions and a third (*tercerista*) faction arose which explicitly renounced any talk of socialist revolution and looked for bourgeois allies. In a well-publicized incident in May 1977, Joaquin Cuadra Chamorro, the richest lawyer in Nicaragua, paid a clandestine visit to his only son Joaquin Cuadra Lacayo, a leader of the *terceristas* and heir to the family wealth. The elder Cuadra came back endorsing the Sandinista front. In an interview with the *New York Times*' Alan Riding he explained why.

> "He said the guerrillas wanted to ally themselves with other groups and that I could play a role. So we reached an

agreement with the clear understanding that socialism was not possible for Nicaragua. I saw my role as trying to rescue our youth from radicalism."

—*New York Times Magazine*, 30 July 1978.

Shortly thereafter the Group of Twelve (Los Doce), composed of academics, priests and businessmen (including Chamorro), was formed as spokesman for the *terceristas* in the bourgeois opposition.

The Nicaraguan working masses have risen against decades of murderous rule by Somoza, Inc., vowing to avenge the unarmed youths rounded up and murdered in Esteli, León and Masaya after last fall's failed insurrection. With the cry "Death to Somoza," workers and poor peasants answer the massacre of hundreds of peasants in the northern mountains in 1977 and the callous profiteering of the avaricious dynasty after the tragic earthquake. At the same time, Nicaraguan capitalists and the "moderate" Sandinista leaders are trying to "rescue" the country from the possibility of a social revolution in "Somozalandia." While calling for military victory to the Sandinista-led insurrection, Trotskyists do not look to the Chamorros and Cuadras as the "democratic" saviors of Nicaragua. Instead we demand: No more Somozas—Workers to power! ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

that it was the destruction of Fulgencio Batista's Cuban army by Castro's July 26 Movement that opened up the possibility of a revolutionary transformation of Cuban society. So in order to win Washington's blessing for the provisional government the FSLN softened its original hard-line insistence that Somoza's praetorian guard be demolished. In mid-June a junta spokesman announced that "deserters" from the National Guard would be welcome in a new "nationalist army." Under U.S. pressure the junta announced on July 12 that with the exception of Guard soldiers guilty of "grave crimes against the people," the post-Somoza armed forces could incorporate the entire Guard. Finally, the junta caved in completely and indicated that the mass murderers and torturers who wanted to escape would be allowed to do so.

Will the agreement with Somoza's U.S. patrons put a halt to the revolutionary ferment in Nicaragua? For the last two years, the armed clashes have been led by the dominant *tercerista* ("Third") faction of the FSLN, which is closely tied to leading business circles and firmly committed to maintaining a capitalist framework. A *tercerista* column proceeding from Costa Rica launched the current offensive. But meanwhile, the more leftist Prolonged People's War (GPP) Sandinista faction has taken power in the northern towns. And in the capital of Managua there have reportedly arisen numerous defense committees, led by the FSLN's Proletarian Faction and its pro-Moscow Stalinist allies, which have drawn considerable numbers of workers and poor into the fighting. As the civil war dragged on, the social/political situation began to open up in the direction of a mass insurrection. The deal with Washington was aimed at cutting short this possibility.

Revolutionary Trotskyists emphatically denounce the FSLN's decision to allow Somoza's mercenary officers, drenched in the blood of Nicaragua's working people, to retain their posts after the dictator's downfall. Rather than "deploring" so-called "excesses" of the working masses who have conducted summary trials and executions of National Guard criminals, we call for the systematic creation of popular tribunals to mete out revolutionary justice to Somoza's hutchers. Communists in Nicaragua must demand the formation of workers militias, not the reconstitution of the bourgeois army. Such militias, based on the organs of working-class self-defense which have sprung up in Managua and other cities, could serve as the basis for a new state power, one which could expropriate not only Somoza's ill-gotten holdings but those of *all* the Nicaraguan and foreign capitalists.

The rebel junta, which has now been told by U.S. envoy Bowdler that "you are the government of Nicaragua," was set up by the petty-bourgeois FSLN leaders precisely in order to head off the possibility of anti-capitalist social revolution. While in the months of bitter fighting proletarian revolutionaries stood on the side of the insurgency led by the FSLN against Somoza and the National Guard, we give no political confidence whatsoever to the "government of national reconstruction" and its plans for a capitalist Nicaragua without Somoza.

The Sandinista-sponsored junta is a straitjacket imposed on the masses in order to strike a deal with Washington, which exerted tremendous pressure via the Latin American bourgeois regimes (Panama, Costa Rica, Venezuela) which were a principal support of the FSLN. The State Department signaled approval by finally okaying the departure of Somoza. Whether or not the Nicaraguan working people will submit to the yoke is another question. Hatred must run deep against the bloody butchers who murdered thousands of courageous youth, leaving their bodies to rot in the streets until the Red Cross buried them in ubiquitous mass graves. And after the slaughter of the last year and a half, it will not be easy to voluntarily disarm *los muchachos* ("the kids") who bore the brunt of the fighting.

As the erstwhile "business opposition" to Somoza scrambles to secure influence in the new regime, working-class revolutionaries must seek to turn political into social revolution. Raising demands to defend the masses (workers militia) and root out the dictatorship (smash the National Guard, set up people's tribunals to try the Somozaist criminals), we seek to build mass opposition to the deal imposed by Washington. Calling for political independence from the FSLN-backed junta, for thorough-going agrarian revolution and expropriation of all the exploiters, we seek to block the imposition of a new capitalist regime (whether dominated by traditional Conservative Party families or a more left-leaning "popular front"). But what is tragically missing in Nicaragua today is the key element, a revolutionary Trotskyist party, to carry the anti-Somoza struggle forward to lasting victory—to a workers and peasants government, a Central American workers republic and a Socialist United States of Latin America ■

Revisionists...

(continued from page 8)

proaching our Lebanese embryo for having participated in an anti-imperialist resistance war waged by the entirety of the political mass movement of its country?"

Just as the USec squandered a layer of subjectively revolutionary Latin American youth, it bears responsibility for miseducating this important group of Arab militants. They could have become more than another group of "far left" Arab nationalists, had not Mandel *et al.* criminally misled them. The RCG adapted to petty-bourgeois nationalism under enormous pressures for disorientation in a small, beleaguered and backward country. They have themselves been the targets of the Palestinian nationalists they tail, as they were in December 1973 when their militants in Beirut were set upon by armed nationalist thugs for the "crime" of handing out a leaflet co-signed by the Israeli USec group.

When the savage, inter-communal bloodletting between Muslims and Christians broke out in 1976, the RCG placed itself in the camp of the "progressive" Muslim "left." But they were not blind to the fighting "which never went beyond a religious framework," the "revenge by the Muslim, progressive and Palestinian forces... no less brutal" than the Christian militias, the "increasing depoliticization of the majority of the combatants" as described by two RCG leaders in the book, *Comprendre le Liban* (Understanding Lebanon).

The most consistent Pabloists have often ended up by becoming identical politically with the non-proletarian forces they started out tailing opportunistically. The RCG has gone a long way down the road toward outright bourgeois nationalism, the reactionary consequences of which they have at times been forced to confront concretely. In the framework of the USec, there was no alternative to propose. Yet in Lebanon and the Near East as a whole, the Trotskyist program of international working-class solidarity and proletarian-led socialist revolution could have a powerful impact in cutting across the cycle of national/communal conflict intractable within the framework of capitalism. It is a crime that the USec, in the guise of Trotskyism, slipped the Arab militants who looked to it for leadership the crassest opportunism. ■

Demo...

(continued from page 12)

capitalist provisional government, but of a Trotskyist party...."

The SL speaker ended with a call for a Central American workers republic in a Socialist United States of Latin America.

Comrade Silva's remarks were followed by those of a spokesman for Sandinistas for Socialism, who called for a "workers and peasants government, a government based on the expropriation of the landlords, a government based on the expropriation of the manufacturing means of production of the bourgeoisie..." (our translation). But the speaker's presentation, as well as the group's publications, reveal that the SSN hesitates between the program of revolutionary Marxism and nationalist reformism.

The SSN's contradictions are captured in its very choice of name: they have a desire to be "socialist" but do not break from the popular-nationalist tradition which bears the name of Augusto Sandino, the Liberal Party general who led a guerrilla struggle against the U.S. Marine occupation of Nicaragua from 1927-1933. Hence they are "Sandinistas for Socialism" and, moreover, for socialism "in Nicaragua." With this myopic nationalist world view the SSN has flinched from the hard imperatives of revolutionary strategy and program. Moreover, struggle for programmatic clarity would threaten the SSN's notion of a "family of the Nicaraguan left." Their journal, *Rojo y Negro*, simply reprints without comment articles from a wide variety of sources: Amnesty International, the "Proletarian Tendency" of the FSLN, Sandino's memoirs, the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) and its Nicaraguan affiliate. Members of Sandinistas for Socialism have recently described themselves as Trotskyists. But they barely mention the key task—construction of a Trotskyist party—and do not say that it must be built through politically combating the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista movement and tradition. Nor has it criticized the pseudo-Trotskyist USec.

Significantly, Sandinistas for Socialism has failed to take an unambiguous position on the key question facing revolutionists in Nicaragua: class opposition to the bourgeois provisional junta sponsored by the FSLN. At the rally the SSN speaker said that "We do not believe that the five-member junta represents the historic interests of the peasants and workers of Nicaragua. But we are firmly convinced that only a military victory of the anti-Somozaist rebels will open up in Nicaragua a process of mobilization in which we who are for socialist and revolutionary objectives are going to continue on until the end." This leaves the door open to supporting the junta as a necessary stage in the revolutionary "process." In contrast, SL placards demanded: "No to popular fronts—Workers to power!"

Thus, the Sandinistas for Socialism is not a revolutionary organization but an eclectic, centrist grouping. The choice facing the SSN is clear: to continue along the road of Nicaraguan-centered "movementism" and become loyal left-critics of the junta or to look beyond the narrow confines of Nicaraguan nationalism, assimilating the lessons of the more than half century of life-and-death struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism. Most recently the terrible consequences of Stalinist/social-democratic class collaborationism were seen in Chile, where tens of thousands of workers and leftists died because the popular front led them to the bloody debacle of the Pinochet coup. Those who seek to be genuine proletarian revolutionists in Nicaragua must break sharply with the Sandinista tradition in order to take up the struggle for reforging the Fourth International on firm revolutionary principles. The alternative is to follow the path of left-wing *sandinismo* to eventual betrayal. ■

Anwar...

(continued from page 3)

Damon Lewis. Their resolution condemned the recent dropping of Knight's and Lewis' grievances by the International and declared "that USWA Local 65 pledges its defense of all union militants victimized for honoring picket lines."

The local USWA tops have voted for these resolutions and declared to the press that they support Anwar's reinstatement. But a vigorous rank-and-file mobilization will be necessary to make sure these promises and pledges of support are carried out by the no-strike USWA bureaucracy. The trade-union leaders who have been herding workers across picket lines for years cannot be relied upon to defend militant workers whose actions of solidarity expose the leadership's class-collaborationist policies.

A victory for Anwar will be a victory for the principles of union solidarity and the program of class struggle. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash the National Guard!
No Asylum for Butcher Somoza!

Sandinista Victors Make Deal With Carter

Sandinista guerrillas in Managua gun battle. Lochon/Gamma-Liaison

Just ten days after pledging that "I'm ready to fight to the death," Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the bloodthirsty dictator whose family ran Nicaragua in the interests of U.S. imperialism for more than four decades, packed his bags and climbed into his private Learjet that would take him into exile in the U.S. As his regime crumbled around him last month Somoza blustered that "I'm not going to abandon my military men like the shah of Iran." But when the word came from Washington that an "orderly transition" had been arranged to the U.S.' satisfaction, the shah of Nicaragua rounded up 100 of the top commanders of his mercenary National Guard and lit out for Miami, where the thousands of counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* and assorted deposed Latin American dictators should make the *somocistas* feel right at home.

"History will say I'm right," the tyrant declared just before he fled his Hitler-style concrete bunker in Managua. But the Nicaraguan masses who heroically shed their blood to rid the country of the Somoza dynasty will regret the departure of "Tacho" and his gang only because it has cheated them of their just revenge for 40 years of torture and murder at the hands of Somoza's National Guard. Six hundred thousand Nicaraguans are homeless and 20,000, most of them civilians, have died in the fighting according to the Red Cross. Yet the U.S. imperialists deliberately prolonged the agony of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants by insisting on iron-clad guarantees against leftist domination of the post-Somoza government.

As we go to press, the deal at the top seems to be taking hold. U.S. envoy William Bowdler, who handled negotiations in San José, Costa Rica, reportedly told the Sandinista-backed junta that they now had the crucial vote: Jimmy Carter's. Appropriately the first token of recognition was a jump rope, presented to junta member Violetta Chamorro. Meanwhile, Somoza and his commanders are getting home free: after looting and raping the country for 40 years, they receive safe passage through the good offices of the Catholic Church to retirement in Miami or Honolulu. The FSLN tops guaranteed that there would be no reprisals in order to avoid "another Iran," and Latin American foreign ministers will be invited to "supervise" the transition.

After a steady series of victories by the armed rebels of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) had convinced Washington that Somoza could no longer effectively serve as the U.S.' Nicaraguan straw boss, attention shifted to the negotiating table in San José where representatives of the FSLN-sponsored "government of national reconstruction" bargained with Bowdler over the transition to a new regime. After deciding that direct military intervention was diplomatically unwise, the U.S.' trump cards were its control over the date of Somoza's departure, leverage over the Latin states which supply the FSLN with arms and control over the billions of dollars in reconstruction aid that the new government will need. Washington's carrot-and-stick diplomacy was designed to prevent the destruction of the National Guard, which the U.S. views as a bulwark against the possibility of a "second Cuba," and to force the inclusion of more right-wing elements in the FSLN-supported junta.

The FSLN leaders have proven to be nothing if not willing to compromise. The five-member junta includes only one Sandinista and of the twelve members named so far in an 18-person cabinet, eleven are businessmen or technocrats and only one a guerrilla leader. The planning and economy minister named by the junta, Roberto Mayorga, is former Secretary General of the Central American Common Market and has flatly declared that "the state should not be administering farms and industries" (*New York Times*, 10 June). The U.S. eventually agreed to accept the makeup of the rebel junta, which already includes three representatives of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie, in exchange for the capitulation to the U.S. by the junta and the FSLN on the key question of the National Guard.

However eager the Sandinistas and their bourgeois allies have been to prove their loyalty to "free enterprise" imperialism, the U.S. remembered all too well

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100 March at Anti-Somoza Demo in L.A.

LOS ANGELES, July 11—"U.S./OAS: Hands Off Nicaragua! Military Victory to the Anti-Somoza Rebels!" These chants echoed through the streets of downtown Los Angeles July 6 as more than 100 demonstrators marched to the Nicaraguan consulate, calling for the overthrow of the bloody Somoza dictatorship and protesting the U.S.' "Big Stick" proposal to send a "peacekeeping" force to the aid of their puppet ruler. The Los Angeles united-front demonstration was jointly sponsored by the Spartacist League (SL) and the Sandinistas por el Socialismo en Nicaragua (SSN). While the SL and SSN acted in opposition to the U.S.-sponsored Somoza dynasty and for the military victory of the insurgency against it, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) refused to endorse or participate in the demonstration. So did the Revolutionary Socialist League, which sent a single token supporter. Both groups justified this abstention on the basis that they supported the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional (FSLN).

As the spirited demonstration passed through the crowded and predominantly Hispanic downtown shopping district on its way to the Somoza consulate the protesters took up chants in English and Spanish. SL slogans included "Carter's human rights means Somoza/Pinochet!" "¡Ni olvido, ni perdón, Somoza al paredón!" (Neither forget nor forgive, Somoza to the wall!), and "Down with butcher Somoza, for a workers and peasants government!" The SSN militants carried two banners reading: "E.U. fuera de Nicaragua" (U.S. out of Nicaragua), and "Por un gobierno obrero-campesino" (For a worker-peasant government). SSN supporters chanted slogans such as "Luchar, vencer, obreros al poder" (Struggle, win, workers to power), and "Que muera el somocismo, que viva el socialismo" (Death to Somozaism, long live socialism).

At a brief rally in front of the consulate SL spokesman José Silva addressed the crowd in English and Spanish, calling for military victory to the insurgency led by the FSLN but warning that,

> "The blood of the toiling masses must not have been spilled in vain.... Only the Trotskyists are committed to take the anti-Somoza struggle through to the end, smashing capitalism, not only in Nicaragua but throughout the Americas. The Trotskyist program of permanent revolution demands the end of the latifundia [big landlords' holdings] through radical agrarian revolution and the expropriation of industry and commerce under a workers and peasants government. Such revolutionary tasks require the leadership not of the petty-bourgeois FSLN, who have already named a junta of five to head a

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WV Photo

Spartacist League marches in L.A. protest.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 237 3 August 1979

Democrats Call for Prayer as Economy Goes to Hell

Carter Totaled?

JULY 31—For those who thought Jimmy Carter's firing of half his cabinet two weeks ago, touching off a governmental crisis, was a "self-inflicted wound," the conclusion seemed inescapable: "Some sort of mental problem," said Senator Ted Stevens (Rep.-Alaska) on the Senate floor. "We are wondering if he is having some sort of a breakdown" (*New York Times*, 21 July). So it was Rosalynn to the rescue of the president's failing popularity and suspect rationality, giving the press a vigorous defense of her husband's mental health.

Indeed, there was good cause for wondering about Carter's episode of apparent political irrationality beginning with his canceled press conference July 5. Everything he had done made things worse. And the economy was already in deep trouble when he began: mass layoffs sending tens of thousands of auto workers to the unemployment lines; inflation at a 28-year high and going up; the dollar sinking fast in the international money market; the public still fuming over monster gas lines on both coasts and worried about future gas and heating oil shortages. With all this mounting anxiety about the economy and anger over the Big Oil rip-off, instead of downplaying the crisis Carter has cast it in broad historical terms, focusing on his "leadership" and on the "future of the nation" and its "system of free enterprise." Thus, he treated the sharp conjunctural crisis in the economy as a global political issue and test for U.S. capitalism.

For villains he chose, as expected, OPEC and "Washington." But in his Sunday Night Sermon on July 15, in a move of supreme assurance and stupidity, he blamed the American people. Calling for a renewed faith in god and country, Carter railed against the idolatrous Americans who "worship self-indulgence and consumption." He demanded austerity and sacrifice because it would help Americans repent for their sins. "Owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning," he preached as the GNP took a big dip and consumer spending ebbed as real income fell. "We have learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose." And he quoted approvingly one of the talking smile buttons who came to visit him in his Camp David Wilderness: "We've got to stop crying and start sweating; stop talking and start walking; stop cursing and start praying." What desperate arrogance of power he displays in this "let 'em walk, let 'em pray" hucksterism that imitates the political message of Marie Antoinette in the style of Oral Roberts.

Let Carter sell it to the laid-off auto workers at Dodge Main. Let him try to tell them the layoffs are the result of their own "self-indulgence," a matter of loss of faith. Let him tell the American motorist to walk along the highways which cost billions of dollars, that knit together the patchwork demography of an America designed to suit Big Oil, auto industrialists and capitalist politicians. Let him go to the gas lines in his jet plane and helicopter to tell Americans that they are "guzzlers" and that the oil cartel needs government subsidies. Let him tell those who will freeze this winter for lack of fuel or the money to pay for it they should pray for heat.

There *is* a crisis of confidence in America. But Americans are not hamboozled into believing they have lost confidence in themselves. They have no confidence that Big Oil will do anything but rip them off. They have no confidence that the government can do anything to stop wild inflation or deepening

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Nathons/Gamma-Liaison

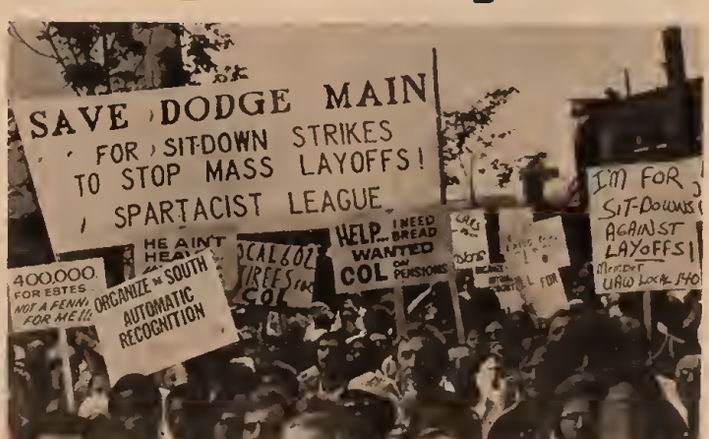
Remember the "new Nixon"?

Fraser Fiddles in Contract Talks

UAW Must Stop the Layoffs!

JULY 29—As 1979 contract talks opened between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Big Three auto companies, the first waves of a massive economic downturn crashed over the industry. Triggered by the manipulated gas shortage cooked up by Big Oil with the connivance of Jimmy Carter, auto sales have plummeted, inventories are at record levels and the introduction of 1980 models has been delayed. The mounting unemployment in auto has now become industrywide, as giant General Motors announced this weekend the indefinite layoff of more than 12,000 auto workers in plants stretching from Flint, Michigan to Los Angeles.

The GM workers join another 12,000 Ford workers and almost 20,000 Chrysler workers already out on the streets as a result of plant and shift closings. And the thousands of auto workers who still have jobs justly fear a repeat of the horrors of the 1974-75 depression, as almost everyone from government officials to private economists predicts more production cutbacks and unemployment to come. A strategy to fight the mass layoffs has become urgently necessary for all auto workers who are now under the ax.



WV Photo

Detroit autoworkers, angry over Dodge Main closing, protest at Chrysler headquarters, July 19.

Only a few months ago most of these unemployed auto workers were slaving ten hours a day, six days a week on the assembly line. Even then they were only barely keeping up with a 14 percent rate of inflation, the highest in the U.S. since 1946. For auto workers, such alternating periods of grueling overtime and mass unemployment are nothing new. Yet as UAW members confront the familiar evils of inflation and mounting layoffs in the 1979 contract negotiations, they do so with growing awareness of the need for a new strategy to defend their living standards.

The 1974 depression, in which 300,000 auto workers—almost 40 percent of the workforce—were jobless, made it clear that the industry's Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) program was no answer to mass layoffs. In 1974-75 both the Chrysler and General Motors SUB funds ran dry. Tens of thousands of auto workers subsisted on greatly reduced or no income at all, while many were forced to give up homes and automobiles.

Five years ago, the UAW was successful in persuading many workers that it was Nixon, Ford and the Republican Party that were responsible for the economic crisis. But this year it is Carter and the Democratic Party whose sponsorship of higher prices and ballooning profits for the oil companies

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Stalinists Falsify UAW Demo

Daily World Does It Again

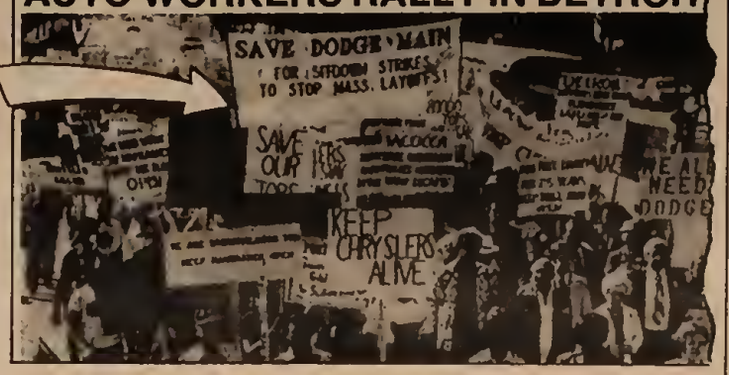
At least it proved that the editors of the Communist Party USA's *Daily World* had earned well their diplomas from the Stalinist school of falsification. In Stalin's heyday, *Pravda* would blithely obliterate Trotsky's figure as he stood next to Lenin on a speakers platform. This time it was a wirephoto of a July 19 United Auto Workers (UAW) demonstration in Detroit which prominently showed a Spartacist League banner calling for sit-down strikes to fight mass layoffs. The *New York Times* and Detroit *Free Press* both ran the UPI photo with our banner the following day. And so did the *Daily World*—after pasting a piece of white tape across the picture to obliterate the SL name (see above, right).

The march rallied 400 people outside Chrysler headquarters to protest the planned closing of Dodge Main, the company's largest assembly plant, in nearby Hamtramck. Called by Solidarity House to coincide with the opening of contract talks with the Big Three auto manufacturers, the small turnout and lackluster speeches reflected the UAW bureaucracy's strategy of pleading with the bosses rather than mobilizing the union ranks. Union signs included the plaintive, "Carter, We'd Like to Hear From You" and a chauvinist demand to "Save American Jobs—No More Deals with Foreign Companies."

The SL banner reading "Save Dodge Main—For Sit-Down Strikes to Stop Mass Layoffs" stood out in bold relief against this background. And not only in the UPI photo. In union meetings, newspaper articles and Detroit-area radio and TV, the Spartacist League and union militants who agree with its class-struggle program have provided the only real answer to the shift layoffs and plant shutdowns now hitting the industry.

From the professional liars of the CPUSA, who habitually tail the UAW tops, we expect no better than the crude scissors and tape job in the 20 July *Daily World*. The only surprising thing is that they printed the picture at all. You know, Gus, you can get into big trouble with Doug Fraser and the boys at Solidarity House by messing around with calls for sit-down strikes. When your game is reformist opportunism, slander is often not enough. Better to leave talk of plant occupations to the "Trotskyites" than to start playing around with fire.

AUTO WORKERS RALLY IN DETROIT



UPI

SLer on Detroit TV

Like They Did At Flint

The projected closing of Chrysler's Dodge Main plant is a hot issue in Detroit. So at the beginning of the 6 p.m. news on July 26, WGPR-TV (Channel 62) broadcast a round-up of local opinion on the subject. In the course of the interviews, the schemes of assorted labor bureaucrats and "friends of labor" capitalist politicians were exposed as utterly unworkable. The program also graphically demonstrated that there are only two clear answers now being put forward to deal with the mass layoffs in auto—the companies' ruthless pursuit of profits or the class-struggle strategy of the Spartacist League.

When asked what the state legislature planned to do, Democratic state representative Perry Bullard told the Channel 62 reporter that they had just passed a bill giving "advice" on how to turn the closed plant into a joint employee-community owned project. In the next breath, however, he admitted this would be "difficult" because "the Chrysler Corporation, of course, will probably not allow its continued operation as a worker-ownership type of system."

Next at bat was Hamtramck mayor William Kozerski who said *his* "alternative plan" was to turn Dodge Main into an "industrial park"! The very next speaker, an industrial planner, explained it would take no less than 25 years to redevelop the land!

That brought up UAW vice president Marc Stepp, head of the union's Chrysler division, who said the union's plan was "to continue to try to persuade the Chrysler Corporation from closing the Hamtramck Assembly Plant"—i.e., keep on begging. At the same time, Stepp was pushing for federal subsidies.

Both plans were deflated moments later when Chrysler spokesman Howard Rydholm replied that even if Uncle Sam coughed up the dough, the company would probably close the plant anyway: "The purpose of being in business," said Rydholm, "is to run your corporation at a profit. It would not make any sense whatsoever to subsidize a particular plant."

WV Photo

SL spokesman Don Alexander.

Only one speaker offered Detroit auto workers a concrete proposal to halt the shutdown. Don Alexander, black spokesman for the Spartacist League, presented to Channel 62 viewers the SL's program to stop the layoffs cold:

> "What we've advocated from the very beginning is for the UAW to call sit-down strikes to save Dodge Main. In the context of what Hamtramck and Detroit would look like—unrelieved misery for the working masses—that is the only realistic avenue of struggle at this time. That's the way the UAW was built in the first place, back in 1937. This militant trade-union tactic of a sit-down strike enabled the Flint workers to win union recognition. And they didn't get down on their knees to beg GM." ■

Layoffs...

(continued from page 1)

together with wage austerity for workers that confront UAW members. And UAW chief Doug Fraser's continued hobnobbing with Carter is meeting an increasingly hostile response among the rank and file.

Fraser is now talking vaguely about making "job security" an issue when the contract officially expires on September 14. For Fraser, this amounts to little more than modifying his penny-ante scheme of paid "personal holidays," which in practice has functioned as an absence-control program and has not saved the job of a single UAW member. But for auto workers the contract fight must begin *now*, before hundreds of thousands more have been thrown into the street and the union has frittered away its enormous potential social power. It is crucial that the UAW revive its historic weapon of the *sit-down strike*. This is the way the union was built in 1937, and it provides the only effective means of combating mass layoffs implemented by the auto bosses today.

At Mahwah, New Jersey where Ford Motor Co. this week announced the closing of its truck division, wiping out almost 1,000 jobs, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 issued a leaflet July 27 pointing out:

> "We at Mahwah are now paying for the International's inaction. Had the UAW taken a strong stand when the layoffs broke out in the heart of the auto industry in Detroit, then Ford would think twice today before throwing us out in the street....The sitdown is effective against mass layoffs because it hits the bosses where they live—their private property which they say gives them the 'right' to throw us out of work. The UAW International should be organizing such militant actions in the dozens of plants being hit by mass layoffs and closings, fighting for our jobs and demanding unlimited unemployment benefits for laid-off workers, full recall rights, and government financing of bankrupt SUB funds."

Linking the struggle against layoffs to the contract fight, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus leaflet continued:

> "The International union is currently in negotiations with the auto companies for our next contract, but their failure to take action against layoffs clearly indicates that they are not about to lead a struggle for jobs and wage protection against soaring inflation. And every week of continued inaction in the face of mounting layoffs only weakens the union and strengthens the companies' bargaining position. A well-organized coordinated series of plant seizures would be the best way of laying a basis for an industrywide strike this fall to win a shorter workweek with no cut in pay (30 for 40). A six-hour workshift, three shifts a day, with lowered line speeds, would provide jobs for all instead of overtime for some and unemployment lines for the others."

For a New UAW Leadership

In Detroit, where angry auto workers have demonstrated repeatedly against the closing of Dodge Main, Doug Fraser has recently declared that saving the Hamtramck plant will be a "bargaining issue" in the contract negotiations. But how does Fraser intend to save Dodge Main? His newest scheme is to demand federal subsidies for Chrysler and a seat on the board of directors for the UAW! Chrysler workers should throw up their hands in disgust at handing over their tax money to the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 237 **3 August 1979**

More West Bank Outposts

New Zionist Provocation

The true "spirit of Camp David" materialized with a vengeance again this past June on the West Bank as the Zionist state drove Palestinian Arabs from their homes and set up a new "settlement"—that is, a military fortress. Claiming that the freeze on all further Zionist settlement of the West Bank stipulated by the Camp David accords had expired, on June 3 Prime Minister Menachem Begin gave the green light to a blitzkrieg establishment of a settlement site on a hill outside Nablus, the most populous of the West Bank towns. Along with the government land requisition orders and bulldozers came a swarm of shock troops from the clerical-fascistic Gush Emunim ("Faith Block"). In response to the provocation, a general strike was called in Nablus, which was then occupied by the Israeli army.

Seizure of the hill near Nablus for a new settlement, already given its biblical name by the Zionists (Elon Moreh), follows escalated anti-Palestinian terrorism by the Gush Emunim and other paramilitary Zionist sects, including the alleged murder of three Palestinian high school students. In Hebron, south of Jerusalem, Arab families have charged that Israelis broke into their homes, assaulted them, smashed furniture and broke windows. Witnesses reported to the police that some of the attackers had warned the Arabs that they must vacate their homes because "this house is Jewish." Even professional terrorist Begin felt compelled to apologize to the Arabs in Hebron and confess that he had seen a victimized Arab girl on television "with fear in her eyes."

Especially ominous was the clash between Israeli and Syrian jet fighters that occurred over Lebanese territory on June 27. According to reports from Jerusalem, at least five Syrian MIG-21s were downed in two dogfights with Israeli-piloted American F-15s, which are supposed to be used only for "defensive action." Although the Israelis have been carrying out air strikes against Palestinian commando bases and refugee camps in southern Lebanon for years, this marked the first direct clash with Syrian forces since the 1973 war. It was a calculated act of military brinksmanship by the Zionists at a time when domestic instability has forced the Damascus Ba'athist regime into a more defensive posture. In defiance of an almost immediate U.S. protest, personally conveyed by American ambassador Samuel W. Lewis, Begin bragged, "Some people ask us to desist. But we shall continue hitting [at the Palestinians] in any way and in any place we choose until they desist."

Just last month the hypocritical "doves" of Camp David had congratulated themselves as the jubilant population of the tiny Sinai town of El Arish celebrated the withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces. Now, however, they are faced with a dramatic escalation of militarist repression and expansion on the crucial West Bank. There was no rejoicing in the Arab town of Nablus when it protested the newest Zionist settlement only four miles away. Nor at Bir Zeit University, closed and evacuated on May 2 by the Israeli state for more than a month. Nor at Hebron, whose Palestinian residents have been victims of a terrorist intimidation campaign.

Begin Plunders While Carter Burns

The embarrassment of the Carter administration over its glaring impotence in the face of continued Zionist land-grabbing has been acute. Unable to restrain the recalcitrant, hard-line Tel Aviv government, the U.S. has been reduced to empty diplomatic protests against Begin's so-called violation of the "spirit of Camp David." But, if anything, Begin's recent escalation of his program for Israeli "lebensraum" has exposed the Egypt/Israel peace treaty for what it really is—a cover for continued Zionist land-grabbing, repression of the Palestinian masses and military aggression against Arab nationalist rivals.

Begin's reign of terror and expansion is meant to continue under the much ballyhooed Palestinian "autonomy," the issue supposedly resolved by the March peace treaty. To Begin, "autonomy" is simply a cloak for annexation. When he says "autonomy" refers to "people not territory" he is laying the future juridical basis for seizing the West Bank—just the territory of course *and* the rights of the people who live there. All land in "Judea" and "Samaria" (the biblical names for areas of the West Bank) is to be controlled by Israeli troops and turned over to settlers who will develop still more armed encampments.

Carter well understands Tel Aviv's intent, but does nothing except continue the negotiation hoax. In June, while the Egyptian and Israeli delegations were arguing over the agenda for discussions, Begin announced that any move toward a "Palestinian state" would be crushed militarily:

> "'And are we able to do it?' Mr. Begin said. 'Certainly, because in the Camp David agreement we secured the consent of the United States and Egypt to the Israeli defense force remaining in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip.'"
> —*New York Times*, 7 June

Ritts Among the Zionists

All wings of Zionism are agreed in principle on the absolute right of Israel to colonize the occupied territories. In the United States the liberal Zionist establishment has now backed Carter's efforts to pressure Begin to adopt a less provocative settlement policy. A message to Begin voicing criticism of the new outposts was signed by 59 prominent liberal American Zionists. In Israel, the liberal Peace Now group protested against the new Israeli settlement near Nablus. Their efforts received a nod from the imperialist chief's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, who noted in a recent television interview that he was "very encouraged" by the demonstration of several thousand (*New York Times*, 12 June).

So within the ruling circles in Tel Aviv the establishment of the Elon Moreh settlement has become the focus of the long-simmering controversy over the government's settlement policy. Begin and other hardliners in his cabinet like Minister of Agriculture Ariel Sharon seek to create a double column of Zionist settlements running the length of the West Bank with an infrastructure of army bases to support them. Jerusalem is to be encircled by a belt of heavily populated settlements. It was significant that Sharon was on the scene when the bulldozers rumbled up the hill to clear the ground for Elon Moreh, which he called "an unequivocal expression of the right to Jewish settlement in all parts of the Land of Israel."

Sharon supports Gush Emunim as the shock troops to spearhead such expansion. Competing with Gush Emunim is the rival sect of Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder-leader of the New York-based Jewish Defense League and lecturer on such topics as "The Final Solution—Expulsion of the Arabs from the Land of Israel to Arabia and the West." At the Hebrew University in Jerusalem Kahane's minions physically broke up a meeting at which liberal politician Uri Avneri made some mild criticism of Zionism.

I.P.P.A.

Begin's minister of agriculture Ariel Sharon on the scene of Zionist land grab Elon Moreh, June 7.

Opposition to the Begin/Sharon settlement policy has also come from the Labor Party and from Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, but they are not opposed to establishing settlements in "Eretz Israel." Weizman, in fact, advocates incorporating "Judea" and "Samaria" into Israel. His objection to the Elon Moreh settlement is that it was established by the Gush Emunim rather than by the army. As for the Labor Party opposition, the settlement policy, in fact, was *begun* under the Labor government and was then no less vicious and brutal than it is now. Sharon has recently defended the Elon Moreh settlement against his loyal Labor Party "peace" critics by pointing out that the site had been designated for settlement in November 1967 after the war by the Ministerial Security Committee of the Labor government.

The Zionists' "Arab Problem"

Underlying the political sniping between Weizman and Begin/Sharon is a very real—and sharpening—contradiction in the entire settlement policy. If the Zionists are to achieve their dream of annexing the occupied territories, then extensive settlements indeed are necessary and, in the framework of Zionist politics, can be secured only through forcible mass expulsions of the Palestinian Arabs. But Palestinian Arab labor has become increasingly integrated into the Israeli economy. As the Hebrew-speaking working class is increasingly absorbed by the rapidly expanding high technology industries, Arab labor and second-class "Sephardic" (non-northern European) Jews are left to satisfy Israel's unskilled and semi-skilled labor needs. It was not insignificant that a central question in the brouhaha surrounding the return of El Arish and other Arab villages in the Sinai to Egyptian sovereignty was whether those Arabs employed by Israelis would remain part of the Israeli workforce.

The settlement policy thus directly conflicts with the needs of Israeli capital, which seeks to create in the West Bank a home for a vast surplus of unskilled labor composed of Arab and poor Jewish workers. Recurrent economic crises in Israel, where inflation rates approach 90 percent and subsidies for basic necessities have been eliminated, serve to drive unskilled and marginally employed Jewish labor to the West Bank, where subsidies continue. The Arab populace comprises the surplus labor pool, and Arab workers have virtual "guest worker" status in the Israeli economy. While the Arab surplus labor force is subject to terror-enforced discipline on the West Bank, they are readily available for the cyclical expansions and contractions of the Zionist political economy.

Not Arab Against Jew, But Class Against Class

Today the Zionist rulers are thumbing their noses at their American patrons and forging ahead with their controversial settlement policy despite considerable domestic unrest. Their actions are the result of more than a commitment to clerical Zionist dogma. The Israeli bourgeoisie has its own nationalist interests, increasingly counterposed to U.S. imperialism's desire for regional stability. The events of the last several years have severely damaged the myth of an "Arab Revolution" pitted against Israel, allegedly simply an imperialist tool. In fact, all of the bourgeois nationalist regimes in the area are committed to the oppression of the Palestinian people.

Only the building of Trotskyist parties in the Near East can decisively cut through the intense nationalist hostilities that at present poison the prospects for joint Hebrew/Arab struggle against capitalist oppression. Such parties will wage an unceasing struggle against Zionism, in particular for the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the occupied territories, for the "right of return" of all dispossessed Palestinian Arabs and for full democratic rights for all Arabs in Israel. The right to self-determination for both Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking nations can be democratically resolved only through socialist revolution. By expressly demanding the right to self-determination for *both* nations, they will be able to break the working class and oppressed from their allegiance to counterposed capitalist programs for genocide.

In such struggle lasting bonds will be forged between the working people of Israel and the West Bank. The cadres steeled in this battle against all nationalist prejudice and privilege will form the invincible vanguard that will carry out the socialist revolution and lay the cornerstone for the socialist federation of the Near East. ■

SYL Corners Professor Mandel

BOSTON—It was unflappable Professor Ernest Mandel come to Boston University to lecture on the latest trends in academic Marxology. And there he was up at the blackboard, pontificating on the permutations of the bourgeois state, warning on the dangers of reductionism, criticising Engels for oversimplifying the nature of the state, mentioning only in passing such *passé* themes as workers revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Mandel was not allowed to hide behind his clouds of sociologese for very long. In the course of the discussion periods, spokesmen for the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) repeatedly cornered the professor on key questions of the class struggle ranging from Boston busing to Khomeini's Iran. By the end of the course, Sociology 652 had become a wide-ranging debate between the authentic Marxism of the Spartacist tendency and Mandel's will-o'-the-wisp revisionism which bends with the breeze of petty-bourgeois radical opinion.

Students attending the first session of the seminar on July 10 were greeted by an SYL leaflet entitled, "Ernest Mandel: Chameleon," challenging this leader of the ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) to justify the call by his American colleagues, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), for federal troops to "protect" blacks right here in Boston in 1974. Wasn't the American bourgeois state still the "instrument for the suppression of the working class by the ruling class," as Lenin put it? Aren't the federal troops the same racist imperialist army that butchered Indochinese workers and peasants? "Let's see him try to defend this one in class!" (see *Young Spartacus* No. 74, Summer 1979).

In his introductory lecture on the nature of the state, the erudite professor drew his material from the pretentious banalities of the Stalinist Althusser and the New Left obscurantist Poulantzas. His only mention of the classic Marxist definition of the state, as "in the last analysis consist[ing] of special bodies of armed men," was to remark that there "was a certain oversimplification, certainly, in the famous formula of Engels." His alternative: "We can say that the state encompasses all those functions and apparatuses which make a regular and continuous reproduction of class rule possible." And he offered an elaborate schema of eight elements of the Marxist theory of the state, only one of which (number four) was class theory, and whose culmination was not revolution but "recuperation." In sum, he replaced materialist analysis with the "functionalism" of bourgeois sociology.

The rich historical and analytical writings of Marx, Engels, the early Plekhanov, Lenin and Trotsky were the fruit of firm revolutionary purpose: combating anarchism, refuting the revisionism of Kautsky, denouncing Stalinist betrayals. In contrast, Mandel's ramblings, replete with the latest Marxoid terminology, are designed to dissolve fundamental questions into a morass of ambiguity in order to hide his constant political zigzags. The French Trotskyist leader Favre-Bleibtreu observed this as far back as 1951, when after commenting on the "cultural level, richness of imagery and style" of Mandel's documents he added: "you lack one quality, the one most necessary to a leader: firmness of your political ideas...."

Federal Troops to Boston?

In the seminars SYL spokesmen nailed the professor over and over on the decisive contemporary issues which are the real test of Marxist program. Kautsky, after all, upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat in the abstract... and sided with the imperialist Allies against the Bolsheviks on the battlefield. So what about the SWP's call for federal troops for Boston? Our comrades led off:

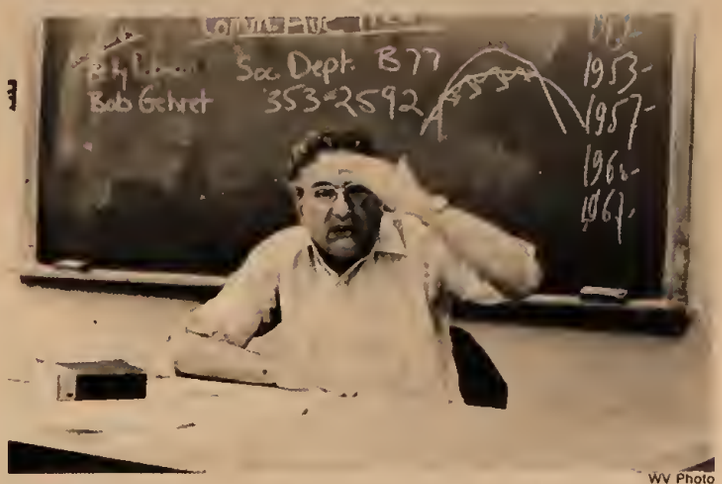
> "Your co-thinkers in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party, at the time right here in Boston when there was a racist mobilization against school integration called for federal troops to come to defend blacks against racist terror. This spread illusions in the armed fist of the capitalist state, in the forces representing the racist rule of the capitalist class. What *we* called for was to mobilize the forces of the proletariat and the oppressed to defend blacks."

Mandel, in response, tried to duck the SYL challenge by a demagogic attack on people who think all reforms are impossible under capitalism:

> "The blacks of the South have conquered tremendous progress in the last 15 years. To deny that is to deny the facts of life. I don't know whether you have been in the South in 1960 or 1955....
> "So it would have been wonderful to have a workers militia, but you didn't have it.... I don't see what is wrong in calling in the federal troops."

Later in the discussion a spokesman for the Spartacist League refuted Mandel's slander that the SL holds that reforms are impossible:

> "The question here is whether or not revolutionists call on the state to intervene in their own struggles against that state. That was the situation in Boston. I was in the South in the early '60s, and the SWP was pushing the slogan, 'Bring the troops home from Vietnam and send them to Mississippi.' The blacks I was working with knew that calling on the troops of the state to come in and help their struggle was almost laughable.... I'll give you another example. Did you ever hear of the Bolsheviks calling on the tsar's state to come in and protect the Jews against pogroms?"



WV Photo

Professor Mandel: "So, some of our comrades are in jail—but our organization is legal."

Chile: Break with the Popular Front!

The SYL spokesman also pointed to the Unidad Popular government in Chile, which paved the way for the bloody 1973 Santiago coup, as an example of the tragic results of counseling reliance on the bourgeois state and its "constitutionalist" armed forces:

> "I'd like to make a point on Chile. That was a monumental defeat for the working class. Allende preached the peaceful road to socialism—that there could be a peaceful transformation of the bourgeois state. His government is what Trotsky called a popular-front government, a bourgeois coalition government, and it was a real straitjacket for the working class. Allende disarmed the workers; he banned the workers militia, and sovereignty of the military was clearly in the hands of the bourgeois officer corps.
> "Yet what did the people you support say about Allende's Unidad Popular? You spread illusions in the popular front, you said it was openly proclaiming its desire to go forward to socialism. What we put forward instead was a strategy of proletarian independence, of opposition to the popular front. The popular front led to Pinochet. The tendency for which you speak advocated this strategy of defeat."

Mandel's answer was to assert that "the bourgeois parties [in the UP] played an extremely insignificant and marginal role":

> "What was decisive was that the workers were not armed.... You can discuss with Chilean workers today and you will not find one worker among a hundred thousand who will raise the question of the Radical ministers in the so-called popular-front character of the government. As a matter of fact, the right wing of the government wasn't even the Radical ministers. The right wing of the government was the Communist Party, as in the Spanish civil war."

With this cavalier put-down, Professor Mandel dismissed everything Trotsky wrote on the popular front, which he called "the main question of proletarian class strategy in this epoch." In Spain, also, the centrists thought the presence of a handful of bourgeois ministers in the government was "inconsequential." Only the Trotskyists warned that the key to victory was breaking the political chains which bound the proletariat to its class enemies in the popular front. Trotsky wrote that in Spain, "The bourgeoisie's place was occupied by its shadow." The left republicans, he noted, represented only themselves:

> "Thanks, however, to their allies—the Socialists, Stalinists, and Anarchists—these political phantoms played the decisive role in the revolution. How? Very simply. By incarnating the principles of the 'democratic revolution,' that is, the inviolability of private property."
> —L.D. Trotsky, "The Lesson of Spain—The Last Warning" (December 1937)

Aside from Chile, the main theme of the running debate between Ernest Mandel and the Spartacus Youth League was Khomeini's Iran. In an early class, an SYL supporter defied the professor to explain the USec's support to the ayatollah, "who has made no secret of the fact that he wants to go back to seventh century feudal Islamic law where women have to wear the veil, where they shoot homosexuals and national minorities." And a black auto worker SL supporter added: "Why does the USec still support Khomeini after he smashed the workers' strikes and jailed members of the HKS [Iranian USec group]?" To these questions Mandel flippantly replied that the "imam" is "a

Two Faces of the USec on Chile

Intercontinental Press, 21 February 1972

This involves attacking without any ambiguities or concessions the reformist nature of the regime and the forces backing it. Complete independence must be maintained with regard to the popular front coalition. Revolutionists cannot participate in such a coalition even by offering it electoral support. (Revolutionary Marxists can, in certain situations, vote for a labor candidate but not for a candidate of a front that includes petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties.) They must, however, support progressive measures undertaken by the Allende regime and maintain a united front against the attacks of the reactionaries.

The necessary criticism of the contradictions and weaknesses of the MIR must not at all stand in the way of recognizing the important role the MIR is playing as a catalyzer at the moment or of appreciating the program-

SWP International Internal Information Bulletin, October 1973

as catalyst that they have played or can play in much wider geographic areas. We specifically mean the Chilean revolution, the Palestinian revolution, and the revolution in the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

The Chilean revolution appeared at the vanguard of the Latin American revolution after the defeat of the Bolivian revolution in August 1971. Of course, the Allende regime possesses several features of a Popular Front government, of collaboration with bourgeois parties. But, from the start, it differed from a classical Popular Front regime by the fact that it openly proclaimed its resolve to enter on the road of socialism, and that it openly based itself on the organized workers movement.

That does not mean that the Chilean CP and SP had a more progressive character than their French and Spanish counterparts in 1936, or their French and Italian

In December 1971 USec issued statement on Chile calling UP a popular front, opposing any electoral support to it. In October 1973 Mandel's International Majority Tendency political resolution (right) denied Allende coalition was popular front. Ping-pong anyone?

Mandel Unveiled

Revolutionary strategy and program in Iran were the subject of several exchanges between Ernest Mandel and the Spartacus Youth League in the Boston University lecture series last month. In particular, on July 17 our comrades put the professor on the spot for his criminally lightminded apologetics for Khomeini.

SYL: I would like to speak to a comment you made about the role of religious ideology, because I thought you made a correct point—that in the developed capitalist countries, religion represents a pre-bourgeois ideology. That is, it stands in opposition to the gains of the bourgeois revolution. Now you see, in underdeveloped countries where you have a weak bourgeoisie in power, but where you have not had a bourgeois revolution, there do indeed exist feudal remnants. The church does have real political and economic power in Latin America, as does the mosque in countries like Iran.

This refers to what we spoke to at the last class, your position that Khomeini represented some sort of "progressive." That is an exact quote from the *Militant* newspaper [of the American SWP] and was the line of the tendency with which you sympathize: to support Khomeini as some sort of progressive alternative to the shah. But the point was that Khomeini was opposing the shah *from the right*. He mobilized his petty-bourgeois base, the merchants of the bazaar, using the organizational network of the Islamic clergy. In defense of feudal privileges he opposed the shah's incursions on mosque lands in '63, as well as the shah's granting women the right to vote—which didn't mean a whole lot because it was just a vote for his party.

Now the woman question is very important in eastern revolutions because under Islam women are really treated like property.... The utopian socialist Fourier once pointed out that the degree to which women are liberated is a pretty good index of general social liberation, and I think you have to apply

THE MILITANT

Victory in Iran

Iranian masses show the way for workers around the world

WORKERS VANGUARD

Down with Khomeini! For Workers Revolution!

Mullahs Win

that when looking at Khomeini's movement. Because somebody that thinks that half the human race should be treated like cattle is not going to liberate anyone.

The Spartacist League says that Khomeini was in no way a progressive alternative to the shah. We said, "Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs, For a workers and peasants government in Iran." But your headline, the headline of the *Militant*, was "Victory in Iran!" What kind of victory is it? Not at all for the working class, for the national minorities, for women and for your own co-thinkers who are right now being jailed by the "Islamic Republic."

Mandel: .... You say that our comrades are in jail. So, some of our comrades are in jail—but our organization is legal. Our paper is legal; it is sold in tens of thousands of copies like all other left-wing papers in Iran. Were they legal under the shah?... Did you have legal demonstrations of tens of thousands of women in the street under the shah? You have that today. So what you have is a step from a reactionary dictatorship which was bourgeois towards what you could call partial bourgeois democracy. ... We said that it is the beginning of a process of permanent revolution....

The majority of the people who are in jail today are torturers of the SAVAK, not left-wing militants. Only a small number of left-wing militants are in jail....

SYL: In the first place, Iran is an Islamic bourgeois republic, it is not feudalism. But it is not a bourgeois democracy either—it is a theocracy. Trotskyists stand by the gains of the bourgeois revolution, one of those being the separation of church and state. So we are not against Khomeini because of his religion, but because of what he stands for—he wants to institute an Islamic state in Iran.

The Spartacist League has also always opposed the shah. We are glad to see the SAVAK butchers go. It is too bad that the guns of reaction are those that are shooting them, but we shed no tears at all for those butchers. We contrast this with the Socialist Workers Party, which expressed sympathy for Ayatollah Motahari, who at the time he was murdered was involved in the repression of the national minorities in Iran. And also the United Secretariat as late as January 1978 was still saying that the slogan, "Down with the shah," was an ultraleft demand. So much for opposition to the shah.

Mandel: Ultraleft?

SYL: In the *Militant*, January 1978. There is also an interview with "Iranian Trotskyists" where you had this. So basically we don't succumb to this lesser evilism.

So right now there are fewer leftists locked up than under the rule of the SAVAK and the shah. But then again Khomeini has not yet fully consolidated his regime. The repression has just started. He has had trouble consolidating it. The women's marches—women were not just allowed to march in the streets; they were stoned. They had to be protected by the Fedayeen, who were armed. And also they've had trouble fighting the national minorities, who've been resisting Persian chauvinism.

We don't support Khomeini, and what we argued in our press to do, what we would have done if we had a section in Iran, would be to mobilize the working class, particularly the oil workers, who are secularized and were participating in strikes. What we would *not* have done would be to participate in marches that are led by the clerics with demands such as "Death to the Communists," "Death or the veil" or "Allah akbar" (god is great). Instead we're on the side of the working class, of the minorities and of the women in Iran.

Mandel: That will be the last question on Iran.... I will again reply in a demagogic way....

Which he did. ■

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typical bourgeois revolutionist... which also means bourgeois counterrevolutionist, of course."

But of course. So when Khomeini is popular, Mandel & Co. are all for him. And when he starts to put women in veils, workers in jails—as the Spartacist tendency warned from the beginning he would—*then* Mandel tells the masses that Khomeini is perhaps just a little counterrevolutionary as well. Iranian workers would get better leadership simply by standing on a street corner in Teheran and seeing who beats them over the head! With treacherously misleading analogies, the SWP yesterday compared Khomeini to Kerensky; today Mandel compares him to Danton. Obviously it is too much to expect these pseudo-Trotskyists to tell the difference between a mullah and a Menshevik! With a bold stroke of the pen, Mandel wipes out the bourgeois revolution, sending anyone who follows him into the embrace of Islamic clerical reaction.

But even now the "Marxist" Mandel bows to Khomeini, telling the students in his seminar: "If Salvador Allende would have only shown one fifth of his [Khomeini's] audacity against the bourgeois army in Chile, you would have had a socialist revolution in Chile, not a bourgeois revolution. Of course, this was impossible." What about a genuine Leninist party, Professor Mandel, one which knew how to fight against popular frontism, how to mobilize the working class independently around its own historic interests, instead of placing confidence in the "anti-imperialist" clericalists? If you had that, *then* there could be socialist revolution.

Mandel Nailed

The political confrontation reached its highpoint at a speech by Professor Mandel July 25 on "The Present State of the Class Struggle in Europe." When a Spartacist spokesman linked the USec's capitulation to popular frontism in Chile with its support to populist officers in Portugal, Mandel accused the SL of falsifying his position, angrily thundering: "And we didn't even deny it [Allende's UP] was a popular front, we said it was *unimportant*!" (Which is worse, we wonder?) But here the nimble professor tripped himself up, for the USec did indeed deny that the Unidad Popular was a popular front—after previously asserting that it was (see illustration). Immediately following the Pinochet coup, Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) wrote that "from the start, it [the UP] differed from a classical Popular Front regime by the fact that it openly proclaimed its resolve to enter on the road to socialism...." Mandel also attempted to deny that Trotsky repeatedly insisted that the popular front was the key question at each stage of the Spanish Civil War.

A second SL speaker responded to this obfuscation:

> "First, you deny that you support class collaboration in Chile and Europe. A few historical questions, then. Did your organization or did it not give electoral support to Allende's UP? Did your organization in Portugal in the fall of 1975 sign a common pact supporting confidence in the MFA government? Did your organization in France give electoral support to the Union of the Left and attack the Communist Party from the *right* for disrupting the unity? "But I want to talk about an even more egregious example of class collaboration, a quite recent one, and that is Iran. Your organization gave support to the Islamic opposition to the shah led by Khomeini. It was described as 'progressive.' You described him as 'bourgeois democratic' and an 'anti-imperialist.' We said that Khomeini's forces were as reactionary as the shah. We said, 'Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs!' That was our slogan. We said that when the mullahs came to power they would persecute the left. Now they have arrested *your own comrades*, and you have refused a united-front defense. I can't think of a more suicidal form of class collaboration. *You're cutting your own throats!*"

As usual, Mandel tried to dismiss the question as "Stalinist slander and sectarian stupidity," but in response there took place a rapid-fire interchange which sharply revealed the classic anti-Marxist revisionism to which the USec's opportunism has led him:

> *Mandel:* "If you do not understand that a revolution has occurred..."
> *SL:* "You supported the mullahs!"
> *Mandel:* "We did not support the mullahs—we supported the revolution.... If you do not know how to support the revolution in spite of who leads it, you have not understood the ABCs of Marxism."
> *SL:* "Khomeini's better than the shah? Is that what you're saying?"
> *Mandel:* "No, it's not a question..."
> *SL:* "Then why did you support him against the shah?"
> *Mandel:* "It is not Khomeini you support. You support one million people in the streets who are led by Khomeini. And when Khomeini leads these million people, you are not going to shout to these million people 'Kerensky equals the shah, Kerensky equals Kornilov'."
> *SL:* "You shouted *Allah akbar!*"
> *Mandel:* "No we did not shout, that is again Stalinist slander...."
> *SL:* "You say it doesn't matter what is the leadership or the program. As long as there are masses in the street, you tail them."

Then, attempting to justify the USec/SWP support to the "Islamic revolution," Mandel waxed eloquent on the "democracy" of the Khomeini regime:

> *Mandel:* "Under the shah's regime you had thousands and thousands of political prisoners. Today you have perhaps 50 or 100 left-wing prisoners, less than under Kerensky and less than under Negrín or Caballero in Spain [during the Civil War]. The only people filling the jails today are the former torturers. And you're going to tell me that..."
> *SL:* "So why are you having a defense campaign?"
> *Mandel:* "Our own comrades were also in prison under Kerensky, dear comrade. But for that reason Kerensky was not equal to the tsar or Kornilov..."
> *SL:* "Kerensky was not a feudal reactionary."

The movement is all, the goal nothing—we've heard it before. This is Bernstein talking through the mouth of Ernest Mandel. And in the service of his opportunism—apologizing for Khomeini because millions hail him in the streets of Teheran—the ayatollah of the United Secretariat leads his own comrades to the executioner's sword. ■

AP

IMPERIALIST HYPOCRISY AND THE BOAT PEOPLE

ADAPTED FROM SPARTACIST BRITAIN JULY 1979

By the tens of thousands, "boat people" are leaving Vietnam. Some make it to the United States, Australia or various West European countries, but most end up in disease-ridden refugee camps in the impoverished capitalist states of Southeast Asia or Hong Kong. And as the wretched departees continue to pile up, vicious squabbling has broken out among the various chancelleries as to who should take them in (a dispute which was only papered over at last week's UN Geneva conference on Indochinese refugees). Meanwhile, the imperialist press and governments are trying their best to milk the affair for an anti-Communist propaganda bonanza.

The plight of the boat people—many drowned at sea as their overloaded dinghies and trawlers capsize—is certainly horrible. But the crescendo of anti-Vietnamese vituperation unleashed by the United States and the reactionary ASEAN "front line" states (Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Philippines) is the most revolting hypocrisy. The Western media shriek indignation against the "new Hitlers" of Vietnam, its "insane, genocidal" policies, etc., while Southeast Asian governments threaten to push the refugees back out to sea. Malaysia even threatens to shoot the boat people on sight, claiming the influx is a fiendish plot by Hanoi to subvert their regime with yet more Chinese.

In the U.S., it became a hot topic after folksinger Joan Baez and several former "peace movement" doves published giant ads assailing the "torture-genocide" Vietnamese government. As assorted "progressives" (among them Jane Fonda) denounced Baez as a CIA tool, Madame Chiang Kai-shek joined the fray with an appeal extolling the glories of Kuomintang-ruled Taiwan. And President Carter decided to cash in on the controversy with a well-publicized midnight jaunt out onto the White House lawn to meet with pro-"boat people" demonstrators.

Carter's "human rights" mouthpieces have no shame. Thus U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance had the gall to proclaim that, "We have called upon Vietnam, publicly and privately, to change the conditions and policies which are forcing hundreds of thousands to flee, and tens of thousands to die" (*New York Times*, 3 July). These "conditions" just happen to include the heritage of devastation of the decades-long imperialist war against Vietnam and subsequent U.S. economic boycott—not to mention the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, undertaken with U.S. complicity.

As for the recently concluded United Nations two-day conference on Southeast Asian refugees, it turned out to be an anti-climactic affair. Instead of the grandiose propaganda coup against Vietnam which Washington had desired, the meeting concluded with UN secretary-general Waldheim's announcement that Hanoi would do its best to stem "illegal departures" from the country. While the ASEAN states were delighted, "free world" publicists used to the "let my people go"/"captive nations" rhetoric employed against the USSR and East Europe were naturally put out.

Henry Kamm commented in the *New York Times* (22 July) that the U.S. is all too uncomfortably aware of "the dilemma that lies in protesting against expulsions without also appearing to urge a police state to make sure that none of its citizens escape to freedom." The truth is that none of Washington's client states in the region wants anything to do with the boat people, and couldn't care less if they all drowned. All they want to do is turn a profit on these politically sensitive refugees by using them to bargain with the U.S. for more aid, both military and "economic."

In response to this international campaign, the Vietnamese bureaucracy, backed by Moscow, claims that it is only trying to expedite the departure of those who wish to leave and denounces the hypocrisy of the imperialist mass murderers who showed so little concern for "human rights" during their long colonial war in Indochina. Hanoi further charges that, "It is United States imperialism and the Peking authorities that have triggered the outflow of hundreds of thousands, and they must be held fully accountable for their heartless acts" (*New York Times*, 8 July).

Who Are the Boat People?

When North Vietnamese and NLF forces took Saigon and smashed capitalist class rule in South Vietnam in April 1975, the professional torturers working for the Pentagon, the ruthless war profiteers, the drug traffickers and remnants of the indigenous capitalist police force and army made a furious scramble to get out of the country. Their suitcases packed with everything from gold bars to heroin, the human refuse of the corrupt Thieu dictatorship frantically piled onto the ships, planes and helicopters of their U.S. imperialist overlords to the safety of the West.

Today the situation has changed somewhat. No doubt among those heading out of the country now there are many particularly odious types who amassed fortunes through wholesale corruption and servicing of American imperialism's personnel during the Vietnam war. But the chief criminals, the Nguyen Cao Kys, Thieus and the

Pereira/Newsweek

Shreshinsky/People

Carter promises "action" on boat people (left). Peacenik Joan Baez (center) joins imperialists' anti-Soviet crusade alleging Vietnamese atrocities, while Kuomintang reactionaries chime in (right).

rest unfortunately got out early, courtesy of their U.S. masters. Those leaving now are much more marginal and dispensable to imperialism. The very fact that it is they who are left helpless in the South China Sea, not the Marshal Kys, is eloquent testimony to that.

Self-evidently there is a strong ethnic component to the present mass emigration from Vietnam, as the overwhelming majority of those leaving in leaky boats are of Chinese (Hoa) background. But the fundamental source is economic. Many among the "boat people" are former businessmen from southern Vietnam whose shops were expropriated in the nationalizations of last year. There are also many petty bourgeois who have seen their living standards drop sharply since the departure of the U.S. military machine, which had produced a hypertrophy of the urban economy under the Thieu regime. Today their yearning for the society of tape decks and motor bikes is so great that, clinging desperately to nets on the side of broken-down freighters, they will risk a watery grave in order to reach the slums of some "free enterprise" metropolis where they can take their chances at accumulating a pitiful capital. What has happened is that a whole social layer has become superfluous in the aftermath of revolution.

The phenomenon is hardly new. One only needs recall the activity of the Scarlet Pimpernel spiriting former nobles out of revolutionary France. Or the Tories who fled north from the 13 revolutionary colonies to settle in Canada. More recently there are the recurring images of Russian counts working as doormen in Parisian hotels while hoarding the gold bars smuggled out of Petrograd under the Bolsheviks' noses. And in the 1960s there was the mass exodus of a disaffected middle class from Castro's Cuba—including Protestants, Jews, Chinese...and very few blacks. The political/economic source of the "boat people" exodus was unwittingly suggested by a letter writer to the *New York Times* (16 July) who innocently suggested that Russian ships in the area should pick up refugees. Most of them would rather die first. The giant smokestacks bearing hammers and sickles would symbolize everything they are trying to escape.

For the same reason, the "boat people" don't set sail for China, their ethnic "homeland." There was in southern Vietnam a large merchant/trading community, overwhelmingly Chinese in composition, centered on the huge city of Cholon, next door to Saigon. They have uncles and cousins in Hong Kong or Singapore and close ties to the "overseas Chinese," who number more than 100 million and hold pivotal roles in the economy of every Southeast Asian capitalist state. Before and for a time after the fall of the Saigon regime the rice trade in southern Vietnam was almost exclusively in Chinese hands. Now this exploitative role has been abolished with the introduction of a planned, collectivized economy. And given Hanoi's relations with China, obviously they will find little place for their skills in the bureaucracy.

There is also heavy compulsion by the Vietnamese rulers on the ethnic Chinese. In part this too is economic: thousands of families from the southern cities, including many ethnic Vietnamese, are being ordered to resettlement areas, the so-called "New Economic Zones." There they are both isolated and subjected to a regime of heavy labor in unaccustomed agricultural work. Such measures are in fact economically necessary in a country which has seen its peasantry destroyed or driven into the cities by imperialist terror bombing, and as a result now faces an enormous chronic shortfall in domestic food grain production. A large part of the urban petty bourgeoisie is being forced to become either workers or (predominantly) peasants, at enormous personal costs. But the choice is objectively posed by life. Faced with the prospects of these hardships, the boat people have chosen to flee the country.

There may well be active discrimination by the Hanoi bureaucracy against the Hoas, as well. With the chauvinist, nationalist logic of all Stalinists, Hanoi sees all ethnic Chinese as a potential "fifth column" should Peking decide to renew its invasion. Unofficial Hanoi spokesman Wilfred Burchett has put out this story, and official Vietnamese statements say as much:

> "They [the 'Peking reactionaries'] have continued pushing already-trained Hoa back to Vietnam or to other South-East Asian countries to serve as a 'fifth column,' furthering new ventures to carry out their expansionist ambitions. Yet, they have impudently levelled against Viet Nam slanderous charges of expelling Hoa people and 'exporting refugees' to other countries."
>
> —Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement, 21 June

And the Hanoi rulers have at the very least tolerated this flight, though hardly forcibly "expelling" Chinese as claimed by the imperialists.

As Trotskyists we have no confidence that the Vietnamese bureaucracy will safeguard the rights of national/racial minorities, least of all a minority which they regard as a potential enemy. But the outraged protests of the Peking Stalinists about anti-Chinese chauvinism on the part of Hanoi are patently cynical, coming from a regime which has institutionalized Han-chauvinist oppression of national minorities in its own country. Moreover, Peking's invasion of Vietnam earlier this year sharply exacerbated the grave economic problems which have contributed to the magnitude of the present departure.

No Asylum for Vietnamese War Criminals!

The "humanitarian" concern of U.S. imperialism extends primarily to those who should now be sitting in jail in Vietnam. It is no accident that State Department "socialist" Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, singles out just such a collaborator in the Saigon regime's counterrevolutionary terror from among the hundreds of thousands who have left. In his *New York Times* column of 13 May, he quotes a *Wall Street Journal* account:

> "Aged 40, Mr. Phong wants to settle in the U.S. Previously an interpreter for the Americans in an interrogation center at Bien Hoa, he escaped Vietnam late in October when a former Viet Cong prisoner recognized him on the streets of Ho Chi Minh City, started

continued on page 10

WV Photo

NYC rally: Zionists, Social Democrats, Kuomintang, Maoists in orgy of anti-communism.

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE AGAINST VIETNAM

The furor over Vietnamese "boat people" has made some strange bedfellows, from Joan Baez to Madame Chiang Kai-shek. This was vividly illustrated by several demonstrations in the last two weeks which brought together an unholy anti-Vietnamese alliance including Maoists, Zionists, the Kuomintang (KMT), Jimmy Carter and, with a slightly different tack, a smattering of American Nazis.

A "Save the Boat People" demonstration in New York, July 15, was dominated by Chinatown "cultural associations," most of them directly linked to the KMT regime in Taipei. Up on the speakers platform there was everyone from representatives of the American Jewish Congress (AJC) and the State Department to Peking sycophants of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, liberal Brooklyn Democratic Representative Liz Holtzman and Social Democrat Bayard Rustin.

The main theme of the day was endless comparisons to the plight of Jewish refugees from Hitler's Germany. Signs and slogans denounced "fascism" and "genocide" in Vietnam. Martin Begun of the the AJC bewailed the world's "short memory" of how the Jews were "forced to return to the holocaust

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FRENCH LCR CALLS FOR IMPERIALIST AIRLIFT

Perhaps the most peculiar, even grotesque example of leftist accommodation to the anti-Communist hue and cry over the Vietnamese "boat people" has come from the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). These supporters of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) want Jimmy Carter to launch a massive airlift of refugees, direct from Indochina.

No joke. The demand, "Carter must organize an airlift!" is at the center of a front-page article in the LCR's 5 July *Rouge*. The imperialists are "exploiting a totally justified popular sentiment," says *Rouge*, and to undercut them, "we must say to imperialist leaders, whether they are called Giscard, Carter or Schmidt: ...Organize the transport and reception of the refugees! Implement airlifts!"

Rouge, of course, excoriates the hypocrisy of Carter's "human rights" rhetoric. Hypocritical it certainly is, but that is not the real point. As the Spartacist League has warned from the start, this is an anti-Communist propaganda offensive aimed at morally rearming U.S. imperialism for *action* against the USSR and its allies. Calling on Carter to put his words into practice is to urge the world's number one counterrevolutionary gendarme to "rescue" the Soviet bloc for the "free world."

And what if Carter takes the LCR's advice? Have these supposed Marxists so soon forgotten Gerald Ford's cynical "Operation Babylift" of only four years ago? As its corrupt Saigon regime was about to fall, the same U.S. government kidnapped several thousand Vietnamese orphans and airlifted them away from supposed Communist ogres. Today the LCR demands a repeat performance from Ford's successor...and they could well get it. The Seventh Fleet has already begun picking up boat people in the South China Sea on orders of the president.

In the face of imperialism's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, the USec has turned its back on the elementary Trotskyist *duty* of unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states. Its West German section demands in the same breath the withdrawal of NATO troops from West Germany and of the Warsaw Pact from East Germany. And earlier this year the USec-supported *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe* uncritically reprinted an appeal for a total imperialist boycott of the Soviet Union. (It took a letter from Tamara Deutscher to bring them to their senses.)

A new Operation Babylift for the boat people? No thanks. How about airlifting imperialist war criminals such as Nixon, Kissinger, Thieu and Ky to Hanoi instead, so that they could stand trial before a jury of the people they tried to "bomb back to the Stone Age." It would certainly be appropriate if former Vietnam hawk Jimmy Carter, today such a vociferous "humanitarian," went along for the ride. ■

Carter...

(continued from page 1)

recession. And most of all they have no confidence in Jimmy Carter.

Thus, the explanation for Carter's theatrics (aside from psychological ones) is that he hopes to run for re-election against the most unpopular politician in America—Jimmy Carter. But in politicizing the economy he has made it a political issue and personalized it in his presidency. In a desperate attempt to get "born again" to office in 1980, Carter risks a "revival" not of a religious sort, but a revival of *political opposition* to the present economic hardship. Instead of stability at the top he projected an image of a government in crisis, and the dollar plunged to a new low on the international money market. Instead of providing the capitalists with an administration that could lash out against the American working people with the strength and flexibility of whipcord, Carter served up Georgia peanut brittle.

The Worst and the Dullest

It is the brittleness and isolation of the Carter government—as well as his fond desire to run against his own record in office for two-and-a-half years—that resulted in the demand for the resignations of all the senior officers and the purge of half the cabinet in 24 hours. To paraphrase Russell Baker, it left the administration with a bunch of Georgians and a pollster. Some capitalist politicians who sympathized with the ousted cabinet members called it "a victory for mediocrity" while a Texas Democrat exclaimed, "Good grief! They're cutting down the biggest trees and keeping the monkeys" (*New York Times*, 22 July). But in fact there was no difference between the political flora and fauna of the ins and outs.

The one obvious fact in the firings is that loyalty and not policy or competence was the question. There is no substantial change of political tendency in any of the personnel shifts. Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) secretary Joseph Califano is out because he is too much the Washington "insider" and too closely identified with the Kennedys. Even he who had never crossed the president on any issue that mattered was considered too "independent minded" for the president's "team." His replacement at HEW is Patricia Harris, formerly of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), whose main qualification besides being a token black and woman is her unabashed advertisement of herself as Jimmy Carter's yes-person.

James Schlesinger was dumped as energy "czar" because he is an electoral liability in a country furious over the government's blatant service of the interests of the oil barons. His replacement by Charles Duncan, however, indicates no difference in energy policy. Attorney General Griffin Bell wanted to quit and has been replaced by his second in command. Much has been made of the firing of Treasury secretary Michael Blumenthal. It may be Carter's plan to attempt to show the American people that he will try "new doctors" for the sick economy, but the prescription is rather more of the same even within the capitalist framework of economic "medicine."

Bringing in G. William Miller from the Federal Reserve Board to replace Blumenthal and Paul Volcker, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, to replace Miller indicates, if anything, a more conservative approach to the economic problem. Despite talk of billions, even trillions of dollars for a government energy program, this administration is hardly "going Keynesian." Both Miller and Volcker are known as "tight money" types favoring a restrictive monetary policy. And the basic lending rate has just gone up another notch to 11.75 percent. Thus Carter has made it clear to the business and finance world that he intends to continue the path of preferring bankruptcies and recession to inflation. But the fact is that no matter what monetary policy U.S. capitalism adopts it will get both.

The real impetus for the Blumenthal firing may well have been another instance of "disloyalty," in this case a failure to protect Bert Lance from "nosy" questions about his finances. The Georgia clan never forgave Blumenthal, and it is they who now control things in the White House: Carter, Kirbo, Moore, Jordan, Powell and Rafshoon (who is now working full-time, heading up Carter's re-election campaign). Not since Richard Nixon put H.R. Haldeman and a string of second-rate PR men and account executives in charge of the government has a more in-grown and dim-witted crew occupied the White House. But like Nixon, Carter has no one else he can truly trust.

The capo of the Georgia "mafia" now in command is 34-year-old Hamilton Jordan, who demands his name be pronounced "Jerdin," and whom until last week Speaker of the House "Tip" O'Neill insisted upon calling "Hannibal Jerkin." This newly designated chief of staff is the same "Jerkin" about whom the White House felt obliged to release a 33-page document denying he spit Amaretto and cream down the blouse of a woman in a bar. Such antics are little appreciated among the born-again pure, but he is "loyal."

To demonstrate what the new "leadership" is all about, Jordan's first official act was to hand out stacks of the notorious "report cards" to senior officials for evaluating their top staff officers. A document which tells more about the testers than it can ever reveal about the tested, the report is really a test for possible dissent. Such questions are asked as, "To what extent is this person focused on accomplishing the (a) administration's goals, (b) personal goals?" It was an invitation to a full-scale purge, and when Transportation secretary Brock Adams (disliked by Jordan in any case) refused to discard his closest aides, he followed the rest out the door. The word in Washington was "nobody wants to work for Jordan."

Not Carter, Not Kennedy! Build a Workers Party!

For all Carter's talk about "listening to America," the recent purge of "disloyal" elements is a further demonstration of the isolated character of this regime. Behind the obvious brittleness is Carter's grand confidence game. But this con-game cannot have players who may turn out to be nay-sayers, whistleblowers and general skeptics. It is the business of faith healing to have a lot of shills. And when the crippled are told to "arise for god," when the hallelujahs are sounded, they better get up and walk.

It is against this background of fear of criticism that Carter's Secret Service agents came onto the floor of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention in Detroit July 16 and criminally seized militant union official Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the convention. She was going to say to her brothers and sisters that this man should not be allowed to use the CWA convention as a platform for his strikebreaking policies. For her intention to make this simple statement of working-class sense and solidarity, she received brutal treatment from Carter's goons. Trampling over the rights of the union and its elected delegates, the Carter "team" cleared the way for its boss to try to act like a "friend of labor." They were not going to stand for a voice raised in principled working-class opposition.

But the unfortunate fact is that Carter's government crisis is not prompted by proletarian class opposition. As in Nixon's Watergate crisis, the bourgeoisie is again cursed with a weak and isolated government but blessed with a wretched class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy. The labor fakers understand their job is to prevent a governmental crisis from becoming a full-scale social and political crisis. As with Watergate they are prepared again to help the bourgeois parties ride out their present troubles without significant loss of support. In this regard their main task is to keep working-class discontent within the bounds of the capitalist parties, particularly the Democrats. Fed up with Carter? Well then, they ask increasingly disaffected ranks, how about Kennedy?

The labor tops, with the exception of former UAW head and present U.S. ambassador to China Leonard Woodcock and Glen Watts of the CWA, have been less than enthusiastic about Carter, who has consistently gone out of his way to insult labor. The overwhelming choice of the labor bureaucrats in 1976 was Cold Warrior Hubert Humphrey. Now they would certainly prefer Kennedy or Mondale. But Kennedy is no less anti-labor than Carter. He would merely be more effective, more professional, in leading his party in an assault on the workers, blacks and poor. Although Kennedy likes to pose as a 1970s-style "New Deal" progressive, with big-spending government programs, he, too, is for austerity.

Kennedy's "energy program," for example, is in fact to do nothing. It consists of a certain amount of anti-Big Oil talk, exhortations for more conservation, home insulation, etc. and continuing the present price controls on "old" crude oil and gasoline. But since Kennedy, of course, refuses to touch the oil companies' wells, tankers, refineries and gas stations, price controls simply cause Exxon, Texaco & Co., etc. to hoard crude oil and gasoline and divert it to foreign markets. If Carter proposes to increase energy sources by raising their prices (crude oil decontrol, synthetic fuel), Kennedy stands for continuing the situation which created this maddening summer gas shortage.

But if Carter's personalizing the present energy/economic crisis has made it easy for Kennedy to offer himself as an alternative, politicizing the economy may have rather more dramatic effects. The economic crisis may produce sharp class explosions in the near future. Carter's talk of how the energy crisis will test the system and the "national purpose" may help to give the possible future economic battles a more political dimension. Workers will want to know what political programs the government has to meet the crisis. They will make demands that the capitalist government can only answer with false promises, neglect and repression. Both parties of capital will stand for continued sacrifice of the working class.

Class-struggle militants within the trade-union movement will find heightened interest among the masses of workers for their calls for labor to break from the parties of big business and to oust the labor traitors from power in their unions. The fight for a workers party to demand the expropriation of Big Oil as part of a program to institute a workers government is the only answer that makes sense as workers are being thrown out on the streets by the thousands in the midst of the worst inflation since 1946. In the hands of a powerful and resolute labor movement, even sectors of the middle class could be attracted by this program. For unlike Jimmy Carter & Co., a workers government could deliver the gas.

For a Workers Future

The crisis of Carter's government is not simply personal, nor just hysterical ambition cast in revivalist style. Jimmy Carter has given official voice to a profound bourgeois pessimism. In his Sunday Night Sermon, Carter said: "It is clear that the true problems of our nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages. Deeper, even than inflation or recession." In this he is correct. But what the pulpit president defines as the "deep down, true problem" is a crisis of confidence and a failure of the American people to believe in the future.

It is of course true that many Americans have "lost confidence in the future" as Carter and his trendy sociologist advisers solemnly point out. And no wonder when the decay of capitalist society is promulgated as the end of history. Why should anyone believe in the future progress of dying capitalism? "Make it last," "use less," "sacrifice" have become the watchwords of a bourgeois class which has lost confidence in itself, confidence in its ability to expand production on any basis. Jimmy Carter to U.S.: "Every gallon of oil each one of us saves is a new form of production that gives us more freedom, more confidence, that much more control over our own lives."

The bourgeois pessimists have good cause for gloom. They have seen more certain signs of U.S. capitalism's morbidity than the irrationality of gas lines, inflation and recession. U.S. imperialism has slid from global top dog to one of a number of dangerously competing imperialist forces. And they got beat in Vietnam.

The bourgeois crisis of confidence is not the *cause* of the irrationalities of the capitalist system and its hardships—it is the *result*. This simple materialist truth shatters all the religious hokum of Carter and his sophisticated ideologists. The crisis of leadership in the bourgeoisie is a general epochal feature of a degenerate social order. The bizarre examples of Jimmy Carter and Richard Nixon seem more accidental and conjunctural. However, the crisis of humanity is not defined by bourgeois leadership, but rather by the crisis of proletarian revolutionary leadership.

It is the crisis of leadership of the proletariat, for decades betrayed by the Stalinists and Social Democrats, which has forestalled the workers revolution. That is why today the bourgeoisie desperately holds onto state power in a prolonged historic death agony of capitalism even as it groans about the future. This crisis will be resolved by the leadership of Trotskyist parties around the world, armed not only with a vision of the socialist future—and a qualitatively higher level of material and cultural life—but with a program for the seizure of state power through workers revolution.

Jimmy Carter and all the other bourgeois pessimists will be surprised to discover the working class and its allies not only "believing" in the possibility of future progress, but also willing to fight for that future until they win. ■

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Union Supports Anwar Defense

CHICAGO—An important struggle to defend the very foundation of trade unionism, the strike picket line, is picking up steam here as the Keith Anwar Defense Committee organizes union support for a steel worker militant fired last May 18. Anwar, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1010 was fired from his job at Inland Steel Company in East Chicago, Indiana because he refused to cross the picket lines of striking USWA Local 8180, a small local employed inside the Inland facility by Apex Steel and Supply Company. Thus far Inland has arrogantly refused to reconsider his firing, but the union has stated that it will now take his case to arbitration.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee is organized around two demands, passed as part of a resolution at the USWA District 31 Conference on June 30: "that Inland Steel immediately reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay," and "defend all union members victimized by honoring picket lines." The committee has distributed leaflets regarding the case at mills in the area, obtained the endorsements of a number of union officials and generated publicity in the Chicago-northern Indiana press. To date the committee has collected $850 to cover Anwar's legal expenses. These funds were collected primarily at the plant gates, but they also include a $100 donation from Bricklayers Local 6, whose picket lines Anwar respected in June, 1978. As explained in a July 16 leaflet, the committee feels that Anwar is "fighting an attack on the union's strongest weapon—the strike and for the right of the trade union movement to protect its strikes—to have picket lines no one crosses."

Anwar told *WV* that the committee has recently been holding organizing meetings in the vicinity of Inland and the U.S. Steel Southworks plant in south Chicago. "We thought these meetings were promising," he said. "They were attended by workers from Inland, Southworks and U.S. Steel Gary Works, including present and former union officials. Some of the workers from Gary who came down to the meeting near Inland had heard about my case because they are involved in the defense of a Gary worker who was recently fired for refusing forced overtime. A former Local 1010 official with over 20 years at Inland made the point that almost 450 workers were fired last year at Inland and that hundreds are fired every year without cause. Anger over such firings is one reason my case is a big topic of conversation in the plant."

Initially reluctant to defend Anwar, already known as a militant for his refusal to cross picket lines of striking Bricklayers at Inland last summer, the USWA Local 1010 leadership did a turnaround and is now officially backing his case. Even bureaucrats who haven't struck in 20 years can see that a victory for the company here could open the door to wholesale attacks on the union. So over the past two weeks, the Keith Anwar Defense Committee has won endorsement of the District 31 defense resolution by Local 1010 (Anwar's local), and passage of a similar motion at Southworks Local 65 on June 27. In another important victory, the union has agreed to take his case to arbitration. Anwar also told *WV* that he was awarded unemployment benefits last month, a ruling which, he said, "strengthens my case against Inland by proving that I was not fired for dereliction of work duties."

Committee members told *WV* that they are also supporting striking members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 142 who operated the food trucks from which workers purchase lunch from inside the Inland complex. These workers, who set up pickets outside the plant beginning July 19, make less than seven dollars an hour and have been offered a laughable 54-cent raise for the first year. "It's important for all steel workers to honor these lines," Anwar said. "The company involved, ARA, has brought in scabs to sell food from the trucks, so Local 1010 is planning a boycott of the trucks. Naturally, any conscious trade unionist would gag at the thought of buying this scab food. But the way to really defeat this scabbing and get our Teamster brothers back in the plant with a good contract is for steel workers to honor the picket lines and not go in at all."

Victory for Anwar would be a crucial step forward in reforging labor militancy in the USWA. Inland and the steel companies want to get Anwar and his fellow militants precisely because they understand that once workers in basic steel respect picket lines, they will see the need to *set up their own picket lines* to redress the wholesale firings and other victimizations inflicted on them by the bosses. Victory for Anwar will be a major step forward for steel worker militants dedicated to the struggle to forge a class-struggle union, one that will throw off the shackles of the no-strike clause and the Experimental Negotiating Agreement imposed by the companies and the USWA bureaucracy. ■

Layoffs...

(continued from page 2)

same Chrysler bosses who have mercilessly exploited them and then thrown them on the scrapheap.

And they have not forgotten how the city of Detroit "saved" the Jefferson Assembly plant four years ago, by exempting the company from paying millions in taxes. Jefferson was reopened—with a greatly reduced workforce—and the Chrysler bosses shut down Dodge Main instead! No, instead of meekly petitioning Mr. Austerity, Jimmy Carter, for handouts for Chrysler, auto workers must demand that the company open its financial records to committees of elected union members. If it cannot afford to operate its plants, Chrysler should be nationalized without compensation. As for a seat on the board of directors, this fraudulent scheme copied from European social democrats is simply a ploy to divert auto workers from militant struggle by deluding them into believing that the company will then become more responsive to their needs.

Fraser further announced that in light of Chrysler's financial condition, it would not be a strike target in 1979, adding ominously that he would listen seriously if Chrysler requested special treatment in this summer's negotiations. In short, the UAW president has opened the door to accepting a substandard contract for Chrysler workers similar to those already in existence for American Motor Company employees. Nor has this been lost on corporate negotiators for GM and Ford. Sensing the union's weak-kneed stance, they have hardened their own bargaining positions, claiming that they too cannot "afford" to meet the UAW's demands. Auto workers instead must throw out Fraser's one-at-a-time strike strategy and demand an *industrywide strike of the entire Big Three*. No contract extensions, and no substandard settlements!

Doug Fraser and the UAW International have laid bare their contract "strategy": let the companies lay off thousands of auto workers, then use this as an excuse to sell out the wages and living standards of the membership. UAW militants must counter this by leading a fight for coordinated, effective plant occupations to smash the layoffs. From that struggle they could assemble a core of effective fighters to become the leadership of a militant strike that will hury Carter's wage guidelines for good and defend the jobs of auto workers through winning a shorter workweek at no cut in pay.

Such a leadership would repudiate Carter and his strikebreaking, pro-big business Democratic Party and build a workers party based on the unions, dedicated to fighting for a workers government, to expropriate major industry and plan production for use. Only in this way can we do away with the anarchic production of capitalism, with its continual depressions, inflation and hardships for working people and the poor. ■

Unholy...

(continued from page 7)

in Europe" because no one would admit them. Begun's own memory seems rather short, for he "forgot" to mention that the Zionists themselves opposed admission of Jewish refugees to the U.S., in order to force them to go to Palestine!

Even more revolting was the spectacle of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association spewing out anti-Communist "Vietnamese fascism" rhetoric in a leaflet distributed at the rally. While the Vietnamese Stalinists are certainly oppressing the ethnic Chinese, it is a reactionary lie to equate this kind of bureaucratic national-chauvinism (of which Mao and his heirs are no less guilty) with the Nazi genocide against the Jews. The imperialists' image of genocide is aimed at covering up the real holocaust—Washington's decades-long war on the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Thus the Maoists join the U.S.' Big Lie campaign, retroactively whitewashing the napalm, fragmentation bombs and herbicides which rained death on the Indochinese cities and countryside.

If this weren't bad enough, the scene was even more nauseating in Chicago, July 22, where some 300 protesters showed up outside a speech given by the Vietnamese ambassador to the United Nations. On the left, facing the main body of the demonstration, were 50-75 pro-Peking Maoists from the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), Revolutionary Workers Headquarters and Confederation of Iranian Students. To their right were large groups of Cambodian, Laotian, Chinese and Vietnamese refugees, the latter carrying dozens of small red-yellow flags of the defunct Saigon regime.

Bringing up the right flank were the anti-Deng Maoists of the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO), who chanted "Scab Traitors to Chairman Mao, Revolution Goes On Anyhow." A WVO loudspeaker compared Hanoi victimization of ethnic Chinese to Hitler's persecution of the Jews, an analogy which rang false as right next to the Maoist contingent marched a dozen Nazi thugs dressed up in stormtrooper regalia. While the Nazis' signs were anti-boat people ("Jobs for Vets not Viets," "Boat 'Em All Back"), they were able to peacefully coexist with the rest of the reactionary demonstration on the basis of common hostility to Vietnam in the service of U.S. imperialism. ■

BART Workers Sit In

SAN FRANCISCO, July 31—Early yesterday morning about 50 Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) maintenance workers, led by United Public Employees Local 390 leader Paul Varacalli, occupied a BART maintenance yard in Concord in response to management efforts to import supervisors to do union work. BART spokesman Mike Healy complained that "They physically removed two foremen, poured epoxy in the locks and chained it shut." In the afternoon, management announced through a bullhorn that all workers inside the occupied building were indefinitely suspended and ordered them out, but the workers rightly refused to budge. BART cut off all electricity and air conditioning, leaving the workers to swelter in 106 degree heat.

BART cops, who are organized in another local of the striking United Public Employees Union, have massed in a command post in an adjoining section of the Concord yard. At management's direction, they will be hurled against the sit-in. The strikers must have no illusions that these cops are their allies—the cops should be immediately expelled from the union.

BART workers, organized in two unions representing maintenance and clerical workers, and train operators and station agents, have been without a contract since June 30. Management is demanding that the unions surrender their cost-of-living formula, one of few such plans in existence that actually provides full protection against inflation. BART's attempt to scab the Concord yard is only the latest of its provocations. It has already threatened to *cut* workers' wages in retaliation for alleged low productivity and has suspended the grievance procedure.

The militant sit-in strikes a powerful blow at management's vicious attacks on BART workers. Unfortunately, union leaders view this action as a *substitute* for an effective strike. "Actually, this was the only alternative to a strike. If this hadn't occurred, we would have had a systemwide strike," said Varacalli (*Oakland Tribune*, 31 July). The union tops have all along been asking for binding arbitration instead of a strike—and the train operators have yet to take a strike vote. The unions must immediately follow up their powerful sit-in with a systemwide strike of BART and prepare as well to mobilize other Bay Area transit workers in their defense!

Shut down BART now! No reprisals to strikers! Victory to the BART workers! ■

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Boat People...

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> following him night and day and then reported him. He had to borrow... about $2,500, to buy himself passage on a refugee freighter. He couldn't afford to pay for his wife and nine children; he hopes they'll be able to follow later."

It is the torturer, not the victim seeking justice, with which this imperialist "human rights" campaign solidarizes.

In 1975, the Spartacist tendency demanded "No Asylum for Indochinese War Criminals" and called for the return of these vicious killers to Vietnam. We said that they should be brought to justice before the napalm victims and starving peasants they exploited and sought to butcher. We also warned that these thugs could become a stridently rightist organizing center for attempts to restore capitalist rule in Indochina, as well as for attacks on the working class of their new country of residence.

This has already begun to happen. Former professional hit-men of the Thieu regime who made it to Australia have been banding together in organizations like the Greater Overseas Alliance for the National Restoration of Vietnam and the Vietnamese Association of Australia and have begun systematic harassment of the workers movement there. On April 20, some 200 of these goons staged a vicious attack on a trade union-organized concert in Sydney to aid Vietnam, injuring several workers (see *Australasian Spartacist* No. 63, May 1979). Less visible but equally reactionary is the U.S.-based "Black April" group which has terrorized Vietnamese living in the United States whom it considers too liberal or sympathetic to the new regime.

Like the *gusanos* who fled to Miami from Cuba following the revolution against Batista and who have similarly steeped themselves in the dirtiest, bloodiest, anti-Communist skulduggery, counterrevolutionary scum such as "Black April" or the Vietnamese Association of Australia are a threat to the workers movement in whatever country they come to rest. Already they have been employed by the now-toppled Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua (with no more success than Thieu's ARVN had in Vietnam). The U.S. has already taken in some 200,000 Vietnamese refugees and promises to receive another 14,000 a month. There should be no doubt that from among them numerous mercenaries will be recruited for new Bay of Pigs invasions and Watergate "dirty tricks."

We certainly do not welcome the arrival of well-heeled anti-Communists whose specialty is trade in prostitutes, opium or other goods. Identified war criminals among the current wave of fugitives should be sent back immediately to Indochina to stand trial—as should the butcher Thieu, who today lives comfortably in a London suburb, or mass murderer Lon Nol, now relaxing in a Hawaii mansion. It could only be chauvinist, however, to campaign against admission of the mass of the boat people. For example, in England a racist clamor is being raised by the fascist National Front and other right-wingers, who have decided to play up the "yellow peril" theme rather than anti-Communism.

Counterrevolutionary Crusade

While making no concessions to anti-Asian chauvinism directed against the boat people, revolutionaries must intransigently combat the anti-Communist furor which the bourgeoisie has whipped up over their plight. The current frenzy comes in the context of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, which is also aimed at close allies of the USSR, like Vietnam. Thus the fact that 48,000 illegal emigrants from *China* entered Hong Kong in May alone has been studiously downplayed by the world press. Meanwhile, when State Department officials asked Peking to take in some of the Hoa refugees from Vietnam, the response was reportedly "cool" (*New York Times*, 17 June).

The capitalists' protestations of humanitarian concern are staggering in their hypocrisy. For 30 years, first the French, then the Americans butchered Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese alike in their attempts to crush all opposition to imperialist rule in Indochina. The B-52 bombing raids, the napalm and tiger cages left a million workers and peasants dead. Agricultural land and forests throughout the country are now unusable, thanks to the U.S. government's sophisticated chemical defoliants, while the crucial irrigation system is likewise in ruins. Nationally, staple food rations in Vietnam were deficient by 30 percent overall last year.

Moreover, when it came to refugees from the undisputed terror of a right-wing capitalist dictatorship—Pinochet's Chile—the U.S. imperialists and Chinese Stalinists simply didn't want to hear about it. While Peking's embassy closed its doors to leftists seeking to flee the murderous Santiago junta, the U.S. for several years refused to accept any refugees from Chile. The Southeast Asian reactionaries of ASEAN have followed the lead of their imperialist patrons. For example, Malaysia (whose Muslim rulers fear a powerful Chinese minority) recently unhesitatingly accepted 70,000 Muslim refugees from the Philippines, while threatening to shoot any boat people approaching its shores. And Indonesia has been guilty of massive attacks on its own ethnic Chinese minority: thousands of the half million slaughtered in the anti-Communist coup of 1965 were Chinese, and there were new pogroms in 1967-68 and 1974.

But it is more than hypocrisy. The imperialists are itching to take punitive action against Vietnam. They can hardly take any more non-military measures since economic and political sanctions are already in full force. And the crushing U.S. defeat in Indochina four years ago makes direct military intervention in the near future unlikely. However, there remains a danger that the imperialists will egg China into trying to teach Vietnam another "bloody lesson." Additionally, skirmishes with Vietnamese vessels and an extension of military/financial backing for Thai-based anti-Communist guerrillas cannot be ruled out. Whatever such measures the imperialists take, Trotskyists will rally to the unconditional defense of the deformed workers states in the region against counterrevolution.

Peaceniks Join Reactionary Bandwagon

In the midst of the bourgeois outcry, a number of liberal/pacifist luminaries from the antiwar movement have launched a scandalous smear attack on Vietnam. An "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" appeared in the 30 May *New York Times*, alleging that "the cruelty, violence and oppression practiced by foreign powers in your country for more than a century continue today under the present regime"; that "thousands of innocent Vietnamese, many whose only 'crimes' are those of conscience, are being arrested, detained and tortured in prisons and re-education camps"; and that prisoners were being starved, suffocated and used as "human mine detectors."

The letter was the brainchild of Joan Baez, who correctly noted that she was "never left." In a despicable display of redbaiting, she claimed, "I was used" by leftists in the antiwar movement (*New York Times*, 1 June). Right-wingers gleefully claimed, "I told you so," while some signers (like Daniel Berrigan) soon withdrew their signatures. Critics of the Baez "Open Letter" have pointed out that its accusations of torture are completely unsubstantiated—even the State Department has not made this charge. But this fails to get at the root of the reactionary smear campaign. What is happening is that the liberal intellectuals from the McCarthy/McGovern "peace" movement are demonstrating their fundamental loyalty to imperialist "democracy."

Lacking a Marxist understanding of Stalinism and revolution, the petty-bourgeois "progressives" oscillate between uncritical applause for the bureaucratically deformed workers states (attorney William Kunstler refused to sign the open letter on the grounds that he was opposed to public criticism of "socialist countries"), and Cold War-style attacks on "Communist totalitarianism." Unlike Joan Baez and her "sadder-but-wiser" friends, Trotskyists know that many of those in prison today in Vietnam are vicious enemies of the working people, active counterrevolutionary opponents of proletarian rule in Indochina. But unlike most of her critics, we also point out that the Stalinist bureaucracy has politically expropriated the working class at the same time that it overthrew capitalist rule. The murderers of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in 1945 no doubt have left-wing critics of their regime in jail as well. We defend Vietnam from imperialist attack because its expropriation of the bourgeoisie represents a historic social gain; we call for political revolution to oust the Hanoi misrulers because the Stalinist caste represents a roadblock in the path to socialism.

Immigration/Emigration and the Deformed Workers States

Ironically, the imperialists are now raising a storm over the fact that people are being allowed to emigrate from one of the deformed workers states and are doing so in large numbers. More often their refrain is that the USSR and its allies forcibly *prevent* citizens from emigrating. The imperialist furor over the Berlin Wall and the Zionist-inspired campaign to "Free Soviet Jewry" are cases in point.

As Leninists we uphold individual democratic rights, including the right of individuals to immigrate/emigrate, for citizens of the degenerated/deformed workers states, except where exercise of such rights would represent a direct danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Circumstances like acute economic difficulties or military mobilization, for example, could warrant a total or partial ban on emigration. We also uphold the right of the workers states to prevent the frittering away through emigration of valuable resources expended on the education and training of skilled professionals—although we would demand that emigration restrictions in such cases not be subject to bureaucratic favoritism or national/ethnic discrimination.

In the case of Vietnam today, the Hanoi bureaucracy has apparently not attempted to stop the skilled and educated among the boat people from leaving the country, but is actually expediting their departure. Many of those leaving are taking with them stocks of gold which they have been hoarding, or have already salted away wealth in neighboring countries. So Vietnamese government officials have allegedly been levying an "expatriate departure tax" on each boatload of refugees. The imperialist media howl that Hanoi is raking in vast profits by means of this tax, and no doubt there are many instances of bureaucratic abuse. But the government's policy is apparently motivated primarily by a desire to get a cut of the funds which wealthy refugees are trying to remove from the country—i.e., it is a measure of economic defense, however bureaucratically implemented.

Indochina today is still poor, war-torn and wracked by ethnic hatreds, its central vital rural regions devastated by imperialism's decades-long war against Vietnam. The bleeding away of thousands of the most talented and skilled layers of Indochinese society, the ethnic Chinese, necessarily damages the economic foundations of the deformed workers states. In part, the exodus is due to the powerful disintegrating pressure of the world capitalist market on this economically relatively backward region. As Castro once pointed out when baited on the number of Cubans heading for Miami, if given the chance, what poverty-stricken Brazilian peasant *wouldn't* want to emigrate to the U.S.?

But the Stalinist bureaucracies are unable to counteract imperialist pressure by *extending the revolution*, and with their narrow nationalistic policies they help create the conditions for such a mass outflow. While Trotskyist revolutionaries defend the deformed workers states against imperialism and domestic counterrevolution, we point out that only victorious socialist revolution throughout the capitalist world—and political revolution to oust the bureaucracies, from Peking to Moscow and Hanoi—can open the road for a genuine socialist federation of Indochina. ■

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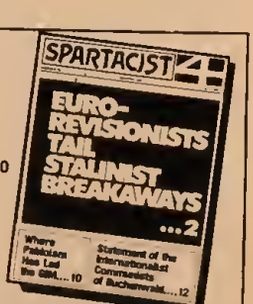

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CWA...

(continued from page 12)

could produce such frenzy from the White House is graphic testimony to the Carter government's lack of credibility with the American working people. While Margolis' working-class opposition to the Democrats represented a small minority, there was widespread sentiment in the hall for Teddy Kennedy. As one convention observer described the scene: "Jane Margolis walked in between the Kennedy and Carter armies and set off a few mines."

This was dramatically shown by an incident on the last day of the convention, in which Michigan Democratic Senator Robert Riegle delivered a blistering attack on the Carter administration. In an effective speech Riegle drew one rousing ovation after another from the delegates by asking, why does Carter call on the workers to sacrifice when the oil companies make millions; why is J. P. Stevens allowed to deduct from its taxes legal expenses for fighting union organizing; why is there no national health care system? He ended up: "I have watched Ted Kennedy for two-and-one-half years in the Senate.... I think if he were president, by the way, he would have assembled talent from across the country...." Riegle made a fool of Watts, who was left stammering: "We are confused now. We were on a high this week...and now we have to rethink it."

Jane Margolis speaks to television newsmen in Detroit. WV Photo

The Secret Service continued to harass Margolis throughout the convention proceedings, going so far as to follow her to the bathroom. Watts, in turn, told delegates to "ignore the disruption at the back of the hall" as Carter's agents were dragging Margolis off, and the next day denied her the right to speak on a point of personal privilege. A MAC leaflet, "Whose Union: Carter's or the Members'?" distributed during the convention, declared:

> "Carter is not the Ayatollah and his Secret Service is not the law in a union convention. The democratic rights of an elected delegate were flagrantly violated.... We cannot permit strikebreakers to silence criticism in our convention."

Finally on the third day of the convention Margolis was able to get the floor in order to denounce Carter's attempts to make the workers pay for the economic crisis (see back page box).

"We Will Not Be Silenced"

The July 31 Militant Action Caucus leaflet summed up the impact of the Secret Service attack and the electrifying response of the membership:

> "At the meeting a switchman from Pine Street asked what Jimmy Carter was doing at our union convention in the first place. This is precisely the point that Margolis wanted to make at the convention and why the Secret Service grabbed her. Ethnic purity Carter is an enemy of labor and the oppressed. He is trying to make working people pay for inflation with a 7 percent wage freeze while inflation runs almost 14 percent. He blames us for gas guzzling while the oil companies are lining their pockets from skyrocketing gas prices. He is a strikebreaker who used the Taft-Hartley injunction against the coal miners last year and threatened to use it against us in 1977. Margolis wanted to protest the CWA being used as a platform for Carter's anti-labor policies....
>
> "Margolis and the Militant Action Caucus are building a national opposition caucus in this union. We will continue to take the fight for a militant CWA to our national conventions, we will not abandon the work we have undertaken with unionists from around the country for the local right to strike, or for the necessary solid national strike in 1980. We will continue to work for the day when the guests of honor at our conventions are not strikebreakers like Jimmy Carter, but leaders of victorious workers struggles, and candidates of a political party of our own—a workers party."

We salute the determination of the members of Local 9410 and union militants throughout the CWA to guard the independence of their union from the meddling of the Carter government. If MAC can build on this support and extend it nationwide, the outrage over the vicious attack by Jimmy Carter's thugs can be directed toward the crucial struggle to build a leadership that can take the union out of the hip pocket of Ma Bell and the capitalist politicians—Carter and Kennedy alike—who do the bidding of the bosses. ■

the village VOICE

—30 July 1979

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Secret Service Gags Carter Critic

By Joe Conason

Everyone laughs these days at Jimmy Carter's promises of open government, but last week his Secret Service did something that wasn't so funny. Just before Carter arrived in Detroit to address the annual convention of the Communication Workers of America on July 16, two Secret Service agents dragged a dissident union delegate out of Cobo Hall, handcuffed and detained her for 30 minutes.

The union delegate, a Pacific Telephone employee and CWA shop steward named Jane Margolis, had tried to put a motion on the convention floor that morning against allowing the president to use the gathering as "a platform for the antilabor strike-breaking policies of Jimmy Carter." Though Margolis is a legally elected member of the executive board of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco and an official delegate to the convention, she was not recognized by the chair and never got her motion before the other delegates.

At about three that afternoon, an hour before Carter was scheduled to appear, Margolis was approached on the convention floor by a man who showed her a Secret Service badge. He asked her to come with him to answer "some questions" in a back room.

Margolis refused, saying she would speak to no one without a lawyer present. More Secret Service men soon appeared and, according to Margolis, began to follow her around the floor. A couple approached her again, insisting that she follow them out for a talk. When she refused, they grabbed her arms and dragged her from the hall.

As they pulled her out, Margolis says, union president Clenn Watts told the other delegates to ignore the commotion at the back of the hall. Outside, Margolis was surrounded by more agents and Detroit police officers, who put her in handcuffs and took her to a room in the back of the auditorium. In this room Margolis, who had not gone silently, refused to answer any of the questions put to her by the cops. Instead, she demanded to know why she was being held.

The Secret Service agents told Margolis she had to answer their questions, and that they were within their rights to detain her for 72 hours—"while the president is in the vicinity." Why? she asked. Because, said the agents, a source had told them that Margolis threatened the president's life.

"I said, what is your source?" recalls Margolis. "They said they did not know the source, but they have from a source that I was threatening the life of the president. I said in no way was I threatening the life of the president. What I was was an elected delegate on my convention floor and I was going to practice my democratic right of speaking on the convention floor."

Half an hour later, without searching Margolis's person or handbag for weapons but after examining her notepad, the Secret Service allowed her to return to the convention floor. Apparently, as she found out later, Jim Imerzel, the president of her local, had intervened to have her released. The day before the incident, the Secret Service had contacted Imerzel and asked if the militant Margolis could somehow be kept from the convention floor while Carter was present. Imerzel had refused to help, but he didn't bother to tell Margolis what had happened. Despite his political differences with Margolis, who is a supporter of the Trotskyist Spartacist League, Imerzel was furious at seeing her dragged from the convention floor.

Meanwhile, her detention in the back room was accidentally discovered by Tom Green, a TV reporter for the Detroit CBS affiliate, WJVK. Over the next few days the story of Margolis's police-state treatment received coverage on TV and radio, in the Detroit papers, the San Francisco papers, *The New York Times*, and, briefly, over UPI and AP.

When Margolis got back to the convention floor, Carter was preparing to take some questions from the delegates. The first 20 people in line at the floor microphones would be allowed to speak to the president. Margolis got in line, number 16, and suddenly realized that she was still being watched by Secret Service agents. When Carter reached delegate number 12, he decided that, after 55 minutes at the Communication Workers convention, it was time for him to go.

The White House press office referred my questions about the Margolis incident to the Secret Service press office, which didn't have any comment. I spoke to a woman agent named Anderson, who gave either of two curt replies to each question: "As long as this is an active investigation there is nothing we're going to say about it," and "Whenever there is a threat to the security of an individual we are protecting, we will take whatever action is necessary to reduce that threat or remove it." After listening to Agent Anderson repeat these answers a few times, I said, "You don't have much to say, do you?" She said, "Nope."

A few hours later, a friendlier agent named Ken Lynch called *The Voice*, saying he had been asked to do so by the White House. He explained that the White House "doesn't comment on security matters." In a nice piece of irony, he said he couldn't tell me anything about the Margolis incident because "the Privacy Act forbids us from giving the names or other information about any individual unless they are actually arrested." I asked how Jane Margolis—who says the Detroit police told her she was under arrest—could have been handcuffed and detained without being under arrest. Lynch laughed and said again, "She wasn't arrested."

Maybe she wasn't arrested, but something happened to Jane Margolis that isn't supposed to happen in this country. Warrantless assaults on trade union leaders, in the name of national security, are only supposed to happen in Chile, Iran, and the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the leadership of the Communication Workers—which supported Carter early in 1976 and still does—is unprepared to do anything to stop such encroachments on its members' rights. The CWA has a tarnished record on issues of internal democracy, as shop steward Dave Newman of Local 1101 found out when he criticized a contract and lost his position as a result. (Newman was later reinstated by the courts.) A union which fails to recognize members' right to speak internally is unlikely to resist much when the secret police sweep onto the convention floor.

CWA shop steward Jane Margolis: detained, handcuffed, but not arrested

Margolis says she suffered harassment by Secret Service agents right up until the convention ended. At one point, she was even followed to a restroom by four agents. As in most cases of illegitimate police action, one's best protection is support from others. Tired of seeing her hounded by the feds, Margolis's fellow unionists formed a 20-man defense squad to escort her out of the convention hall. About 150 members of her local in San Francisco have signed a telegram to Jimmy Carter demanding an apology.

Margolis, who worked in a CIA coffeehouse during the antiwar movement, doesn't have very much faith in the legal system. But she says she's going to sue the Secret Service anyway for violating her civil rights, and that she finds what happened to her "scary." Maybe she's thinking about the initials of the Secret Service. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

CWA Ranks Back Jane Margolis

When the Secret Service reached out and mugged Jane Margolis on July 16, they mugged the union too.

Jon P. Fishback

The fallout continues from the dramatic incident in Detroit where elected union delegate Jane Margolis was dragged bodily off the Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention floor, handcuffed and detained by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service July 16. Last week the *Village Voice* published an extensive article detailing both the unprecedented violation of union rights and a continuing White House stonewall (see p. 11). And while the CWA bureaucracy went on the warpath to suppress any anti-Carter dissent in the union, their witchhunting campaign was brought up short by an outpouring of support for Margolis. In petitions, telegrams and heated local meetings, union members vociferously opposed any victimization of their elected representative who had faced down Carter's goons.

L.A. CWA Defends Margolis

As we go to press, we have learned that Los Angeles CWA Local 11501 has passed overwhelmingly the following resolution:

"CWA Local 11501 protests the violation of the democratic rights of Jane Margolis, Executive Board member, steward, and an elected delegate of CWA's 41st Annual Convention. The Secret Service physically removed delegate Margolis from our convention floor and denied her the right of an attorney simply for her political views. We demand from the White House a formal apology in writing to the Communications Workers of America and to delegate Margolis."

At the convention itself, some 70 delegates signed a petition "demand-[ing] from the White House a formal apology in writing to the Communications Workers of America and to delegate Margolis." And back in San Francisco, where Margolis is an executive board member of CWA Local 9410, within 24 hours of the incident more than 140 of her fellow workers had signed a protest telegram which they sent to the White House. Another telegram was fired off to her local delegation at the convention demanding an apology from Jimmy Carter and that Jane Margolis be given her rights to speak on the convention floor. According to a July 31 leaflet by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), of which Margolis is a spokesman, almost 600 members of the local have now signed petitions and protests over the outrageous Secret Service action.

Elements of the CWA bureaucracy at first tried to launch a vicious slander campaign against Margolis. In S.F., even before delegates had returned from Detroit, the union tape announced a meeting to hear how she had caused an incident which brought "discredit" to her local (a clear threat of reprisals). In both Los Angeles and the Bay Area, an anonymous mudslinging leaflet ranted, "The Militant Action Caucus—are they company tools? Are they union-busting fools?" But the smear campaign backfired, and on July 24 more than 150 members piled into the Local 9410 meeting, one of the largest in years, to back Jane. A straw vote overwhelmingly demanded that the Local send an official telegram demanding a White House apology and that the union hold a demonstration outside the S.F. Federal Building protesting the Secret Service action. The members also had harsh words for Local president Jim Imerzel, who told the *Detroit News* that Margolis was "disruptive" and defended the actions of the Secret Service. Imerzel also admitted that he had been approached by them before the incident to enlist his support in silencing her.

Carter-Kennedy Clash at CWA Convention

From the standpoint of CWA International president Glenn Watts, the main business of the Detroit convention—besides pushing through a dues increase—was to line up the union behind Jimmy Carter's re-election campaign. Watts is one of the few labor leaders who continues to back the widely unpopular Carter to the hilt. Even after such mainstream union bureaucrats as George Meany and Doug Fraser have come out against the administration's anti-labor wage "guidelines," the CWA continues to support them. (The 31 July *New York Times* reports that Watts is one of the leaders of a newly formed union Carter-for-President Committee.) The president's address to the convention was to be one of his first stage-managed "forums with the American people," following close on the heels of his televised energy speech the night before.

But Jane Margolis planned to appeal to her union brothers and sisters not to let their convention be used as a platform for the strikebreaking policies of Jimmy Carter. This threatened to upset Watts' applecart and publicly embarrass him in front of the president. That is why the CWA tops are so upset today. Yet the fact that a single delegate

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Jane Margolis Speaks at CWA Convention

Big Business is to Blame, Not the Workers

We reprint below the remarks of Jane Margolis, spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus and delegate from San Francisco Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America, on an amendment calling for opposition to President Carter's seven percent wage "guidelines." The text is taken from the July 18 Daily Proceedings *of the 41st Annual Convention of the CWA.*

DELEGATE JANE MARGOLIS (Local 9410): President Watts and delegates to this Convention: I rise in support of the amendment. We are being told, we the workers, that we must pay for the inflation and recession in the country. Workers are being told that they must live with the seven percent wage increases while prices and inflation are up to fourteen percent. We are being told that gas will not be available for heating our homes. Old pensioners are dying because they cannot pay their bills. We are being told that retirees, for instance, in the UAW right now, are negotiating for a hundred percent COLA. We are being told by President Carter and the administration that we are greedy and that we are self-indulgent.

We are trying to fight for a decent standard of living. It is not the workers, it is big business and the oil companies that were not mentioned once in President Carter's address on Sunday night on TV.

In 1980, if we are to go out on a national strike to fight job pressures to maintain a decent standard of living so we can feed our families, pay our rents, send our children to school, maintain our education, we are going to have to fight for that—we are going to have to take it from the telephone company whose profits are soaring daily; from the oil companies whose profits are soaring daily and there will probably be injunctions and Taft-Hartleys imposed on us by the Carter administration.

It is not us who is to blame for the inflation and the recession. We are the victims of big business that are trying to increase their profits and the workers have always had to fight for what is justly theirs.

I propose that we support the amendment and fight so that the workers in this union and in other unions can maintain a decent standard of living. (Applause)

WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 238

17 August 1979

Down With the Mullahs!

Iranian Left in Life and Death Struggle

Islamic Mobs Unleashed

AUGUST 14—As we go to press thousands of Islamic reactionaries are rampaging through the streets of Teheran. Mobs armed with iron pipes and rubber hoses stormed the headquarters of the major leftist parties in retaliation for their resistance at Sunday's mass protest. The main avenue of the city is strewn with wreckage from Sunday's street fighting, the fiercest since the overthrow of the shah. For the first time since Khomeini came to power, the slogan "Death to this fascist government!" has become a battlecry of the Iranian left. Directly under the Islamic gun, some militants are coming to see what we have warned from the start—the mullah rulers are deadly enemies. Now they must break—not just in the heat of battle, but in *political* opposition to Khomeini's rule. Their lives depend on it.

After months of intimidation, on August 12 more than 50,000 leftists and liberals fought off 5,000 Islamic thugs wielding knives, clubs, studded belts and chains. The Khomeinilites came with trucks full of bricks and rocks to try to rout the demonstration protesting Khomeini's shutdown of the liberal daily newspaper *Ayandegan*. They had successfully broken up such protests several times before. With the authority of the viciously anti-communist ayatollah behind the thugs, the liberals and leftists had drawn back from any decisive confrontation.

But this time the leftists stood their

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Wide World

August 12—Tens of thousands march in Teheran against Khomeini's censorship. "Death to this fascist government!" they shouted, where once only cries of "Allah is great!" were heard.

Another Cuba?

What Next for Nicaragua?

For Workers and Peasants Government—Not Bourgeois Sandinista Junta!

When 100,000 jammed Managua's newly-named Plaza of the Revolution last month to cheer the Sandinista-led overthrow of the blood-drenched Somoza dynasty installed by the U.S. Marines 45 years ago, revolutionaries all over the world cheered with them. It was the first serious defeat for U.S. imperialism in Latin America since the Cuban revolutionary army annihilated the CIA-organized *gusanos* at the Bay of Pigs.

For two decades since the imperialist defeat on the Playa de Girón, the American ruling class and its local *gorilas*—haunted obsessively by the spectre of "another Cuba"—have taken a terrible vengeance against the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Latin America: the marines invading the Dominican Republic in 1965, the CIA hunting down and assassinating Che Guevara, the overthrow of bourgeois democracy in Brazil and Uruguay followed by savage terror against the left, the murder of 30,000 workers and leftists in Chile in 1973, of thousands more in Argentina a few years later. But when West Point graduate "Tacho" Somoza fled to Miami along with the entire command of his National Guard, it had happened again—the first popular revolution against a right-wing dictatorship since Fidel Castro's Rebel Army marched into Havana on New Year's Day, 1959.

Would Nicaragua become another Cuba? No wonder this was the question everyone was asking—not only in the headlines of the *Washington Post* and the Pentagon's war rooms, but among militants throughout Latin America. While syndicated cold-war columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wailed that "Central America is going red," most bourgeois journalists, as well as the State Department, maintain another Cuba is avoidable.

Nicaragua's future political and economic course is, at least from afar, not categorically predetermined. (Unlike Iran, where the clearly reactionary religious character of the Khomeinite opposition to the shah allowed revolu-

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UPI

Triumphant Sandinista rebels enter Managua.

Chrysler...

(continued from page 12)

when bosses lose profits, workers get laid off. But when it's the big guns of the capitalist economy hurting, then suddenly it's a matter of "public policy." All the talk about "Saving Chrysler" is in reality about saving Chrysler's profits and propping up the capitalist system.

Whatever scheme is cooked up to revive Chrysler, it is certain that auto workers will be its victims, not its beneficiaries. "The Administration's willingness to consider aid will depend on Chrysler's submission of an operating and financial plan reflecting current conditions and prospects," Miller says (*New York Times*, 10 August). That means getting rid of "inefficient" and "unproductive" facilities—whether these are 70-year-old plants or 30-year-old workers.

Carter's bailout plan is modeled precisely on a similar scheme of loan guarantees extended to New York City during its 1977 fiscal crisis. The city was put in receivership to the banks, which demanded tens of thousands of layoffs and drastic cuts in social services as proof of financial "responsibility." Noting the parallels to Chrysler, former Treasury Secretary Blumenthal remarked that in New York, "The unions made a great many sacrifices...a lot of services had to be cut..." (*New York Times*, 6 August).

It won't be any different for auto workers. The government bailout is strictly for the benefit of the major Chrysler stockholders. If it goes into effect, it will mean *more* layoffs at Chrysler. As for dilapidated plants—the junking of Dodge Main will be just the beginning.

The pro-capitalist UAW leadership is no less concerned with the company's profits. "We'll take into consideration whatever is needed for the survival of Chrysler Corporation," promises union president Doug Fraser. Far from proposing to *fight* the wholesale attack on the UAW's 130,000 Chrysler workers, Fraser has already exempted the company from strike action when the national auto contract expires September 14, and indicated his willingness to negotiate a substandard contract with the No. 3 auto maker.

Clark/Time

Unemployment lines in Detroit

It is not the task of the UAW to select the "best" of the various capitalist proposals to bail out Chrysler. The demand of auto workers must be not "Save Chrysler," but defend jobs and living conditions! Fraser has already wasted precious weeks lobbying Carter for handouts to Chrysler.

A Workers Auction?

If Chrysler has gone broke, because of bad investments or because it is being beaten by foreign competition, then let it go rather than further subsidize this giant loser. Why should taxpayers bail them out? All the social democrats' talk about nationalization of losing companies is really a cover for subsidization.

General Motors president Thomas Murphy expressed the spirit and logic of capitalism a lot better than Doug Fraser and the social-democratic reformists who want to subsidize losing companies. When presented with Fraser's tepid nationalization plan Murphy said not without a firm understanding of capitalist self-interest:

> "I think it would be a horrible idea for government to get involved in ownership, because it's a step toward nationalization. ...competition is a discipline on all of us. ...having the government finance one segment is completely foreign to American industry."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 August

This sounds like the Hayakawa principle enunciated by the right-wing senator from California during the recent gas crunch: let the price rise until it's available—that's the way capitalism works. (But at least the oil companies would be worth something if they were nationalized.)

The irrational workings of capitalism now threaten tens of thousands of Chrysler workers and their families with the loss of their livelihood. Chrysler workers: fight for your jobs! Organize effective and militant sit-ins in the plants!

The only way workers can hope to salvage this situation of sunk companies is to seize them. Not piracy but mutiny. What then? Either Chrysler is broke or it isn't. If it is broke then the workers ought to democratically elect a board to liquidate Chrysler. But not a cent to the Wall Street shareholders of Chrysler! Let the stocks, bonds and bank debts go down the tubes. All the money from the sale of assets should go to the Chrysler workforce including the foreign workers. At present market value this is roughly $55,000 per employee (in addition to full unemployment, welfare benefits and guaranteed, unlimited SUB pay). It ought to be divided on the basis of seniority—a share a year. Even Iacocca gets his six-months' share.

Take It, It's Yours

That section of the American ruling class which opposes any government support to Chrysler has almost universally warned against taking the U.S. economy on the first step down the road to "creeping socialism" à la Britain. And indeed Britain is living proof of the bankruptcy of social democracy, which poses a program of piecemeal nationalizations. Successive Labour governments have nationalized failing firms, for example Leyland, the big auto manufacturer. In doing so they give the bankrupt capitalists more money than they could get from otherwise liquidating their assets. The nationalized industrial cripples are then run in competition with more efficient private firms. In order to compete, they resort, sometimes even more than private capitalists, to wage restraint, speedup, layoffs, etc. Leyland, for example, pays lower wages than does British Ford. The utter failure of this miserable system is obvious not only to Wall Street, but to Detroit auto workers as well.

The reformist practice of nationalizing only the *least* efficient capitalist operations is in a sense the exact opposite of socialist expropriation. Socialist economic planning is based precisely on appropriating from the capitalists the *most advanced* means of production.

Unemployment, inflation and ravaging depressions will plague the workers as long as capitalism remains. So we have a response to Thomas Murphy of GM—a workers government that will take over Big Oil, GM, Ford and the rest of society's productive resources and run them in the interests of working people, finally providing jobs and a decent standard of living for all. ■

Iranian Left...

(continued from page 1)

ground. After the initial shock the marchers regrouped and counterattacked. They broke the Khomeinites' charges chanting "Death to this fascist government!" The Fedayeen raised the slogan, "Islam will be defeated, Communism will be victorious!"

On Monday, in the most direct and massive assault on the left to date, government-backed vigilantes sealed off central Teheran, searched for leftists, beat up "suspected communists" and attacked unveiled women. Most importantly they attacked the headquarters of the Guevarist Fedayeen guerrillas, in an attempt to seize their arms. Those among the Fedayeen skeletal staff who did not escape were brutally beaten while the raiders ransacked the office, destroyed literature and looked for weapons. It is reported in the *Washington Post* (14 August) that the offices of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party and the Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKS) were also hit.

The Khomeinites raged through Teheran University's Law School, its library and offices of student groups, destroying "satanic" books.

The clerical reactionaries have placed the offices of the Muslim populist Mojahedeen under siege, while armed Mojahedeen and a human wall of their supporters defend it.

The government has issued arrest warrants for Hedayatollah Matin-Daftari, leader of the left-liberal National Democratic Front (NDF) and for the editor of the leftist newspaper *Peygham Emrouz*.

At no time since the mullahs came to power have the left and Khomeini's forces stood so poised for final conflict. This could be the beginning of the end for the left, or it could be the beginning of an understanding leading to a militant and effective defense. But they must reverse their fatal course of "critical support" to the Islamic Republic, repudiate their faith in the so-called "anti-imperialist" Bazarghan, who stands with Khomeini in his desire to build an effective Islamic army to crush the left and national minorities.

There must be no question of pressuring this Islamic theocracy, drenched with the blood of the oppressed nationalities, into a democracy. The left and labor movement must prepare for the time when the regime's loyal militiamen join with the clerical fascist goon squads in their anti-leftist pogroms. Time is running out. The millions-strong Iranian proletariat must be organized—in trade unions, factory committees, workers militias, drawing around them the peasants, the oppressed nationalities and all secular democratic forces—in a united front defense against the Islamic white terror. Either defeat at the hands of Islamic reaction or workers revolution. There is no other way. ■

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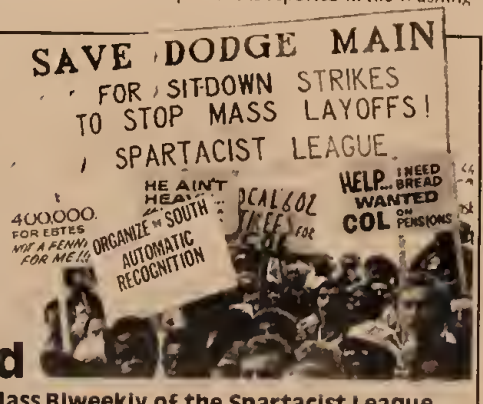

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No. 238 **17 August 1979**

HKS Bows to Persian Chauvinism

Khomeini's Iran: Leftists in SAVAK Prisons

Under the grim shadow of Islamic vigilantism, dozens of leftists and worker militants await possible torture and death in prison. While helicopter gunships pounded Kurdish rebels in the northwest and a reign of terror continued against Arabs in the south, the Muslim clerical regime in Iran held elections for the first time since the overthrow of the bloody Pahlavi tyranny.

Black-robed mullahs presided over the polling stations on August 3, where tables were covered with lists of Khomeini's hand-picked slate of clerics for the 75-seat assembly which will ratify Iran's proposed constitution. Pictures of Khomeini's candidates covered the walls, while mullahs stood by to "aid" the voting of the 50 percent of the Iranian population which is illiterate. This was no secret ballot—voters had to put their name and identity card number next to their choice.

Meanwhile Khomeini has made new threats against the mullahs' secular and left opponents. While his ban on music has apparently not had its desired effect, censorship of the press has been intensified. Several months after Khomeini's attack on the Teheran daily *Ayandegan* led to its temporary shutdown as his followers stormed its offices throughout Iran, the government has moved to close it permanently. On August 7 elite Islamic guards seized its offices—eleven staff members are now in the high-security Evin prison. The daily *Bamdad* and the leftist *Peygham Emrouz* were issued warnings by the public prosecutor, and the latter has already suspended publication. The satirical paper *Ahanar* was banned, and the National Democratic Front's organ *Azadi* and the daily *Azad* announced their shutdown because they had depended on *Ayandegan*'s facilities.

Importantly, the Islamic guards met with resistance. When they tried to drag Massoud Mahadjar, an *Ayandegan* editor, out of his Teheran home on the night of August 8, his neighbors—many journalists and newspaper workers—quickly came to his defense. But he remains under surveillance, three other editors have been arrested, and one is in hiding. The next day, Islamic thugs broke up a National Democratic Front rally at the *Ayandegan* offices.

The new press law, mandating sentences of up to two and a half years for "insulting" Khomeini, the clergy and the Islamic Republic, will clearly be enforced. The press assault puts teeth into Khomeini's attack on strikes and worker unrest, which he announced "would displease God and are considered a major sin"! The penal code announced in June makes crystal-clear the government's intent to prevent political organizing among the working class and to suppress the left: two to ten years in prison for the "crime" of striking or any other workers' protest; imprisonment for political organizing in the army; three to 15 years for advocating "separatism" for the oppressed nationalities; death for "armed insurrection."

In rebellious Kurdistan and the heavily Arabic southern province of Khuzistan the elections were a dead letter. Further, the ayatollah Shariatmadari's Muslim Peoples Republican Party (based on the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijani minority), seconded by Karim Sanjabi's National Front, announced a boycott of the voting at the last minute. But virtually every other political tendency presented a slate, including the major parties of the opportunist left. The pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, the Guevarist Fedayeen and fake-Trotskyist HKS (Socialist Workers Party) campaigned to prove their credentials as the loyal left wing of the "Iranian Revolution." These shameful "credentials" did not however prevent these opportunists from being banned from radio and TV, having their leaflets and posters destroyed, and being subject to continual intimidation. The Khomeiniites from the beginning made clear they do not intend to debate with "satanic Marxists"—that there has been as yet no mass assault on the left is not the product of some illusory "anti-imperialist unity," or the mullahs' respect for parliamentary niceties, but rather because of the temporary disarray of their state apparatus. This power vacuum cannot last indefinitely, however.

It is the duty of all proletarian tendencies to denounce the fraudulent elections and expose the sham "assembly," whose only function is to rubber-stamp a theocratic constitution. Marxists counterpose to this fraud a sovereign, secular constituent assembly—but this demand must be fought for by class-struggle methods. It is necessary to form organs of workers self-defense. The growing Islamic repression must be fought by a united military front of the left, the workers organizations, soldiers' committees and secular democratic forces. Above all what is needed is the political determination to break from class-collaborationist tailing of the reactionary religious leaders!

The HKS claims a Trotskyist perspective to stand for a workers and peasants government. In reality it peddles the most dangerous illusions in the mullahs' "democratic" pretenses. Together with their mentors in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) they hailed Khomeini's coming to power, supported the Muslim puritanism of his followers as "anti-imperialist," and even denied the political significance of the mullahs' veil? Merely a symbol of anti-shah protest! The Islamic Republic? Merely a pseudonym for a workers and peasants government! These were the miserable lawyers' arguments they used to justify hailing the all-important "mass movement"—of Islamic reaction.

HKS Abdicates on the National Question

For weeks renewed fighting has raged in northwest Iran as Muslim militiamen, regular army units and helicopter gunships have been pitted against Kurdish nationalist forces. The strategic southern Arab province of Khuzistan seethes with unrest after the government's May assault on Arab nationalists in the port city of Khorramshahr, today flooded with Persian militiamen. In Abadan, Khomeiniite troops fired on a mass Arab protest demonstration, while alleged Arab nationalist saboteurs of the province's all-important oil refineries and pipelines have been summarily executed in a massive terror campaign. Khuzistan's ruthless overlord, Admiral Mahdani, told *Le Monde* (24 July) he had arrested 300 Arab militants and already executed 40 "ringleaders."

AP

Arabs in Khorramshahr man barricades against Khomeini militia.

The disruption of the Iranian state's armed forces after the shah's overthrow opened the way for the resurgence of the national minorities, now pitted against the Khomeini regime's efforts to maintain the Great Persian multinational state of the shah. The savage fighting is a key test of the mullahs' ability to consolidate their rule—and a key test for ostensible Leninists.

Khomeini's helicopter gunships and tanks have made the national question a practical military question. Leninists must boldly and emphatically demand the right of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities. The proletarian program of total opposition to all national oppression must be raised—revolutionaries must give unconditional military support to the Arabs and Kurds fighting the armies of Persian domination! It is precisely now, when Khomeini issues fiery interdictions from Qom against "separatists," that Trotskyists must forthrightly demand that the minorities have full freedom to separate, and nothing less. While relentlessly exposing the nationalist illusions of the minorities, revolutionaries must fight to unite the entire Iranian proletariat

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"In Iran, women are not considered human beings."

I remember when I was a young girl and went to class to study the Koran. I was told that if I did not cover my head, I would go to hell and every strand of my hair would turn into long snakes. I was told that if I showed my finger to a strange man when I was married, I would have to cut it off. Since it would not belong to my husband anymore, therefore it would not belong to me."

With this stirring testimony, Fatima Khalil, a communist woman of Muslim origin, denounced women's enslavement under Islam in her American tour. The story of her tour, the defense of persecuted leftists, women, labor and national minorities in Khomeini's Iran are told in this special issue of *Women and Revolution*. The Spartacist League's unique counterposition of workers revolution to both the shah and the mullahs contrasts sharply to the rest of the left's support to Khomeini's rise to power and the continuing enslavement of women in Iran.

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Imperialists Borrow Time From African Nationalists

Smash White-Ruled Rhodesia!

Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has succeeded in buying more time for the beleaguered Rhodesian racist regime. When the Commonwealth Congress opened in Lusaka, Zambia on August 1, the assorted "anti-imperialist" and "socialist" states which still swear fealty to the Union Jack had spent the previous weeks vowing their undying opposition to white supremacy. On July 21 the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had proclaimed the Patriotic Front, the umbrella organization of the black nationalist guerrillas, as the "sole representative" of the black masses. By the end of the Congress, however, Thatcher had gained the approval of the so-called "front-line" states for a new scheme for continued white control behind a facade of black government.

There is really nothing surprising in this shift. The key lies not in the particulars of the diplomatic maneuvering, but in the failure of either the Patriotic Front or its "front-line" allies to deliver the coup de grace to the weakened Salisbury regime. George Orwell once observed of Churchill that he was "at any rate able to grasp that wars are not won without fighting." But that is exactly what the leaders of the Patriotic Front have attempted to do.

White rule in Rhodesia must ultimately perish. Over 1,500 whites leave each month for easier living in South Africa or England. The continued drain of money and manpower comes as black figurehead Bishop Abel Muzorewa announced an increase of the Rhodesian military budget to over 40 percent of total expenditures—nearly $1.6 million a day.

But the question is, how long is the long run? Behind the petty squabbling and tribally based factionalism of the black quislings the white settler caste has regrouped behind its constitutionally protected control of the army. Ian Smith may no longer occupy the executive mansion, but his new offices are in the same building as Supreme Military Commander General Peter Walls and the military high command. Rather than simply collapsing of their own accord, the racists have launched a series of terror raids into Zambia and Mozambique, striking at guerrilla bases. They continue to penetrate with ease deep into Zambia and have backed a guerrilla campaign by Portuguese colons designed to harass the more militarily prepared Mozambique regime.

Hone/Young

Ian Smith and his prime minister Muzorewa: white power, black faces.

The barbaric anachronism of white settler rule must be smashed! Unlike the proportionally larger white population of South Africa, which can mount a massive military defense, the Rhodesian oppressors are cornered. Despite the mass murder and the Vietnam-style "resettlement" of rural blacks, the arrogant white minority of Rhodesia cannot suppress the black resistance. Trotskyists reject any political accommodation with the butchers ensconced in Salisbury and support a quick military victory by the forces of the Patriotic Front.

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) of Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) of Joshua Nkomo, for their part, have not waged a struggle with any of the tenacity and self-sacrifice of the Algerian or Angolan independence struggles. The current military situation is summed up in this report from Maputo, Mozambique:

> "Taking into account the spread of guerrilla warfare and the internal dissensions in Rhodesia, Zambia and Nkomo's ZAPU were counting on the imminent collapse of the Salisbury regime. ZAPU therefore mainly trained and equipped its armed forces in order to seize the urban centers at the right time. The recovery of the situation in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, attributed to massive aid by South Africa during the last six months, rendered this strategy null and void. ZAPU will not be able to play any significant military role as long as its army, formed to maintain law and order, has not been converted into a real guerrilla force."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 12 July

Mugabe is not likely to bear the brunt of the fighting and thus allow Nkomo to walk into the country and pick up the pieces unscathed. For years ZANU and ZAPU have been wracked by bloody factionalism, often tribal in origin. The venal leadership cliques are jockeying now to determine who will reap the spoils later of undisputed sway over "Zimbabwe." This is why they are geared up to "maintain law and order"—because they dream of being the future policemen of Zimbabwe. Nor is Mozambique inclined to face Rhodesia alone if Zambia comes to an understanding with the white supremacist regime. All of the front-line states are eager to accept some kind of face-saving peace in order to end the Rhodesian incursions and reopen their borders to international commerce.

So the Commonwealth Congress ended in a chorus of compromise. Its ballyhooed proposal contains nothing new however: cosmetic changes in the white racist constitution, a cease-fire and an "all-parties conference" leading to new, "free" British-supervised elections. Julius Nyerere, "African socialist" par excellence, decided that the rigged elections which installed black frontman Muzorewa represented "political change in Rhodesia" and pledged that he would welcome even Ian Smith into the OAU if he were elected in the promised "free elections."

Muzorewa labeled the call for new

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Jesse Jackson Pushes Apartheid Reformism in South Africa

At first the headlines made it seem like Jesse Jackson, Chicago preacher and media-hyped black "leader," was getting away with defying apartheid under the noses of its perpetrators. As the *New York Times* (2 August) put it, he said things on his visit to South Africa last month "that could have put a local black leader in prison." Afrikaner bigots were outraged when Jackson denounced the apartheid government as a "terroristic dictatorship" and the system of brutal racial segregation as "legalized genocide." The head of the ultra-racist South African Party demanded that the government put Jackson "on the next plane out" and Foreign Minister Roelof Botha pointedly suggested that the preacher had "a lifetime of work awaiting him in his own country."

Jackson wasn't deported however, because he was acting as semi-official "human rights" ambassador from the White House. Having obtained a visa through the intervention of Carter's man Cyrus Vance, Jackson was there to convey imperialist blessings for Prime Minister Pieter Botha's token reform policy of "apartheid without tears."

So despite the flamboyant anti-apartheid rhetoric, Jackson held a well-publicized meeting with Pieter Koornhof, Botha's Minister of "Cooperation and Development" (i.e., chief enforcer of the pass laws and the rest of the grisly legal apparatus of apartheid) and the man who pushed through Jackson's visa at the Pretoria end. Jackson praised this Boer cop as a "courageous man" for whom he had a great deal of respect. Then, in the name of promoting "black unity," he set up a meeting between the government-appointed head of the Zulu "homeland" (bantustan), Chief Gatsu Buthelezi, and two prominent anti-apartheid black "moderates," Desmond Tutu and Nthato Motlana. The result—an agreement by Tutu and Motlana to refrain from public criticism of Buthelezi, a key front man for the racist regime's notorious bantustan segregation program.

Jesse Jackson was a good man for this dirty job. In the U.S. he pushes the moral equivalent of dope to black schoolchildren with a program of sermons on self-reliance called EXCEL. The message is that rampant illiteracy and 30 percent-plus unemployment among ghetto youth are not the product of the racist, capitalist social order but of their own laziness and indiscipline. In South Africa Jackson's well-practiced demagogy gained him a hearing for his real message to South African blacks. You may think nothing is changing, he told them, "but you're wrong. This land is changing hands."

It suits Jimmy Carter and Koornhof to push this fantasy of reform within the system of white supremacy. Jackson has made himself the willing tool of these sworn enemies of the oppressed. For the black South African masses, however, there can be no compromise with apartheid. Its destruction requires the revolutionary uprising of South Africa's black proletariat ■

UPI

Jesse Jackson in South Africa: hyping "human rights" for Carter.

Macho Man Meets Gay Power in the RSL

"Women . . . have real skills cooking, organizing homes, warm emotional support. . . ."

The women's auxiliary of the Republican Party? No, the speaker was Ron Taber, supreme leader of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), trying to display sensitivity on the woman question.

To be sure, the RSL is far from unique on the fake-left in combining arrogant male chauvinism with libertarian rhetoric. What makes the RSL singular even in America's unappetizing centrist milieu is the viciousness of the

WV Photo

Ron Taber

"We came out into the world an incoherent mess, not prepared to survive. . . . Little internal democracy. . . . Competitive, abrasive atmosphere. Non-hard people pushed aside. . . ."

—Ron Taber

confrontations which dominated the internal life of the RSL when lifestyle radicalism came face to face with Macho Man.

To appreciate the poetic justice involved, a little background will be helpful. Some six years ago the RSL emerged from the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), advertising itself as a shiny new, oh-so-left-wing organization of world-beaters. It went so far as to claim to be Trotskyist (while of course "creatively" eschewing anything so old-fashioned as Trotsky's position on the Russian question). But old Shachtmanism with a mod veneer didn't make a stable niche for the RSL and, despite great expectations of going to the masses, the organization went nowhere. Frustration exacerbated the cliquist infighting so characteristic of the I.S. and all its split-offs. Soon the overweening ego of Ron Taber stood alone, the other big fish having gone off to swim in even smaller ponds (Margaret Brecht's "Truth" splinter, Sy Landy's LRP and so forth). The RSL was so manifestly irrelevant that the departure from the I.S. of a sizable nominally leftist clique/faction—now the ISO—brought the RSL exactly nothing (ditto for the more recent "Political Solution Caucus").

Still in search of a gimmick, the RSL proceeded at accelerating speed to strip itself of every remaining shred of "sectarianism" (i.e., program). It staked its political fortunes on cheerleading lumpen rage, emerging with a tone reminiscent of the old New Left, the main difference being a reduction in the content from the issues of the 1960s (Vietnam, "black power") to the lifestylism of the 1970s. Along with provocative Panther-style paeons to the vanguard role of prisoners, the cynical RSL discovered new fight-back heroes suitable for the me-generation:

> "Francine Hughes also fought back. Her former husband punched her regularly for 13 years and threw her out of the house in her nightclothes. He threatened to follow her everywhere if she left him. Finally, Francine Hughes took her four children and left. To make sure he couldn't follow her, she burned down her house with him in it."
>
> —"Battered Women Fight Back," *Torch*, 15 November-15 December 1977

But the newest vanguard of them all was the gays. When homosexual activism started making headlines a couple of years ago, the RSL proclaimed gay oppression a "strategic question" and became virtually a single-issue organization around the slogan, "Sexual Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." And when in Southern California the Red Flag Union (formerly Lavender and Red Union) started to develop toward fusion with the Spartacist League, the RSL's line became even more simple-minded: the SL is "anti-gay," don't you know about the SL's "closet rule"? Why, in your public political life as a Spartacist, you may not be able to fully express your personality. Horrors! Join the RSL and experience true liberation.

And indeed a small minority of the Red Flag comrades, unable to stomach the SL's hard Trotskyist position on the Russian question, went to the RSL to find freedom. We always suspected they wouldn't enjoy what they found instead. And now, thanks to roughly five pounds of orphaned 1978 RSL internal documents recently left on our doorstep by disgruntled ex-RSLers, we can give our readers some idea of the repulsive, cadre-destroying internal life of this politically bankrupt organization.

With a public line that women should fight oppression by emulating the legendary Lizzie Borden, it's not surprising that Ron Taber felt more than a little heat when the fight-back began inside the RSL. That Taber is an irritating, egotistical sexist does not seem to be seriously disputed by anybody. And he has built an organization in his image. The overwhelming preoccupation of the documents (which look like nothing so much as old SDS position papers—garbled, typed-over, illiterate, undated) is sexism rampant. One writer charges:

> "Generally, the social atmosphere in the organization is very oppressive, particularly for women. In fact, there is a lot of the Maoist-Stalinist 'stable couples only' atmosphere . . . the implicit standards are Victorian. . . ."
>
> —"Some thoughts on sexism in the League," *Pre-Convention Report* No. 5, 21 October 1978

Another document ("Some notes on sexism," *ibid.*) chronicles the "women's role" inside the RSL: arranging dinner parties, collec, typing, clean-up. Sounds a lot like the old New Left—arrogant male chauvinism, cliquism, cries of rage from the women, demands for rectification, guilty confessions. But whereas the old New Left also contained a measure of primitive revolutionary impulse, the RSL is simply cynical.

Predictably, RSL free spirits who tried to scandalize the SL for our "closet rule" (a common-sense measure of protection for comrades against the *outside* world) were dismayed to find their organization impinging on their lifestyle. One of the big controversies was over whether a Detroit lesbian comrade had the right to "come on" to a straight Chicago contact. After a flurry of lengthy, furious and recriminating documents, an uneasy consensus was finally arrived at, after much prodding by the Detroit RSL "women's committee," that the Chicago local had been incredibly insensitive in even "investigating" the incident, and had "received anti-gay prejudice from outside the organization, and instead of fighting it, along with whatever fact-finding it had to do, it simply transmitted the prejudice" to the comrade ("Draft CEC [Chicago Executive Committee] statement on the friction between it and comrade . . ." *Report* No. 17, 20 October 1978). Chicago, you see, had been "overconcerned and overwrought about the feelings of a Black contact," and thus offended the sacred right of sexual self-expression at any and all times. The Detroit women's committee angrily pressed home its point, noting the incident revealed "the refusal of many comrades to defend the right of Gays to sexually approach straights" ("Letter to CEC," *ibid.*). Apologies were made all around.

". . . the League does have the right to make decisions regarding comrades having babies, given the fact that this is not a purely personal question. . . . The rights of any individual . . . are subordinate to the rights of the League as a whole."

—RSL Political Committee statement

Punk-Rock Politics

The RSL's central committee decided to get to the root of the problem. Taber led off with a presentation which explained that it was all a question of having overemphasized "male" values: "Hardness, macho, leather jackets—that's considered good" ("Edited Extracts from CC Discussion of Sexism in the League," undated). Women have been insufficiently appreciated, Taber suddenly discovered: "Women . . . have real skills—cooking, organizing homes, warm emotional support, etc. Subordinate roles. At the same time, these skills are undervalued, and not deemed very important." "Skills" indeed! The Ayatollah Khomeini couldn't have put it better.

"Our model is the Bolsheviks, a male chauvinist, 'hard' organization. Lenin hard, 'male'; Martov soft, 'female'. Bolsheviks used leather jackets and gangster types who robbed banks. . . . Women not expected to be leaders. . . . It was a macho organization."

—Ron Taber

But the RSL really couldn't help it, Taber insists: being "hard" was necessary to survive in a cruel capitalist world. Besides that, there was "our forced march atmosphere. We came out into the world an incoherent mess, not prepared to survive. . . . We militarized the organization. Little internal democracy. . . . Competitive, abrasive atmosphere. Non-hard people pushed aside. . . ."

Most egotistical and bizarre, however, is his ultimate justification:

> "Our model is the Bolsheviks, a male chauvinist, 'hard' organization. Lenin hard, 'male'; Martov soft, 'female'. Bolsheviks used leather jackets and gangster types who robbed banks. Leads to overvaluing some of this stuff. If you're fighting a rotten society some of these methods hard or impossible to avoid. Women not expected to be leaders among the Bolsheviks. It was a macho organization."
>
> —"Edited Extracts from CC Discussion . . ." (undated)

This view of Lenin and the Bolshevik Central Committee as a bunch of nasty little boys playing cowboys and Indians seems self-evident to the RSL as a whole—at least, it is widely repeated and *no one* in the hundreds and hundreds of pages of documents objects to it at all.

A Look Inside the RSL's "Closet"—Programmatically Bare

This infantile fantasy-land view of the Bolshevik Party reveals just how far from genuine communism the RSL really is—it can't even recognize the essential programmatic and organizational practice of the Bolsheviks, which instead of being "macho" (we haven't heard such an accusation since the days of the most vehement anti-communist feminism) developed and carried out the most thorough and innovative program for women's liberation ever seen in history. To add insult to injury, the RSL doesn't have a program for women's liberation! A minor theme of the documents is this little "oversight." Several comrades suggested that maybe:

> "The PC (Political Committee) should commission a theoretical/historical document on women's oppression. . . .
> "No program has been developed by the League to do work around women's issues or to highlight aspects of our ongoing work which particularly affect women. The leadership has taken no responsibility for developing such work."
>
> —"Overcoming the League's Sexism and Fighting the Oppression of Women," 1 September 1978

What the RSL really is interested in doing is some consciousness-raising, because it's cheap, easy, and ultimately meaningless, besides allowing for some groveling guilty-liberalism. As one CCer put it at the CC discussion (already quoted): "I learned hardness consciously—but it's hard to reverse gears, sensitize yourself. It takes collective trust to do this."

The League's "negative and unsupportive" atmosphere must change, they say, and that will solve everything. But a communist organization is not a group-

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"We want to get this union of

We print below an interview with Jane Margolis, an elected union delegate who was criminally seized by Secret Service agents and forcibly removed from the floor of the recent Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention in Detroit on July 16. The incident occurred just before Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak and was clearly intended to prevent her from denouncing the administration's anti-labor policies.

The Secret Service maintains that Margolis, a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) and executive board member in Local 9410, is "under investigation." The support of hundreds of rank-and-file phone workers and a significant number of local CWA officials has, however, at least temporarily, beaten back an ominous and unprecedented attack by the state on the trade-union movement.

• • • • •

WV: You were hauled off the floor of the convention by Secret Service agents in plain sight of hundreds of CWA members. What was their immediate response?

JANE: When I was pulled off the floor there were a lot of delegates sitting in the back of the hall that saw it and were quite outraged. While I was being held in the back room by the Secret Service, several members of my delegation were attempting to get recognized on the floor to demand from [CWA president Glen] Watts an explanation about why I had been hauled off, where I was being held, why I was being held and when I was going to be released. There was also the beginning of a movement, mostly from the District 9 delegation, to walk off the floor until I was released and allowed to return to my proper place on the floor of the convention.

WV: What happened when you were finally released?

JANE: People in the area where I was sitting clapped when I came back onto the floor. Many delegates really did understand that the only reason I was pulled off the floor was to attempt to silence me. They could understand that this was an invasion of their union. It was pretty frightening to them, and they wanted to see that I would not be intimidated and that I would continue to attempt to make my remarks against the anti-labor, strikebreaking policies of Carter.

WV: So delegates perceived this as a deliberate attack, not merely a mistake by the Secret Service.

JANE: Right. It was frightening for them that the Secret Service could come, walk into their convention and pull an elected officer, an elected delegate, off the floor simply for her political views. And for a day or so after my arrest some delegates were wary of talking to me. Many were frightened that if they talked to me the Secret Service would then talk to them. The International was going around approaching people, telling them to stay away from Margolis, not to vote for anything that Margolis put forward. But after the delegates could step back from the situation for a while they saw that I was not going to be silenced and that I was going to insist on my

John P. Fishback

Carter goons seize CWA convention delegate Margolis.

democratic right to be on the floor of that convention. I was elected by my membership and I insisted on carrying out my program. When they saw that, several delegates approached me and said that they were outraged about what happened.

WV: Did union members at this convention take any action in your defense?

JANE: Seventy delegates at the convention signed MAC's petition demanding an apology from the White House. Many delegates came up and said that they thought it was a real attack on our union and told me to keep on fighting, and even though they might not agree with everything I say, they're glad that there's someone on this union that's not afraid to speak her mind.

WV: Glen Watts is one of the few union leaders who have already declared for President Carter's re-election. Even Lloyd McBride from the Steelworkers is holding off. And Carter's appearance at the CWA convention came just a day after his Sunday Night Sermon energy speech. Was Watts trying to turn the convention into a campaign rally?

JANE: There was a staged rally before Carter came in, with balloons and a band which was playing the despicable racist song "Dixie." There were several Confederate flags in evidence. They staged the rally to make it look like the entire CWA convention was backing Carter. But the truth of it is that a number of people, after Carter had spoken, were saying, "Well, he really didn't answer our questions. He really didn't say anything that was going to help the workers." The third day of the convention, when I was finally able to get the floor to denounce Carter's attempt to make workers pay for the economic crisis and to call on the CWA not to support the 7 percent wage guidelines, I was applauded. People came up to me and said they really liked what I had to say. They did not like the fact that there had been an attempt to silence me by the Carter administration.

WV: Did the Secret Service stop harassing you after Carter left?

JANE: No. They continued to come back three out of four days of the convention, following me around, attempting to approach me and ask me questions. They also came back in the

"The traditions of the lab

Keith Anwar — WV Photo

Defend Anwar...

(continued from page 12

ed considerable publicity in the Chicago media (see right). This pressure explains in part the International's decision to take Anwar's case to arbitration.

Even a hidebound union bureaucrat can see that it is not in his own best interest to allow the complete destruction of strikers' rights to picket effectively. The lengthy USWA organizing drive at the Newport News shipyard was lost, despite the militancy of the ranks, in large measure due to the failure of the bureaucrats to stop company scabherding. Real picket lines—the kind the coalminers use—win strikes. And hundreds of thousands of steel workers are tired of getting kicked around by the bosses.

Anwar does not stand alone. As the defense committee put it in a recent leaflet: "The real defendant is the union and its right to strike and have its picket lines respected. A victory for Anwar would be a big victory for the union."■

The following is excerpted from a radio interview with Keith Anwar broadcast by WJOB (Hammond, Ind.) on July 12.

• • • • •

WJOB ANNOUNCER: Mr. Anwar, I'm curious as to why you did this on your own. Did you just wake up one morning and decide that the people at the other local should be supported in their problems in labor disputes with Inland and so you took it upon yourself to be a hero? Did anyone urge you to do this or did this just come to you as an individual inspiration?

KEITH ANWAR: Well, there was really not any decision involved in the sense that I've always believed it was wrong to cross picket lines. So when I found out that there was a strike going on down at Inland and that they were picketing the plant, it was already decided, as far as I was concerned, what I was going to do. This is the second time in a year that this has happened. Last summer the bricklayers at Inland went out on strike for about a week, and the important thing about their strike was that they did win that strike on the picket line through massive pickets at the gate where construction workers go in and shutting down Inland's northward expansion for one day. So I had also honored their picket lines, and Inland had toyed with the idea of firing me at that point and gave me a disciplinary letter which I grieved and won.

WJOB: But this is in turn a case of you writing your own rules. Isn't that because neither Mr. Balanoff [USWA District 31 Director] nor Mr. Andrews [President] of [USWA Local] 1010 or anybody else as I understand it sent out any kind of dispatch saying "Thou shalt honor the picket line of the other strikers." So this was sort of a case brought about by yourself....

KEITH: Yeah, that's right, although I don't think I wrote the rules. I think the rules were written by the history of the labor movement and that there's a strong tradition in the labor movement that picket lines mean don't cross. Now unfortunately this tradition has been eroded over the last decade. And so that very often nobody takes picket lines seriously. And many strikes are lost because of that. And I believe that a picket line does mean that, that that's how the unions were formed, by picketing plants and shutting them down. And what's important about this case is that Inland would like to take away even the last vestiges of tradition. And this has also happened in other companies in the area....■

Workers Vanguard urges all supporters of the trade-union movement to send donations and solidarity statements to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680.

f its knees!"

evening, hung around the hospitality rooms where delegates were drinking and talking.

WV: Did they identify themselves as federal agents?

JANE: They had badges on from particular locals and they were exposed because we knew they were not from those locals. And people had recognized them from being on the floor of the convention. Delegates were talking about how they were very sick of having cops running around their convention so that they could not really discuss issues with fellow delegates.

WV: When you returned to San Francisco, some members of the Local bureaucracy were attempting to blame you for the Secret Service attack, is that right?

JANE: Yes, but the membership didn't buy it. We held a union meeting, one of the largest union meetings since the August 1977 contract, and over 150 members came. They voted overwhelmingly for motions to support me, to demand an apology from the White House, to call on this local to hold a demonstration outside of the Secret Service offices protesting my being dragged off the convention floor. Over 600 members in one week signed petitions and telegrams demanding an apology from the White House. One telegram to Carter had over 100 signatures. Another had 23. And there was one from a retired former local president in Michigan who said that if Watts had anything to do with my being removed from the convention he brought a great disgrace onto the CWA. If not, he said that Watts should protest to Carter. And wherever I go around the local, the membership has been extremely supportive; congratulating me, shaking my hand, saying "finally we have someone in this union that has put CWA on the map, that has shown the company and the rest of the labor movement that there is some group, some person in this union that is going to stand up, say what she believes and fight for policies for the workers instead of kowtowing to the company and the government." So the membership really came through. Many support us and are very proud that there is someone in their local that had the guts to stand up to Jimmy Carter.

WV: Were your local officials involved in any way in this Secret Service harassment?

JANE: The president of my local, Imerzel, as reported in a *Detroit News* article, was approached by the Secret Service early on Monday [July 16] and was asked if there was any way he could help in getting me off the convention floor when Carter was going to be there. He told them that there was no mechanism for that, but he did not come up to me and tell me that the Secret Service was trying to get rid of me. He also gave an interview to the *Detroit News* where he said that I was very disruptive in the San Francisco local's activities and that the Secret Service had just been doing its job. Naturally he refused to sign the petition demanding an apology from the White House.

WV: How did MAC answer this?

JANE: We said this was comparable to

WV Photo

Jane Margolis

the company taking a union steward into its confidence about impending action against a member and the steward not telling the member, leaving him open to company attack.

WV: Was Imerzel's attitude typical of other local officials?

JANE: No. Several other members of the executive board did sign the petition and in other locals as well, there are officials that signed the petition and felt that the seizure was an attack on the union.

WV: What effect have the events at the convention had on CWA militants outside of the Bay Area?

JANE: Well, the most exciting development is that a group of militants in Los Angeles has just decided to form a Militant Action Caucus. Two members of this group were alternate delegates to the convention. They returned to L.A., reported the events in Detroit to the local membership and raised a motion which demanded an apology from the White House. It passed overwhelmingly. Many of these new MAC members are black or Chicano and need no explanation as to the role of the police and Secret Service.

WV: Have you heard from other areas?

JANE: Yes. We have gotten word from around the country that the issue is being discussed in stewards' meetings, at executive board meetings, at local meetings, by the rank and file who have read different articles that appeared in the press like the one in the New York *Village Voice*.

Members are talking about the fact that if the Secret Service was going to handcuff me, try to silence me from asking any so-called embarrassing questions of Carter, then to what extent will they go in 1980 when we are in a possible national strike against the phone company? What will Watts do in order to avoid any embarrassment of Carter while he's in a primary election campaign?

WV: Has some of this recent interest in MAC come from members of local leaderships?

JANE: Yes, there were many delegates at the convention who are local presidents but they are working local presidents. They hold jobs just like the rest of us do. They are faced with the company's harassment. They are faced with the three freezes, with the increased firings. They are faced with having to fight a growing number of grievances which never get processed by the International. And they see and feel the

continued on page 11

or movement are at stake!"

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Working on the inside, outside

By JUANITA HILLMAN

Keith Anwar spends a lot of time outside Inland Steel Company's Plant in East Chicago, Indiana, lately. He passes out leaflets, talks intensely with the men and women going in, chases down grievance men and passes the hat. Almost daily he goes to the union hall to talk with officials there, and he's been a vigorous participant at every union meeting recently.

It wasn't long ago that Anwar spend a lot of time inside the Plant, at work, but he can't go in now. He's been fired for honoring a picket line.

Anwar, a Chicago resident, was fired by Inland May 18 because he refused to cross a picket line of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) local 8180 to go to work. Like most workers at Inland he is a member of the 18,000-strong USWA local 1010, but he felt that "it was crucial to show solidarity with local 8180. Anytime a local is on strike they should get the support of other workers in honoring their lines." Local 8180 is employed by the Apex Steel and Supply Company inside the Inland complex, and the local set up picket lines May 1. The strike was settled subsequent to Anwar's firing.

The company maintains that his refusal to cross during the duration of the strike was an 'unauthorized absence" which justifies dismissal.

To win his reinstatement, and defend several steelworkers recently disciplined for honoring picket lines in this area, Anwar has helped to form the Keith Anwar Defense Committee around the demands "That Inland Steel Immediately reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay," and "defend all union members victimized for honoring picket lines."

Also participating are Damon Lewis and Tom Knight, two steelworkers at U.S. Steel Southworks in South Chicago, who received one-day disciplinary suspensions for honoring picket lines of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks at Southworks last fall.

The Committee has thus far collected over $600 for Anwar's legal expenses in bringing his case before the National Labor Relations Board, with most of the money donated by steelworkers at the plant gates.

They have also received, according to Anwar, endorsements from Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo, Vice President of USWA local 1010 (Anwar's local); Jerry Wilson, president of local 8180 which put up the lines he honored, Joseph Gyurko, chairman of the local 1010 Grievance Committee; Rudy Schneider, head of local 1010's Strike Support and Boycott Committee; and Doreen Labby, editor of the USWA District 31 Women's Committee newsletter.

Anwar told the Defender that Keith Anwar, Defense Committee's most important support came in the form of a defense resolution, including the Committee demands, unanimously passed by the USWA District 31 Conference June 30. District 31 represents more than 100,000 steelworkers in this area.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee adress is Box 7914, Chicago, Ill 60680.

"I'm not trying to be a hero," says Anwar on the subject of why he honored local 8180 picket lines in the first place. "I just believe it's imperative to re-establish the time nonored labor tradition that picket lines mean don't cross. Strong picket lines built the trade union movement in this country, and without them strikes are often lost.

A Keith Anwar Defense Committee' leaflet distributed at steel plants July 16 described Anwar as "fighting an attack on the union's strongest weapon—the strike, and for the right of the trade union movement to protect its strikes — to have picket lines no one crosses." Anwar says he believes that, ultimately, the existence of trade unions themselves is at stake.

On firing line...

Chicago Defender

CHICAGO'S DAILY PICTURE NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, JULY 23, 1979

The 27-year-old Anwar is the son of an Afgham immigrant who left his native Afghanistan during World War II, under threat of imprisonment for criticisms of the old feudal regieme. "When my father left, most of his friends had been killed for expressing their criticisms," Anwar said. "So, you see, dissent runs in my family."

Anwar, who is single, was born in New York City and later moved to Cleveland, where he worked as a janitor and in a non-union machine shop. "More than anything else," he said, "it was that job which taught me the value of having a union to represent you in your workplace. Without unions, workers have no rights."

After moving to Chicago in April, 1977, he worked first at U.S. Steel Southworks, then at Inland where he became an apprentice millwright in the 24' Bar Mill. In June, 1978, Anwar encountered his first picket line when members of Bricklayers local 6 working on expansion at Inland struck and there were lines at his gate. He refused to cross, and eventually participated with the Bricklayers in mass picketing which shut down construction at Inland and won the strike. He asserts that Inland "toyed with the idea" of firing him at that time; but instead he received a disciplinary warning letter which he successfully grieved.

At present, Anwar is taking his case to the National Labor Relations Board, has hired a lawyer for this purpose and plans to use the fund collected by the Defense Committee to pay these legal expenses. On July 17 he was awarded unemployment benefits, an important victory because, he says, "this ruling that I'm entitled to benefits and strengthens my legal case against Inland. It shows I wasn't fired for dereliction of work duties."

"But the most important thing I'm doing now is seeking support from my fellow steelworkers," he said. "We need help in publicizing the case, more donations and endorsements for the Committee, and especially we need to put on the pressure from inside the plants where it really counts. I believe what I'm doing is in the interest of all steelworkers because it's not just my job, but the traditions of the labor movement that are at stake."

He cited as the best example of support so far the resolution passed at the recent District 31 Conference, which resolved that the District "use all available resources to reverse these attacks by defending all union members victimized for honoring picket lines" and demanded "that Inland Steel reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay."

He also cited a motion passed by USWA local 65 at Southworks June 27, which condemned the USWA International for dropping grievances filed by Defense Committee members Lewis and Knight against discipline they received for honoring picket lines. The motion pledged local 65 "defense of all militants victimized for honoring picket lines," and invited Anwar to address the local in his behalf.

Anwar stressed that his is not the only "picket line" case to come up in steel recently, "but only the most serious example of an offensive by the companies on the right to honor picket lines." There have been disciplines against several workers at Southworks, not only against Knight and Lewis, he told the Defender, "and there was a case in Gary where a worker honored railroad picket lines got a 38-day suspension.

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

tionaries to predict beforehand the nature of the new regime.)

The destruction of the Somoza regime has severely damaged the Nicaraguan bourgeois order. Somoza had more reason than Louis XIV to have said "*l'état, c'est moi.*" Not only was the Somoza family a major component of the ruling class, owning a substantial chunk of key sectors of the economy; the state power had become reduced to Somoza's personal praetorian guard. The civil war shattered it.

In bargaining with the revolutionary junta over the terms of Somoza's ouster, the State Department was less concerned to add a few more conservative bourgeois figures to the future government than *to preserve the National Guard*. And the Sandinistas did agree that "honest and patriotic" Guard officers would be integrated into a new national army, with no reprisals against any of them.

What a cruel betrayal of the Nicaraguan people, who have seen their husbands, children and parents massacred by Somoza's gangsters in uniform!

> "'They left the bodies here for 27 days, then they allowed them to be burned in front of the house. All that was left of my father was his head.
> "'They should kill every one of them. They shouldn't let one of them live, but they shouldn't kill them with just one shot, they should kill them so they suffer'."
>
> —*New York Times*, 3 August

This cry of torment and vengeance is from a young woman who saw Somoza's troops machine-gun her elderly father and mother. Later the Guardsmen's wives came back and looted her home.

Somoza's private army however did not trust the Sandinista leaders, whatever their promises to Jimmy Carter, to protect them against the blood lury of their victims. When their chief fled, the Guard crumbled into a mass of panicked refugees. The sight of Somoza's troops abandoning their guns, stripping off their uniforms and piling into helicopters to escape recalls similar scenes during the fall of Saigon. Most of the Somoza Air Force, commandeered by fleeing troops, is now parked on runways in Guatemala and Honduras. Fishing boats were hijacked by desperate Guardsmen in a dash to El Salvador; others formed a ragtag column that hotfooted it over the Honduran border, while the more unlucky troops took refuge in churches, Red Cross camps and foreign embassies. Hopefully at least some of them will be tried for their atrocious crimes.

The country Somoza left behind is in ruins. Every major city was repeatedly bombed and Esteli, the scene of heavy fighting since last September, is practically a ghost town. Factories are destroyed; crops are lost. Transport services are in total disarray as many buses served as barricades during the fighting. Hundreds of thousands are returning from refugee camps to a country without housing or work. Tens of thousands have died in the fighting.

The power vacuum in Nicaragua arises both from the gravely disrupted condition of the bourgeois order and the weakness of the working class, lacking consciousness and organization. This vacuum gives the petty-bourgeois layers and their radical Sandinista representatives exceptional social weight and autonomy from the two counterposed decisive class camps of the proletariat and capitalism. The Sandinista guerrilla army is now the dominant military force. The decisive question is whether a new capitalist state apparatus will be reconstituted from among these petty-bourgeois and bourgeois radical forces or whether the revolution will lead to a break with the capitalist-imperialist system.

The destruction of Somoza's National Guard, just like the destruction of Batista's Cuban army 20 years before, had opened up a period in which the class nature of the emerging state is not yet fundamentally determined. The Sandinista commanders pledge to respect private property—but so did the initial government of the Cuban Revolution. As we wrote three years ago:

> "...what existed in Havana following the overthrow of Batista was an inherently transitory and unstable phenomenon—a *petty-bourgeois government* which was not committed to the defense of either bourgeois private property of the collectivist property forms of proletarian class rule.... such a regime was temporarily autonomous from the bourgeois order—that is, a capitalist *state*, namely armed bodies of men dedicated to defending a particular property form, did not exist in the Marxist sense...."
>
> —"Guerrillas in Power," *WV* No. 102, 26 March 1976

UPI

Jubilant Nicaraguans celebrate downfall of Somoza dynasty.

The Lessons of Cuba

The Cuban Revolution therefore definitely casts its long shadow over Nicaragua, and not primarily because Castro has for many years supported the Sandinista guerrillas. Castro's Rebel Army was a heterogeneous petty-bourgeois force temporarily independent of the bourgeoisie. Generally such formations on coming to power have transformed themselves into *new bourgeois* bonapartist regimes integrated into the imperialist system. But in Cuba an exceptional development occurred leading to a break with the capitalist-imperialist order.

On first coming to power the 26th of July Movement guerrillas established a coalition government with old-time bourgeois politicians who in fact held the top posts: Manuel Urrutia as president, José Miró Cardona as prime minister and Roberto Agramonte as foreign minister. But Castro's initial reforms, especially the agrarian reform of June 1959, provoked a violent reaction from U.S. imperialism, which launched an economic boycott and encouraged domestic counterrevolutionaries. Castro in turn reacted with increasingly radical measures, which drove away all bourgeois support. Fearing the wrath of Yankee power, the Cuban bourgeoisie in large part fled to the U.S., expecting to return with the Marines.

To defend itself against U.S. imperialism and the Cuban bourgeoisie's economic sabotage, in the summer-fall of 1960 the Castro regime expropriated capitalist property. In carrying out this social transformation the petty-bourgeois radicals of the 26th of July Movement also transformed themselves into a Stalinist bureaucracy of a deformed workers state, politically expropriating and oppressing the Cuban workers and peasants. As we pointed out:

> "...the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is in one of its central aspects—i.e., the transmission belt for the pressure of the world bourgeois order on a workers state—a petty-bourgeois formation. The decisive section of the Castroites could make the transition to the leadership of a deformed workers state because in the absence of the egalitarianism and proletarian democracy of a state directly won by the working people, they never had to transcend or fundamentally alter their own petty-bourgeois radical social appetites, but only to transform and redirect them."
>
> —Preface to *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory" (1973)

The chief actors in the overthrow of Somoza have, each in their own way, drawn some lessons in seeking to *avoid* another Cuba. About two years ago the largest grouping within the Sandinistas, the *terceristas*, decided that voicing support to socialism à la Cuba was a fundamental barrier to a broad alliance against Somoza. So they dropped their Castroism and adopted a purely bourgeois-nationalist program. The anti-Somoza bourgeoisie, a large majority of the Nicaraguan capitalist class, responded favorably and has since tried to domesticate the Sandinista guerrillas.

The social revolution from above in Cuba took place only because the bonapartist Castro regime faced exceptional historic conditions. Among them, a decisive factor was the belligerence of the U.S. toward the Cuban rebel government. U.S. imperialism also has learned a lesson from this experience, and in many Washington circles it is now recognized that the U.S.' blind hostility to Castro in 1959 helped drive him toward the very expropriations it sought to forestall. In contrast, today the American rulers seem to have opted for the carrot instead of the stick in Nicaragua.

At first, fear of Castroite guerrillas coming to power caused the U.S. to support Somoza long after it was clear that his National Guard was fighting literally the entire Nicaraguan people. But when it became obvious that only direct military intervention could save Somoza, the Carter administration changed its tack and has since taken a conciliatory line toward the revolutionary junta. When Sandinista leader Tomás Borge states he's never said he is a Marxist, Washington is now willing to let him prove it. Even Castro remarked that Yankee imperialism has "learned something" and is not acting toward the Nicaraguan revolution as it did toward his.

Carter is trying to remove the onus of having backed Somoza until the eleventh hour. The new U.S. ambassador to Managua, Lawrence Pezzullo, strongly denounced any attempts by the defeated National Guard in exile to carry out counterrevolutionary actions. Washington is funneling funds to the new Nicaraguan regime via the Red Cross. And behind the scenes State Department men and CIA operatives are no doubt promising much more if the Sandinista commanders will play ball.

At the same time, the American rulers are not about to give the Sandinistas a blank check. Managua has requested that the U.S. supply it with weapons for the new People's Army. Washington's delay in agreeing to do so prompted the famous guerrilla chief and new deputy interior minister "Commander Zero" (Edén Pastora) to threaten that the

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junta would go to the "socialist bloc" for arms, although this statement was later repudiated by Interior Minister Borge.

Despite the Sandinista regime's repeated assertions that it wants good relations with Washington, U.S. diplomats are uneasy about the continuing anti-American rhetoric emanating from Managua. According to the *Washington Post* (7 August), *Barricada*, the official government organ and only newspaper currently published in the country, portrays the anti-Somoza revolution as a defeat for "U.S. imperialism" and refers to the Organization of American States as the "Department of State's Ministry of Colonies." The willingness of Yankee imperialism to deal with the Nicaraguan regime will strongly affect its course and may prove to be decisive in bringing about the reconsolidation of a state committed to defending capitalist property forms. But however shrewd the policy of Washington, the fate of the Nicaraguan regime will also depend upon the development of the class struggle within Nicaragua.

Castroite Guerrillas Govern with Millionaires

This government of "Marxist-Leninist" guerrillas and big capitalists will not easily master a country whose economy has been ruined, whose army has fled and whose masses expect more from the revolution than just slogans about "a new Nicaragua." One doesn't have to be a Marxist to figure out that the provisional government of national reconstruction is anything but a stable ruling group committed to a definite program. As the *New York Times*' Alan Riding put it on 22 July:

> "Anastasio Somoza Debayle was ousted last week because he succeeded in uniting almost all sectors of Nicaragua against him. In the heat of war, he even inspired the strangest of bedfellows to join a provisional government of national reconstruction. But can this potpourri of classes and ideologies work in government as it worked in opposition?
>
> "In reality, the nearer the opposition came to power, the more fragile the coalition seemed. It was always easy to draft joint denunciations of the dictatorship, but it was less simple for conservative businessmen, Social Democratic intellectuals and Marxist guerrillas to agree on what should replace it."

The Sandinista guerrillas seem to have given the bourgeois representatives the larger share of governmental power. Only two of the dozen or so ministers are leading Sandinistas; the rest are big capitalists, priests and technocrats. But this ministry is not where the real power lies. Castro, too, was not a member of the first post-Batista government; he just happened to be commander of the Rebel Army. If the Sandinista leaders have been generous in allowing their bourgeois allies ministerial portfolios, they have not allowed them to take command of the guns. The more sophisticated bourgeois press points out that the strongman in the Nicaraguan situation seems to be the Sandinista veteran Borge, who is both minister of the interior and one of the three commanders of the new People's Army. It is Borge, not the minister of defense (an old veteran of the National Guard), who is calling the shots in the armed forces.

But to date the Sandinista commanders have been no less insistent than their bourgeois colleagues that the "new Nicaragua" will be capitalist. Borge, tagged as "Nicaragua's Castro," protests: "I've never said I'm a Marxist," going on to substantiate this.

> "That's one thing we want to guarantee. Private property in this country will be respected. The only thing the revolutionary state has taken over to administer is the property of Somoza and his henchmen. The industrialists can keep calm."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 25 July

One might think that Fidel Castro might be upset that the Sandinistas, whom he befriended when they were weak, now reject Cuba as a revolutionary model. But no, the Stalinist *líder máximo* has joined the chorus proclaiming that the Sandinistas stand for a social system unique to Nicaragua.

> "To those who have said that Nicaragua will become a new Cuba, we respond to them in the way the Nicaraguans have responded, that Nicaragua will become a new Nicaragua—that is something very distinct."
>
> —UPI dispatch, 27 July

Fall of Saigon revisited—Somoza mercenaries flee wrath of their victims in hijacked Red Cross plane.

UPI

The Future of the Nicaraguan Revolution

A decisive section of the Sandinista cadre along with their present bourgeois allies may reconstitute a bourgeois state under the sway of Yankee imperialism. But that is not the only possibility. An upsurge of militant social struggle from below (e.g., peasant land seizures, popular vengeance against Somoza's Guardsmen), especially if it provokes a hostile reaction from the U.S., can pressure a section of the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinistas to the left, leading to bureaucratically-deformed social revolution. Alternatively such an upsurge, particularly in the absence of conscious revolutionary leadership, could well result in a bloody counterrevolution by the local bourgeoisie in alliance with the U.S. imperialists.

There is another road, along which lies the real hope for the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution: the emergence of the working class as an independent, conscious contestant for power. The creation of independent organs of workers power (e.g., workers militias, factory committees, soviets) would reciprocally lay the basis for the rapid development of a revolutionary proletarian (Leninist) party. The development of proletarian revolutionary forces would threaten the petty-bourgeois bonapartist appetites of *all wings of the Sandinista leadership*; a section of this petty-bourgeois movement would likely go over to the workers and its vanguard, while other elements would retreat into the camp of bourgeois reaction.

The present "unity" of the anti-Somoza revolution will be shattered, one way or another, by class conflict. The overthrow of Somoza in itself poses the radical redistribution of capitalist property in Nicaragua. This bloodsucking billionaire owned more than 30 percent of all the arable land in the country, along with a gigantic cattle herd. He had the controlling share of the national airline, owned the country's biggest shipping company, its biggest meatpacking operation, some construction companies, and lots more—all now taken over by the new regime.

What is to be done with these vast holdings will be an area of major conflict between the different social classes now supporting the Sandinista/bourgeois junta. The peasants expect and will demand that the Somoza estates be the basis for a radical egalitarian agrarian revolution. The bourgeois politicians in Managua will try to transfer Somoza's former wealth to their own pockets and those of their friends. The Sandinista minister of agrarian reform, Jaime Wheelock, proposes to turn most of the Somoza lands into cooperative farms, a proposal which must displease his bourgeois fellow ministers, who have a land hunger of their own. Furthermore, bourgeois landowners must fear that takeovers may well extend beyond "Tacho's" holdings to their own. It is possible that, as in Cuba in 1959, the scope and nature of agrarian reform may cause the first big blow-up between bourgeois ministers like Alfonso Robelo (Nicaragua's cottonseed oil king) and petty-bourgeois radicals like Wheelock.

While the Sandinista/bourgeois junta in Managua preaches the virtues of reformed capitalism, the picture in the country's second city, León, is rather different. This city fell to the Sandinista forces in June, and the more leftist "Prolonged People's War" faction predominates. In what the Spanish magazine *Cambio 16* terms "el León comunista," food and other supplies are freely distributed through block committees, money has been taken out of circulation, commercial transactions are forbidden and labor is commandeered.

Given the near-total economic devastation caused by the civil war, rationing and other forms of "military communism" are not necessarily attacks on the capitalist system. But many of the Sandinista militants, workers and poor look upon "el León comunista" not as a post-war emergency measure, but as a model for socialist reconstruction of the country. The *New York Times* (29 July) quotes one of León's leftist leaders who criticizes the Managua regime as reformist and states, "there are a lot of people here who would like this to be a Marxist state." He is unquestionably speaking the truth.

Workers to Power! For a Trotskyist Party!

The masses of Nicaragua cannot and do not want to live in the old way. But to produce a socialist revolution, the radicalized masses must be politically led and organized by a revolutionary vanguard party, centrally based on the proletariat, and with an international perspective. In the absence of such a Leninist (Trotskyist) party, Nicaragua can *at best* result only in another Cuba, in a *deformed* social revolution in which the working class is saddled with a narrowly nationalist, parasitic and oppressive bureaucracy. "Socialism in one banana republic" can only be an obstacle to the development of socialist revolution in Latin America.

But the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) sees no need for a Leninist vanguard—because its entire perspective is to pressure the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas into making Nicaragua "another Cuba." The USec's 20 June declaration, "Solidarity with the Struggle of the Nicaraguan People" (*Intercontinental Press*, 9 July), never mentions the need for a revolutionary proletarian party. Instead, these revisionists declare the Sandinista National Liberation Front to be the "vanguard . . . of the people of Nicaragua." But the dominant *tercerista* faction has a purely bourgeois-democratic program, while the other two factions uphold the standard Stalinist "two-stage" revolution. Now in power, the Sandinistas have not only stated their intention to administer a capitalist Nicaragua, but have taken steps in that direction.

The immediate task facing a revolutionary party in Nicaragua is to oppose the efforts of the Sandinista/bourgeois junta to restore a capitalist state. The Sandinista leaders have already displayed the bonapartist desire to secure a monopoly of military power. One of the first acts of the revolutionary junta was to order all civilians to turn in the guns many acquired when the Guardsmen abandoned their weapons *en masse*. Given the revolutionary chaos, it is doubtful that this order has yet been carried out. An urgent demand a revolutionary party in Nicaragua must raise is that the toiling masses keep their arms, and that workers militias be established independently of the Sandinista/bourgeois regime.

A revolutionary party would agitate for *popular tribunals* to try the National Guard criminals hiding in the churches and Red Cross camps. It would demand a radical egalitarian *agrarian revolution*, the expropriation of industry and commerce and the reconstruction of the economy on a socialist basis. Expropriation must not be limited only to Somoza's property. Above all, Trotskyists must agitate for a government excluding the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie and based on the democratic organs of the working class and its peasant allies. Such a revolutionary struggle obviously cannot be confined to Nicaragua alone, but must strive for a Socialist United States of Latin America. ■

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Khomeini's Iran...

(continued from page 3)

against Khomeini and all the mullahs, landlords and capitalists.

But it is just now that the HKS shamefully buries this demand, capitulating to Khomeini under the slogans of the traditional feudal leaders of the oppressed nationalities! The HKS boasts of its supposedly consistent defense of national rights. Two years ago the Sattar League (the SWP-loyal component of the merger which formed the HKS early this year) explained that "The unconditional support of the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities—*including their right to national independence*—is the proletariat's duty" (SWP *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, July 1977; emphasis added). What has become of such declarations of duty *now*, when it is Khomeini's guns which pose the issue? Where are they to be found?

Instead, while Khomeini threatens "separatists" with brutal reprisal, the HKS complains only that "separatism" is simply a "charge made to justify oppression of Arabs." So then presumably the HKS accepts the premise that suppression of a *genuine* separatist movement would be justified. The left-Stalinist Fedayeen, who echo Khomeini despite their support to "autonomy" for the nationalities, call "separatism" an imperialist plot against the "Iranian Revolution"—differing from the HKS only in being more explicit.

Lenin excoriated those who hypocritically covered for national oppression by attempting to limit national rights to cultural and linguistic demands. He insisted that the right to self-determination could have no meaning other than the right to political independence, to secede and form a separate state. The SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (11 June) uncritically quotes a so-called "representative of the Arab people" who defines self-determination vaguely as "having power in the region." Despite polemics against the Stalinists for advocating "autonomy" which leaves all power in the hands of the central government, the SWP/HKS shares the same framework—only hiding behind the claim that it is merely supporting what the "national movement" wants.

Thus a May 18 article in the HKS's *Kargar* uncritically supports a series of demands raised by the "Arab people," including various cultural and linguistic rights—but also the appointment of Arab ministers and army officers, plus "the incorporation of all the foregoing measures into the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran." In reality the HKS is tailing not the "Arab people," but the Arab mullahs who claim to speak on their behalf. Despite the Persian state's hardline stance, these clerics (like the Kurdish mullahs and feudal lords) accept Khomeini's rule and only wish to make a deal with him for a few more government posts. Their demand for "autonomy" is a concession to Khomeini—which the HKS gladly picks up and takes further still, demanding the creation of *Arab* Imam's Committees!

Mingham/Gamma-Liaison

"Liberal" Ayatollah Shariatmadari.

The "Revolutionary Dynamic" of Capitulating to Khomeini

The "Imam's Committees," the komitehs, have been described by the SWP/HKS as close to proto-soviets. Ritual praise is offered for their supposed revolutionary role in the struggle against the shah and for their plebian base. In fact, the July 30 *Intercontinental Press* wrote: "Many of the Imam's Committees, which Khomeini tried to make into a means for holding the workers back, were forced by the direct pressure they were under to carry out the workers' demands."

This portrait of a "revolutionary dynamic" operating through the komitehs is false from beginning to end. The mullahs sit on them by appointment and not election, with all decision-making power in their hands. Women are barred from participation. Instead of vehicles for proletarian mass mobilization, the komitehs are the clergy's instruments for organizing its petty-bourgeois constituency *against the workers movement*, and represent a potential threat to the proletariat far greater than that of a brittle, despised military dictatorship. There continue to be dozens of examples of the komitehs' attacks on workers strikes and demonstrations, brutalizing of leftists, assaults on women's protests and organizing of pogroms against the Kurds, Arabs and Turkomans. Some of these reactionary attacks have been recounted even by the SWP press.

To explain the komiteh's reactionary assaults, the SWP/HKS came up with the theory that only ex-SAVAK agents, who had infiltrated the komitehs, were responsible. At the time of the arrest of many HKS members, they carefully distinguished between the "Islamic fighters" and the ex-Savakis in the komitehs. This is a convenient scapegoat for the SWP because for a year now it has denied that Khomeini aimed at crushing the left. They lionized Khomeini as a "consistent fighter" against the shah—suppressing the fact that he is also a "consistent fighter" against women, national minorities, the left and the labor movement.

Yes, there are Savakis in the komitehs—they are there because the mullahs want them there. When Khomeini took power, we warned that the mullahs would need elements of the old regime:

> "Iran's mullahs need the iron fist of a military trained and equipped by imperialism to enforce 'justice' according to the Koran. The police stations burned down during the street fighting will be rebuilt. The shah's gendarmerie (which has now sworn allegiance to Khomeini) will reoccupy them and a regenerated and renamed SAVAK will again be unleashed against those dubbed 'traitors' by the new regime."
>
> —"Mullahs Win,"
> *Workers Vanguard* No. 225,
> 16 February

HKS Militants in Peril!—Free Them!

Fifteen militants of the HKS, arrested in May and early June, are in the most extreme danger. Five of them have been removed to cells in Karoun prison that were used as torture chambers by the shah's sadistic secret police. When their comrades protested this by staging a sit-in in the prison yard, the guards brutally beat them, severely injuring one.

The SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (30 July) describes a vicious assault on an HKS member by Muslim thugs:

> "In Isfahan, an important industrial center in southeast Iran, a brutal attack on a Trotskyist who was selling the Socialist Workers Party paper *Kargar* occurred in mid-July....
>
> "The HKS member was grabbed by a group of men and taken away in a car. He was systematically beaten with chains and burned with lighted cigarettes. Then the car was driven over his fingers.
>
> "Some of the kidnappers were recognized as members of the local Imam's Committee. But the methods used against this Trotskyist were those of SAVAK."

The SWP now expressed shock and surprise that the mullahs are using the SAVAK's methods of repression, including the use of *the very same torture cells!* But it comes as no surprise to revolutionary Marxists, who warned of the clerical reactionaries' ferocious anti-communism from the beginning.

According to *Intercontinental Press*, "In recent weeks, the government has revealed its increasing political embarrassment over the case of the imprisoned Trotskyists by offering to release them if they recanted their political views." Actually, it is the SWP which is embarrassed by the growing evidence of anti-communist repression—which they themselves are forced to report, even while grovelling before the mullahs' "revolution."

The government is making its "offer" from a position of strength, not weakness. It is the left which has been on the defensive. On June 25 four more members of the Fedayeen were arrested in Teheran. Mohammed Reza Sadati, a member of the Muslim-populist Mojahedeen guerrillas, has been arrested and threatened with torture, charged with spying for the Soviet Union. On July 3 a demonstration in his behalf was attacked by Khomeini's thugs. Three days later a pro-Fedayeen meeting at Tabriz University was broken up and the campus occupied by militia.

The SWP minimizes the plight of its imprisoned comrades because it is sacrificing them to the disastrous political strategy of tailing the mullahs. It has limited its defense work to telegrams protesting its loyalty to the "Iranian Revolution," and has sabotaged the HKS defense, dismantling its picket lines and forcibly excluding members of the international Spartacist tendency, rather than let our perspective of a militant united front defense be heard!

With the lives of the imprisoned leftists hanging in the balance, united front protests to free the victims of Khomeini's white terror are more urgent than ever. If they do not occur, it will truly be a tragedy—and a crime.

Free the HKS and the Fedayeen! For a United-Front Defense Against Islamic Reaction! For Workers Revolution to Overthrow Khomeini! ■

AP

Iranian oil workers celebrated when mullahs won. Now they face wrath of Khomeini.

Macho Man/ Gay Power...

(continued from page 5)

therapy session—it's a combat party based on *program* which demands real sacrifices from its cadres. Not surprisingly, a layer of the burnt-out RSI membership prefers me-decade consciousness-raising (one writer urges the organization to take up the struggle for non-smokers' rights) to "Bolshevik hardness" which Taber has made synonymous with male-chauvinist abuse.

In all this new "warm supportive" atmosphere, nobody should think the RSI leadership is going to give up any *real* power. An official Political Committee statement ("Sexism in the League," *Pre-Convention Report* No. 8, 14 November 1978) makes this perfectly clear:

> "...some edes. have argued that the League has no right to make any decision regarding women having babies... This is a mistaken view in our opinion. ...the League does have the right to make decisions regarding comrades having babies, given the fact that this is not a purely personal question. This is because the rights of an individual in the League are subordinate to the rights of the League as a whole."

Here's a brave new world indeed! This monstrous and criminal arrogance is truly frightening—what is the penalty if a comrade should get pregnant, we wonder? And these little dictators think the Bolsheviks were arrogant!

The culmination of hundreds of pages of documents is Taber's confession. "Finally, we accept that RT tried to impose his values too much on the organization. This has greatly contributed to the rotten atmosphere." [We bet!] "A great part of the problems in the organization are the direct effects of RT's personality. ... He will try hard to change, but this will take time" ("Statement on Sexism and Bureaucratism," by the Political Committee *Pre-Convention Report* No. 9, 16 November 1978).

The American working class hasn't had such good news since Progressive Labor's Jared Israel promised to start doing his own dishes. ■

NOTICE

The next issue of Workers Vanguard will be dated September 14.

Der Spiegel

ZAPU chief Joshua Nkomo (left) hobnobbing with imperialist flunkey Andrew Young.

Rhodesia...

(continued from page 4)

elections an "insult" to the terrorized black masses who voted for him at gunpoint this April. Ian Smith rejected most of the package. The "militant" ZANU announced that it hoped "the British government will remain faithful to the spirit of the declaration" (*Washington Post*, 8 August), but wanted the imperialists to guarantee the dismantling of the white army (!) so that the Patriotic Front could take its place.

The British plan, however, is based on a division of labor: Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique will drag the guerrillas to the bargaining table while the British, backed by U.S. imperialism, force some "concessions" from Rhodesia. Thatcher explained, "If Julius Nyerere can deal with his problem, I hope you will accept that I can handle mine" (*New York Times*, 8 August).

What all the wrangling boils down to is that the imperialists think that, whatever its ultimate fate, the Salisbury regime need not be dumped as immediately unviable. But the "internal settlement's" pretenses at democracy are so shoddy that there must be some further tinkering with white supremacist rule, so that Salisbury can have more time.

Any objection from the guerrillas is designed to wangle a better deal from the imperialists and does not spring from any principled opposition to intervention by Washington and London. The ex-preacher Nkomo is notorious for ties to Rhodesian big business and his willingness to make a deal. The "Marxist" Catholic Mugabe is no left alternative however. He calls on British imperialism "to exercise her responsibilities" and convene "another conference like Geneva in 1976" (*Zimbabwe: The Final Advance*, 1978).

> "One senior Churchman who knows him well recalls Mr. Mugabe's description of Zimbabwe as he would envisage it: 'There would be more Europeans than ever before because we need their expertise. There would be plenty of outside capital coming in. And there would be a guaranteed supply of plentiful, cheap labour.'"
>
> —*Irish Times*, 7 February

This is the stark reality of imperialist exploitation behind the lofty rhetoric of "African socialism."

The destruction of the racist Smith regime at the hands of ZANU and ZAPU would be a gain for the international working class. Solidarity with the guerrillas' military struggle against white supremacy, however, does not mean political support to the bourgeois nationalism of Nkomo or Mugabe, who want to establish a black capitalist regime dependent upon imperialism. The exploitation of the black workers and peasants will not end until the establishment of a Zimbabwean workers and peasants government, within a socialist federation of southern Africa. This requires a Trotskyist vanguard party based on the Rhodesian proletariat and linked to the massive and combative proletariat of neighboring South Africa. ■

Smash the KKK!

AUGUST 12—The KKK have put on their hoods and are nightriding again under legal cover of recent Supreme Court decisions. Small Klan rallies in New Jersey, California and North Carolina on Saturday sought to organize and recruit to their campaigns for racist terror. In a particularly obscene provocation, on August 9 fifty of the hooded thugs began a "white power" march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, consciously retracing the steps of the bloody Selma to Montgomery voter rights marches of 1965.

Martin Luther King termed Selma "the turning point," a victory for his movement. It was there at the Edmund Pettus Bridge on March 7, 1965—"Bloody Sunday"—that 600 black freedom marchers were brutally assaulted by Alabama state troopers and the KKK. But the murderous Klan also celebrates "Bloody Sunday," for it was the black man's blood which was spilled.

Today, as the Klan paraded in an armed column, the Selma black community was again led in prayer, told to "appeal to god and the capitalist state for protection. It will not be prayer but must be the black and workers movement—labor-black defense squads—which turn back these hooded cowards once and for all. ■

UPI

Ku Klux Klan thugs stage provocative march at site of racist 1965 assault on civil rights demonstrators in Selma Alabama.

Margolis...

(continued from page 7)

daily grinding attacks by the phone company. And they want a union that can fight the company. But they don't know how to get it.

WV: So even among a layer of local officials, there's a sense of futility with Watts' strategy?

JANE: Yes. I've talked to several local officers who have been very active in fighting for a bill in Congress which would limit forced overtime. And some have said that they are now beginning to believe that the only way we're going to fight forced overtime, to stop the company from charging for directory assistance, to win "manhole safety" and safe working conditions generally is by hitting the bricks, by using our power to shut down communications and go out on strike. I've heard CWA lobbyists complain that they are getting no hearing from Congress, from so-called friends of labor. Almost all of the legislation that the CWA has been fighting for has gone down the tubes. And some of these people are beginning to think that the legislative approach pushed by the International leadership is a waste of time and money. They are rethinking the ideas which we have been putting forward for the last eight years, which include the necessity of mobilizing the union membership for a real fight against the company, through independent action, through breaking with the Democrats and forming a workers political party.

WV: What are the future plans of MAC in light of the contract expiration next year?

JANE: We want to continue to make connections with local officers and local members around the country. We see the necessity for a national strike in 1980. We are going to continue to fight for the local right to strike. We see that this contract year is crucial in that the company is trying to automate our jobs out of existence. We demand job security through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. We want to stop the increasing number of firings. It is very clear that the company is trying now in every way to break the back of the union—fire outspoken militants and promote potential scabs—before we go into a possible national strike in 1980.

WV: There have been a number of opposition groups that have come and gone over the years in the CWA. What's been the difference between them and MAC?

JANE: Well, one of the key differences can be demonstrated by the United Action Caucus in New York. They had a very bad political track record. They supported Ed Dempsey who is president of the New York local, as the more "progressive" alternative. As a matter of fact Ed Dempsey was no alternative at all. Since he's been in office he's reduced the number of local meetings to twice a year; he has attempted to decertify stewards who have political disagreements with him. And he is working hand in glove with the International. The point is, he never had any program which stood against the policies of the International; and the United Action Caucus told the membership to support him, that he would make a difference. This is very common with the other groups that have been around the union. And as the members have learned for themselves, these "progressive" bureaucrats are no different than the guys they replace.

WV: It seems that not only MAC's fighting reputation, but its program as a whole is getting a broader hearing and winning new adherents.

JANE: That's true. We have received correspondence and communications from delegates around the country who are very interested in our ideas for the trade-union movement and who want to keep in contact.

We are the only opposition fighting for a class-struggle CWA. We've been around for eight years. The company has tried to get rid of us. I was fired in 1975 but the union was successful in getting my job back after 16 months. And over the years I've been twice elected as delegate to the convention. After speaking last year against an automatic dues increase (I said that we wanted millions for militancy but not one more cent for kneeling to the phone company), this year I voted against the dues increase again. After fighting for the local right to strike and explaining why we must not go along with Jimmy Carter's program of blaming the workers for inflation and the recession we're entering into, people are beginning to see that we're for a strong union, that we're union builders.

We want to get this union off its knees. We see that this means new leadership, a leadership that is not in the hip pocket of the company and the bosses' politicians. CWA members can see that we're serious about staying around and not being run out by the company, by the Secret Service or by an International which surrenders without a fight. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

No Government Handout for Bosses!

Whatever Chrysler's Worth— Give It to the Workers!

Auto workers at Dodge Main didn't have to read it in the papers to know that Chrysler—America's tenth largest industrial corporation—was in trouble. Nor did they have to peruse statistics showing Chrysler's whopping $207 million loss in the second quarter of 1979. Over 25,000 Chrysler workers have already become the victims of the profit system, joining tens of thousands of other auto workers in unemployment lines—pink slips, whole shifts down, plants like Dodge Main scheduled to close. Driving up the Chrysler Freeway to Hamtramck auto workers have visible proof of Chrysler's failure and the sharp downturn in the U.S. economy; all over the city storage lots are packed bumper to bumper with unsold Volares and Aspens.

So when Chrysler, on July 31, desperately called on the government for a billion dollar bailout from the edge of bankruptcy, workers were not surprised. It seemed the next logical step in an economy going to hell. The mass layoffs had already signaled the beginning of the downturn. The U.S. is experiencing the highest inflation rate since 1946, and Big Oil's great gas ripoff had motorists sweating on endless lines, finally exploding the old promise that at least there'd always be enough gas to get around. And now Chrysler, with $16 billion in annual sales and 250,000 employees worldwide, is going broke.

No Handouts For Bosses

From gas lines to plant closures, the irrationalities of the capitalist system are clear and ever-present. In this summer of increasing economic hardship and anger, Jimmy Carter tells Americans: It's all your fault, pray for your gas-guzzling sins, and "keep the faith" in capitalist America. As a result Carter is not only as unpopular as Nixon at his Watergate level, but is becoming increasingly hated.

WV Photo

Answer Layoffs With Sitdowns!

But the Chrysler collapse won't do much to "keep the faith" in decaying capitalism. Americans know this is no Lockheed bailout (already a "subsidiary" of the Defense Department) or financial therapy for the crippled Penn Central. This is the auto industry that's in trouble, the heart of U.S. competitive capitalism; this is Henry Ford and the assembly line, the "better mousetrap," the proud boast of American productive superiority through privately owned industry.

Suddenly every major bourgeois newspaper in the country is filled with editorials and plans on how to "Save Chrysler." After warning of the "dangers" of government "involvement" with private industry, the capitalists have the gall to support the Chrysler bailout in the name of the workers' jobs. What arrogant hypocrisy. Those who yesterday talked glibly about the beneficial effects of a "mild recession" on the investment market, today have discovered a social conscience. The pundits of capitalism at the *Wall Street Journal* (3 August) were characteristic. After denouncing nationalization "games," and saying in "a healthy economy" government must simply "let companies adapt to their changing fortunes," they inject "a note of sympathy for Chrysler." After all, "when the jobs of 250,000 Chrysler workers are threatened and pension funds and other savings invested...are jeopardized then the game becomes less funny," they write. Even Treasury Secretary G. William Miller tried to play the part of friend of the working man, decrying the potential loss of jobs at Chrysler.

Who do they think they're kidding? Certainly not the UAW workers. When it's time for mass layoffs, then it's the bosses' right to dump as many workers as necessary. It's just part of the system.

continued on page 2

Defend Keith Anwar!

CHICAGO—"Picket lines mean don't cross" is the message being taken to the steel mills south of Chicago as the campaign to defend Keith Anwar continues to win significant support. Anwar, until May 18 an apprentice millwright at Inland Steel's 24-inch bar mill in East Chicago, Indiana, was fired for honoring the picket line of striking United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8180.

On August 8, Anwar received an important solidarity statement from Ed Sadlowski, the well-known "dissident" who unsuccessfully challenged Lloyd McBride in 1977 for the USWA international presidency. Sadlowski (who carried the union's basic steel division in that election) offered the committee a letter which stated "I hail Mr. Anwar's actions and think they were in the best traditions of trade union solidarity."

The defense committee's demands "that Inland Steel immediately reinstate Keith Anwar with full seniority and back pay" and "defend all union members victimized for honoring picket lines" were endorsed by the unanimous vote of the USWA District 31 (Chicago area) Conference as well as Anwar's own Local 1010. The June 27 meeting of Local 65 at U.S. Steel's Southworks plant likewise pledged to defend militants victimized for respecting picket lines. Individual endorsements have been received from close to 30 USWA officials including the presidents of three locals. Bricklayers Local 6, whose picket line Anwar refused to cross in June 1978, made a sizable donation to help pay for legal expenses.

USWA officials are certainly aware of the growing interest in this important struggle. Rank-and-file union members have contributed the lion's share of the more than $900 donated to the Anwar defense fund. The case has also generat-

continued on page 6

August 8, 1979

To Whom It May Concern:

I, Ed Sadlowski, strongly stand behind Keith Anwar in his struggle for immediate reinstatement with full vesting of seniority and back pay at the Inland Steel Company.

Brother Anwar was discharged by Inland Steel for honoring picket lines set up by trade unionists in defense of their democratic rights. I hail Mr. Anwar's actions and think they were in the best traditions of trade union solidarity.

Very truly yours,
Ed Sadlowski

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 239

14 September 1979

Khomeini's Bloody Terror

Khomeini's Persian army murders Kurdish rebels.

UPI

Massacre in Kurdistan

SEPTEMBER 11—Over the past month, the attacks mounted by the Khomeini regime on its left-wing opponents and the national minorities in Iran have escalated sharply. Demonstrators are no longer being beaten up only by unofficial civilian thugs of the "Imam's committees," but now face the heavy weapons of the "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" (Pasdars) and the ex-shah's regular armed forces. Following mass demonstrations in Teheran during mid-August protesting the suppression of the liberal daily *Ayandegan*, newspapers and offices of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, the Guevarist Fedayeen and the Socialist Workers Party (HKS) were closed down and sacked.

The biggest mobilization of Khomeini's reactionary repression, however, has been directed against the Kurdish national minority. To crush their struggle for autonomy from the Persian chauvinist regime in Teheran, Khomeini ordered his Pasdars, army troops and air force to launch a full-fledged reign of terror in Iranian Kurdistan. While various pseudo-socialists now seek to explain this butchery with the cynical claim that the ayatollah has carried out a "self-coup" against his own regime, the attacks on the Kurds, Arabs, Turkmenis, women, workers and the left in Khomeini's Iran did not begin yesterday. The mullah-loving left is trying to cover up its own failure to resolutely defend the victims of the "Islamic Revolution" it fervently supported.

Iran is a prison house of oppressed nations, including the Kurdish nation, balkanized between five Near Eastern states in the imperialist dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire at Versailles. Since Iranian Kurds are predominently Sunni Muslims, they are also subjected to religious victimization in Iran, where 90 percent of the population belongs to the Shi'ite branch of Islam.

Khomeini Slaughters Kurds—HKS Denies Right to Independence

The persecution of the Kurds has been even *more* savage under Khomeini's dictatorship of the Shi'ite clergy than under the shah. Thus in only four days of fighting last March in Sanandaj, the provincial capital of Kurdistan, more than 400 Kurds were slaughtered. And during the recent invasion, a spokesman for the Kurdish Democratic Party charged that "the only difference" between Khomeini and the shah "is that during the Pahlavi regime, they did not kill innocent people so ruthlessly."

The present fighting in Kurdistan started in Paveh, a town of 15,000 near the Iraqi border. Annoyed with gangsterism by Khomeini's Islamic guards, the Kurds in Paveh wiped out the Pasdars and laid siege to a police outpost where a deputy prime minister was holding out with 20 soldiers. Outraged that his Shi'ite warriors had been dealt such a humiliating blow by

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SWP/USec Criminal Tailism: History Takes Its Vengeance

They bowed to their executioners.

As Ayatollah Khomeini rose to power in Iran following the overthrow of the bloody shah, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) emblazoned a headline hailing this event across the front page of its newspaper, a headline which will be immortalized in the annals of class treachery: "VICTORY IN IRAN!" (*Militant*, 23 February). *So whose victory now, SWP?*

Every day since the fall of the Peacock Throne events in Iran have confirmed that the spoils of this "victory" are the savage repression of minorities, the execution of strikers, homosexuals, adulterers and others accused of "crimes against god"; the stoning of unveiled women, the suppression of all opposition parties and press. The current slaughter of hundreds of Kurds in northwestern Iran is only the most recent repressive measure of this Shi'ite theocracy in consolidating *its* victory.

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was unique on the left in telling the truth which every day receives confirmation in Khomeini's "Islamic Republic": the mullahs' victory means a regime just as reactionary as the shah's. In contrast, the SWP and its co-thinkers in the Iranian HKS (Socialist Workers Party) disguised and obscured at every stage the reactionary character of Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalist regime. Today the HKS is experiencing the consequences of the "victory" it cheered only six months ago as it, along with other left and secular groups, has had its offices sacked and closed, its press suppressed, its members beaten, jailed and threatened with execution.

Despite the fact that brutal Islamic repression against the left, women, national minorities and homosexuals began on Day 1 of the mullahs' regime, the egregiously misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), to which both the American SWP and Iranian HKS are "fraternally" affiliated, characterized the ayatollah as "progressive" and "anti-imperialist." Even Khomeini's attack on their HKS comrades brought forth a desultory response. The one thing the SWP did energetically was to exclude Spartacists from defense of the threatened Iranian socialists. Only now that it has finally dawned on these inveterate tailists, blinded by their opportunism, that they may actually have to pay for their treachery has the USec belatedly sprung to life and begun screaming from the pages of their newspapers, "Stop Execution of Socialists in Iran!"

In time-honored reformist fashion they are trying to cover their tracks by playing up the threat hanging over the arrested HKSers. The Stalinists used the same ploy following the 1973 Pinochet coup, trying to focus protests on freeing

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Reactionary Islamic Revolt in Afghanistan

In a military camp in Pakistan, a young Afghani teacher of the Koran explains to a *New York Times* reporter that he is fighting against the government of Nur Muhammad Taraki because it stands for "the Russian doctrine that they call democracy." The teacher is part of a feudalist revolt currently raging against the Soviet-backed left-nationalist Taraki regime which seized power in Kabul in April of last year. The rebellion is aided by Pakistani dictator Zia, who fancies himself a soldier of Islam and vows to stamp out alcohol, adultery and other examples of "moral corruption." And significantly, many of the rebelling tribesmen are Shi'ite Muslims who look to Iranian ayatollah Khomeini for inspiration—and guns—in their *jihad* against "godless communism."

Virtually the entire left fell to its knees before the demagogic "imam" of Qom, but one only has to observe the civil war next door in Afghanistan for confirmation of the reactionary character of the Islamic fundamentalist revival. Whereas anti-communism usually justifies itself in terms of "freedom" and "human rights," the Afghani insurgents declare they are fighting-a holy war to preserve Islamic law, in particular the seclusion/enslavement of women. And the traditional Afghanistan which they vow to preserve is one of the most backward countries on earth: almost totally rural, with an average life-expectancy of 40 years and a 90 percent rate of male illiteracy (98 percent for women). Almost all women, save a tiny Westernized urban middle class, are imprisoned in the head-to-foot *chador* (veil).

When the Taraki government took over, the Western press raised cries of a "Communist coup." This is false even in terms of the common identification of communism with Stalinism. The current rulers came to power through a typical left-wing officers' coup and continue to base themselves mainly on the army. It is even doubtful that the main civilian component of the regime can be characterized as Stalinist: Taraki's Khalq (Masses) faction is reportedly headed by U.S.-trained intellectuals who last summer purged the more hard-line Moscow-loyal Parcham (Banner) faction. The present Kabul government is a bourgeois-nationalist regime comparable to Sukarno's Indonesia or Nasser's Egypt. However, because Afghanistan is far more primitive and a strategically important neighhor of the USSR, the weak nationalist regime is critically dependent on Soviet military/economic aid against the feudalist insurgents.

Modernizing Nationalists Face Feudal Reaction

While not openly repudiating Islam, the Taraki regime sought to give the country a secular, progressive image. The new Democratic Republic of Afghanistan changed the national flag, removing the green of Islam, and the term "comrade" was widely introduced into the language of officialdom. Nor were the regime's reform efforts limited to these symbolic acts. One of Taraki's more popular measures was to cancel the debt of poor and landless peasants to the powerful moneylenders. In a country where 4 percent of the population owns 40 percent of the land, an agrarian revolution is the key to any radical social transformation. And the government did propose a sweeping land reform aimed at giving 240,000 peasant families full ownership rights to land and encouraging them to form cooperatives.

However, landlord economic sabotage and terror combined with the mass reactionary insurgency has made the agrarian reform a dead letter. Some months ago Kabul announced that land distribution had been completed ahead of schedule. In reality, they just stopped the program. But the main fuel for Islamic reaction is not so much Taraki's economic reforms as the limited measures of equality for women. One of the major changes the new regime introduced into Afghani social life was in reducing the traditional bride-price to a nominal sum. It did not eliminate the bride-price entirely since the Koran explicitly states that a woman is the property of her husband.

More significantly, the regime has introduced compulsory education for girls and voluntary literacy programs for adult women, though women students remain segregated from men. Schooling for women, cry the mullahs, is the first step toward a life of shame. It is on this issue above all that the Islamic revolt has mobilized. For example, the London *Financial Times* (22 May) reported that in April troops had to be brought into a small town near the capital when mobs attacked a school for extending its adult literacy program to women.

All in all the bourgeois-democratic measures of the Taraki regime are far less radical than the Kemalist reforms in Turkey in the 1920s-30s, not to mention those of the Great French Revolution. Even an anti-communist American academic admits: "There is little this government is trying to do that wasn't implemented in the West two centuries ago" (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 June). But making no pretense at standing for the rational principles of a Jefferson or a Thomas Paine, today the U.S. ruling class supports the most barbaric forces of feudal oppression and religious mysticism in the East. Thus, Carter's grey eminence, Zbginiew Brzezinski, denounces Sovict policy in Afghanistan for trying "to impose alien doctrines on deeply religious and nationally conscious peoples" ([London] *Guardian*, 6 August).

And this is no mere statement of philosophic differences. Washington is actively backing the feudalist insurgency in Afghanistan with and through that country's fanatically Islamic neighboring states, Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran and General Zia's Pakistan. So while the opportunist left was hailing Khomeini as a great "anti-imperialist," he was linking arms with the CIA in seeking to overthrow the pro-Soviet, left-nationalist regime in Afghanistan.

U.S. imperialism is really scraping the hottom of the barrel for defenders of "Western democracy" against "godless Communism": Khomeini, Zia, and even the Afghani feudalists who make a habit of attacking hapless Europeans under the impression they are all Russians.

Mingham/Gamma-Liaison

While take tetts hailed Khomeint as progressive "anti-imperialist," he backed anti-communist, teudalist insurgents in Afghanistan.

Victory for the Islamic insurgents in Afghanistan would be a victory for the landlords over the peasants, for the moneylenders over the poor. It would be a victory for the veil. And while the Taraki regime is a left-bourgeois one, based mainly on a section of the old officer corps, the country's would-be revolutionaries have undoubtedly rallied around it. Therefore, the overthrow of this nationalist regime by Muslim tribesmen would also lead to the physical destruction of the potential cadre of a revolutionary (Trotskyist) vanguard

Our position of military support to the Taraki regime is *not* derived from the fact that it is closely allied to the Soviet bureaucratically-ruled workers state, while its enemies are backed by the U.S. imperialists. Such alliances are in any case changeable (Egypt). As revolutionary internationalists our position in civil wars is governed by whether or not historically progressive conquests are at issue—whether there is a qualitative difference between the sides from the standpoint of the proletariat—*not* by the Russian Stalinists' often criminal maneuvering among diverse bourgeois-nationalist and even feudalist-reactionary forces. In the Horn of Africa, for example, we defend the national-liberation struggles of the Eritrean and Somali peoples against the Soviet-allied Ethiopian regime of Colonel Mengistu. In Mengistu the Russian (and Cuban) Stalinist rulers are supporting a left-talking Idi Amin, who has committed mass butchery of the country's young leftists as well as of its national and tribal minorities.

In Afghanistan, however, Soviet arms and advisers are defending a regime which is under attack for its limited efforts at democratic reform. But even if the Taraki government succeeds in quelling the present Muslim uprising, it will still not be able to carry out a radical transformation of Afghani society. The tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the Muslim East cannot be accomplished from above, through the army. Under far more favorahle conditions than in Afghanistan, the Kemalist effort to transform Turkey into a modern, secular society proved superficial and reversible. Islamic reaction is as potent and pervasive in Turkey today as it was half a century ago.

Destroying the power of the mullahs, the landlords and the usurers of the Muslim East cannnot be achieved by modernizing army officers, but only by a class-conscious, revolutionary proletariat. Pulling Afghanistan out of the muck and gore of feudal barharism will be achieved through proletarian social revolutions in Iran, Pakistan and India linked to proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist hureaucracy in the USSR. ■

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Sitdowns Against Mass Layoffs

For an Industrywide Strike to Shut Down Auto!

SEPTEMBER 11—The automobile industry is in deep crisis. The generalized U.S. recession is now centered on this key industry where more than 60,000 workers have been laid off indefinitely during recent months and stocks of unsold cars are at the highest level in years. Annual factory changeovers have been lengthened—in itself a disguised form of layoff—and introduction of the 1980 models has been postponed. The Chrysler Corporation, begging for a government handout, could go under altogether. With inflation raging at the highest rate since World War II, economists are nervously recalling 1974 when the bottom fell out in Detroit and 300,000 auto workers lost their jobs.

On September 14, in the midst of this grim scenario, the United Auto Workers' (UAW) nationwide contract with the Big 3 auto manufacturers expires. In a year which has seen the entire U.S. working class pounded month after month by inflation, tormented by gasoline shortages and blamed for it all by a sanctimonious president, auto workers are particularly under the gun. It is urgent that the UAW now take a stand—or pay for it in the months ahead with massive cuts in living standards and hundreds of thousands of layoffs.

WV Photo

Militant UAW ranks during 1976 strike at Ford's giant Rouge plant.

For an Industrywide Strike Coupled with Sit-Ins

At the moment when 750,000 auto workers are undergoing a major attack by the bosses, union president Doug Fraser is waving the white flag. Never before has the UAW bureaucracy so belittled the need for a strike as it is doing now. The head of the union's General Motors (GM) division, Irving Bluestone, asserts, "I really have a conviction that we can settle without the necessity of a strike this year" (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 August). Retreating even from its meek policy of striking one company at a time, Solidarity House has announced that *if* there is a strike, it will affect only 47 of GM's 162 U.S. installations, many of them parts warehouses with relatively few employees. The pathetic "selective strike" strategy would involve just over 20 percent of the No. 1 auto maker's 460,000 unionized workers and will allow Ford, Chrysler and Canadian GM to continue production without interruption.

After sitting on their hands for months while the auto bosses shut down entire shifts, departments and even whole plants, Fraser and the rest of the UAW tops now moan that a real strike would play into the hands of the companies by allowing them to work off inventories without the burden of paying supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB). "Striking during a recession is suicidal. There's nothing we can do," the UAW hacks lament.

This is a lie. Although the bureaucracy has undermined the UAW's bargaining position by its criminal inaction, auto workers do not have to accept a chicken-feed settlement only to be handed their pink slips after the contract is ratified. Instead of accepting the "right" of the companies to lay off, auto workers need a fighting program that addresses the central issue of unemployment. The UAW must demand jobs for all auto workers, by dividing the available work through a shorter workweek at full pay and full COLA. But winning such a demand requires mobilizing the entire strength of the union. The bureaucracy's policy of striking only one of the Big 3 at a time (and this year one-third-at-a-time would be more accurate) undermines union solidarity by putting the burden of taking on the companies onto a minority of the workforce. This bankrupt strategy must be junked in favor of a militant, industrywide strike throughout the U.S. and Canada.

Tony Spina/Detroit Free Press

UAW head Fraser (left): always ready for a deal with the auto bosses.

Such an industrywide strike must be coupled with a rolling wave of sit-ins in plants decimated by mass layoffs—not just in decrepit facilities but in new factories as well, where putting the latest multi-million dollar manufacturing technology in the hands of the workers can provide powerful leverage against management. Even in an economic downturn a complete work stoppage which permits no production, no changeover and no shipments would have a profound and immediate impact on the arrogant auto barons. As the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Ford Mahwah, N.J.) wrote in a leaflet this July, when the plant's truck department was closed down:

> "The sitdown is effective against mass layoffs because it hits the bosses where they live—their private property which they say gives them the 'right' to throw us out of work. The UAW International should be organizing such militant actions in the dozens of plants being hit by mass layoffs and closings, fighting for our jobs and demanding unlimited unemployment benefits for laid-off workers, full recall rights, and government financing of bankrupt SUB funds."

For the Chrysler workers who fear that *all* of their jobs may be lost in the chaos of capitalist competition, the sitdown strike is a crucial weapon. Doug Fraser has endorsed a reactionary government bailout scheme that provides subsidies to the bosses while accepting plant closings and a *substandard* contract for Chrysler workers. Chrysler workers must occupy decimated plants—those slated for shutdown or hit by mass layoffs—and demand instead: No handouts to the bosses and stockholders! No sweetheart deals—A single contract for all auto workers! If Chrysler goes bankrupt, then workers occupying the plants should seize the company's assets. Such a militant struggle, linked to the industrywide fight for jobs not only would strike a blow at the bosses' sacred property rights but would fire the imagination and attract active support of other sections of labor and the unemployed, especially the oppressed black masses in industrial hellholes like Detroit. It is also the effective answer to threats of lockouts, which GM could well resort to in the face of the UAW leaders' quaking fear of a full-scale strike.

The crisis in auto has focused attention on the Dodge Main plant near Detroit which Chrysler has slated for the scrap heap. The Spartacist League program to fight layoffs and plant closings by occupying the factory has attracted considerable attention at demonstrations, forums, on radio, TV and in the newspapers because no one else raises this obvious demand. It is left to the Trotskyists and their supporters in the trade unions to defend the auto workers' own traditions from 1937 when militant sit-down strikes in Flint, Michigan won the first contract from General Motors.

Business as Usual and Business Is Bad

The UAW bureaucracy's refusal to challenge the anarchic capitalist system of production inevitably leads it to demand that workers tighten their belts in periods of economic depression. Thus Fraser has backed off from the tough-sounding rhetoric of a few months ago, scaled down the union's already minimal demands and urged the membership to look to Washington instead of mobilizing to fight for their jobs.

Solidarity House canceled its plan to stage a series of "mini-strikes" prior to September 14 at seven critical GM plants. Ostensibly over local production standards, the walkouts were intended to win preferential hiring for union members in newly opened factories. But even this plan was shelved as a result of "satisfactory discussion." As a result, overtime continues to be scheduled at these plants as layoffs mount in the factories which produce the full-size "gas guzzlers."

In fact Fraser's most "militant" action so far was the pathetic *six-minute* national "strike" during which UAW members "put down their tools and pick[ed] up their pens" (advertisement,

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 239 14 September 1979

Bolshoi Ballerina Held

Carter Hijacks Soviet Airliner

On August 24 a packed jetliner at New York's Kennedy airport, already cleared for takeoff, was suddenly surrounded by armed men as cars raced onto the runway to block its wheels. United Nations and American officials soon swarmed over the airport terminal, a hot line to Washington was set up, while for 72 hellish hours passengers sat sweating in the cramped, stuffy cabin. Another terrorist hijacking by fanatical neo-Nazi Croatian nationalists? No, it was U.S. commander-in-chief Jimmy Carter, who from his secluded hideout at Camp David was masterminding the seizure of a Soviet Aeroflot jet. The world looked on in stunned amazement, asking what lay behind this bizarre and outrageous incident.

Two days earlier the flamboyant Bolshoi Ballet star Alexander Godunov had defected to the United States and dropped from sight. His wife, Lyudmila Vlasov, a ballerina with the Bolshoi, was on the plane headed for Moscow along with more than 100 other passengers. U.S. immigration men, on orders direct from Carter, insisted they only wanted to determine that Vlasov was leaving of her own free will. They hoarded the plane that very night, seized her passport and reportedly offered her an American one, but were rebuffed. She told them: "I love my husband. But he made his decision to stay here and I have made mine to leave." This was unsatisfactory to Carter's commandos, who held the plane and its increasingly miserable passengers for another three full days while they leisurely stretched out pointless "negotiations."

The kidnapping of Aeroflot Flight 316 was a calculated provocation by an increasingly weird U.S. president. Clearly Jimmy Carter is a desperate man. With this adventure in diplomatic brinkmanship he evidently figured that the Godunov defection could be parlayed into a cause célèbre to rally public opinion behind his belligerently anti-Soviet "human rights" posturing. Watching his poll ratings drop almost daily, Carter apparently thought he could recoup the way Gerald Ford did with the Mayagüez affair after the fall of Saigon, by engineering an Entebbe-style hijacking of a Soviet plane!

This is the act of a man who has taken leave of his senses, flailing out for any issue to save his foundering administration. The Kremlin can't forget that Carter has his finger on the nuclear trigger. If Brezhnev ever pulled such a crazy stunt, the U.S. would instantly have begun ferrying attack bombers to West German air bases! As it was, the Soviets decided to let Jimmy play out his fantasy until it collapsed of its own accord. For authentic communists it was an outrage that instantly provoked the demand: Free the Aeroflot 112!

Carter's hijacking backfired badly because the beautiful ballerina refused to leave the plane. This was something he hadn't counted on: that any Russian performer might turn down the opportunity for fame and fortune in the West. Lyudmila told Soviet reporters she was afraid the U.S. would kidnap her. Fantastic? Not at all when the plane was surrounded by rings of heavily armed men fully prepared to storm aboard, risking the lives of the passengers with their "rescue" tactics. Chief U.S. negotiator Donald McHenry, asked if the U.S. had the right to forcibly carry her off, replied coolly: "Yes, but that would just be asking for trouble."

The American government preferred "diplomacy," he noted—consisting of killing time in the lobby discussing "mushroom picking" among other arcane subjects, while the terrorist tactics of hijacking, threats and intimidation were enforced outside. McHenry, who will replace his fired boss Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the UN, forbade American reporters to interview the ballerina, even though the Soviets offered it. After stretching out the insult as long as possible, a final conference was held at which Vlasov once again insisted she was leaving for Moscow and didn't want to see her husband. After all the fulsome concern for her marriage, U.S. negotiators didn't even bother to give her a handwritten letter from Godunov.

UPI

Bolshoi ballerina Ludmilla Vlasova.

So the "Aeroflot 112" are now free, and both sides claim a propaganda victory. Jimmy Carter was able to bake his imperialist list in the face of the Kremlin with impunity. Of course, he can't know if Brezhnev or his successor might not reply in kind at another time. For the Stalinist bureaucrats who run the Soviet Union, the "victory" was an uneasy one. Certainly their coolness stood out against Carter's frenzy. They also were able to obscure the fact that yet another major ballet star had defected to the West. But in the face of this incredible provocation, hijacking and toying with their citizens for days, the Soviet leaders made only the mildest protest—for fear of endangering Congressional approval of the phony Salt II treaty on which they have pinned their hopes of accommodation with the imperialists.

The response of Moscow's American flunkeys was ludicrous: the CPUSA initially put the story on the *Daily World*'s "family page," along with spaghetti recipes and home safety tips. The *Guardian* chose to see the hijacking as a result of U.S. "sexism": a brief article in its "Women in Struggle" column indignantly castigated Carter for failing to see that a woman might actually choose country over husband. This all kind of misses the point, namely that in his vicious attacks on the Soviet Union the insecure Carter is capable of truly dangerous actions. Today JFK airport, tomorrow the Near East or Europe. Such arrogant antics are an expression of the deadly hostility of imperialism to the USSR. And when the U.S. president waves his big stick it is time to reaffirm that unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically deformed workers states is a duty of the entire world proletariat. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive
Sept. 14-Oct. 19

With this issue of *Workers Vanguard* we launch our annual subscription drive, to be held September 14-October 19. Quotas totalling 2,800 points are projected on the basis of last year's highly successful drive. In addition to selling *WV* subs, the drive will aim at expanding the subscription bases of *Young Spartacus* and *Women and Revolution* and at expanding bookstore placements. This year's sub drive will also be an important part of the recruitment campaign discussed in *Young Spartacus* No. 73 (May) and will coincide with a heavy schedule of public forums and regional tours.

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TOTAL	2,800

Mountbatten of Burma Blown Away

The long military career of Earl Mountbatten of Burma—a man who had a hand in virtually every major British imperialist crime from World War II onward—ended dramatically and with a certain appropriateness on August 27. Mountbatten was killed at the age of 79 when a Provisional IRA bomb blew his expensive pleasure craft out of the water off the coast of County Sligo in the Republic of Ireland. Two of his relatives and a young boatman also died in the blast. It was the most spectacular assassination of a prominent ruling-class figure at least since Franco's handpicked successor, Spanish premier Carrero Blanco, was sent five stories into the air by a Basque ETA bomb in Madrid in 1973.

Six hours later the IRA struck again killing 18 soldiers from the British army's Second Parachute Regiment in a double ambush at Warrenpoint in Northern Ireland. This is the same army regiment which murdered 13 unarmed Irish Catholic civilians in the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry. The land-mine attack whose victims included the Commanding Officer of the Queen's Own Highlanders was the biggest single military coup for the IRA since 1920 when they got 18 of the infamous hoodlum British "auxiliaries," the Black and Tans.

Bourgeois press hysteria focused on the death of Mountbatten—for this man was one of their own. "Murdering Bastards!" screeched anti-IRA headlines in the popular gutter press. More sophisticated bourgeois journals served up purple-prose pacans to the life and works of this "noble with a common touch." "The light that was so brutally snuffed out by the work of squalid trolls [!] was one of a radiance beyond their ken," read a typical eulogy in the Tory *Spectator*. "There can never be another, for the world into which fate poured the rare metal, of which Mountbatten was made, is broken now."

Mike Lloyd

"Uncle Dickie," left, with chinless wonder Prince Charles.

Page after page of such obnoxious drivel accompanied reports of Margaret Thatcher's symbolic flying visit to the IRA "capital" of Crossmaglen in Northern Ireland and emergency consultations on cross-border security with Irish prime minister Jack Lynch. On September 5 Mountbatten was given a ceremonial funeral procession through the streets of London which was matched in pomp and grandeur only by the funerals of Winston Churchill and past British monarchs.

Louis Mountbatten was the last Viceroy and first Governor-General of India; a member of the House of Lords, that offensive holdover from feudalism; former Admiral of the Fleet, First Sea Lord and Chairman of the United Kingdom Defence Staff as the press ceaselessly noted. He was also a great grandson of Queen Victoria and beloved of the present queen herself ("Uncle Dickie" she called him). Indeed, due to the inbreeding of the crowned heads of Europe, Mountbatten—whose family line went back to Charlemagne—was also related to Tsar Nicolas II, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Alfonso XIII of Spain, Ferdinand of Romania and the monarchs of Sweden, Greece, Norway and Yugoslavia. As a child he was particularly close to the children of the last Tsar of all the Russias.

But Mountbatten was no aristocratic clown or chinless wonder. He was an effective and charismatic commander for counterrevolutionary British imperialism. He made his mark both as a military man and especially as an administrator for the declining British Empire who was shrewd enough to angle for neo-colonial solutions after World War II. During the Second World War Mountbatten sometimes displayed more ruling-class arrogance than military talent. (He reportedly told Churchill in 1943, "I suffer from the congenital weakness of believing I can do anything.") As Chief of Combined Operations he engineered the disastrous allied imperialist adventure at Dieppe. On the other hand, he boasted that his finest wartime act had been to talk Roosevelt into postponing the opening of the second front in Europe. This paid off handsomely for American imperialism, as Russia bore the brunt of the German attack and the U.S. Army came only at the end to pick up the pieces.

In the final years of the war Mountbatten was Supreme Commander for Southeast Asia. Under his command allied forces butchered 100,000 Japanese soldiers in Burma alone. The old soldier continued his war against Japan to the end of his days, leaving explicit instructions that the Japanese government was *not* to be invited to send representatives to his funeral. But by far the most gruesome

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Spartacus Youth League Forums

Dump the "Republicrats" —Build a Workers Party!

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7:30 PM
For information: (312) 427-0003

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Sever Hall, Room 6
For information: (617) 492-3928

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University of California at Irvine
Wednesday, October 3
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7:30 PM
For information: (213) 662-1564

Detroit
Wayne State University
Wednesday, October 10
For information: (313) 868-9095

Santa Barbara
University of California at Santa Barbara
Wednesday, October 10
2271 U Cen
7:30 PM
For information: (213) 662-1564

Chicago
University of Chicago
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The Mullahs' Left-Wing Apostles Paved the Way for Khomeini's Islamic Reaction

For Workers Revolution in Iran!

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7:30 PM
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Oberlin University
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East Lansing
Michigan State University
Tuesday, September 25
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Madison
University of Wisconsin
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Cuba, Nicaragua—What Strategy for Revolution in Latin America?

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University of California at Davis
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Kurds...

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courageous and able Kurdish partisans Khomeini went on the warpath, declaring himself commander-in-chief of the armed forces. For the first time the Iranian air force was used against the Kurdish population. U.S. Phantom jets, purchased by the shah, combined with helicopter gunships and heavy artillery turned Paveh into rubble and sent its population fleeing into the mountains and over the border.

This scenario was repeated in Sanandaj even though the governor-general of Kurdistan, Mohammad Rashid, protested: "There is no unrest here. Both the town and the barracks are peaceful and the local commander has not asked for reinforcements." According to the *New York Times* of 26 August: "Many Iranian observers argued that the entire episode was orchestrated by the Ayatollah and his supporters as a pretext for what amounts to an internal coup." When the invading Persian army reached Mahabad, the largest city in Kurdistan and capital of the short-lived 1946 Kurdish Democratic Republic, nearly 100,000 were forced to flee. Before the recent carnage in Kurdistan was over, at least 600 Kurds were massacred. Further, Ayatollah Khalkhali, popularly known as "Judge Blood," was sent to Kurdistan to act as "roving judge." To date he has sent more than 100 Kurds before the firing squad on charges of insurrection.

Now that Iran's Kurdish and Arab minorities are under the gun of Islamic reaction the ostensibly Trotskyist HKS has dropped the demand for their right to self-determination. Instead the May 18 issue of *Kargar* states:

> "The call to 'fight separatism'—used in the time of the former shah to shout down the appeals for justice of the oppressed peoples of Iran is being used once again to justify denying the just national and human rights of the Arab people.... The same pretext was used in staging the massacres of Kurds in Sanandaj and Turkmenis in Gonbad-e Kavus.
>
> "None of the demands raised so far by the Arab people have proposed separating 'one centimeter of the land of Iran'."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 11 June

But the key national right of the Khuzistan Arabs, the Kurds and Turkmenis is precisely the *right to separate*. For the HKS, eager not to offend the Shi'ite/Persian chauvinist leaders of the "Islamic Revolution," separation is not a legitimate right. Instead, like the shah and Khomeini, the HKS agrees that separatism is a demand which can be justly drowned in blood.

Khomeini's "One Party of God"

On the eve of his bloodletting in Kurdistan, Khomeini gave an Islamic "fire and brimstone" speech before a rally of the faithful at his religious headquarters in Qom. He was particularly precise by what he meant by an "Islamic Revolution":

> "Had we acted in a revolutionary manner, had we broken all the pens, had we shut down all those corrupt parties, had we set the scaffolds in the main square of each city, we would not have so much trouble today."

Of course, new authoritarian state structures are not created overnight, even by "imams." However, only the worst political scoundrels will pass off a period of consolidating right-wing terror as "democracy." This is precisely what the SWP and its co-thinkers did.

Khomeini did not waste much time between the pronouncement and the act. On the following day he called for the banning of political parties except for the one party "of god." This alleged intransigent fighter against the Pahlavi dynasty claimed he wanted to turn Iran into a one-party state. "We want to make it like the Rastakhiz (Resurrection Party)," he said, referring to the party set up by the shah! Three days later 22 publications were banned including the HKS's *Kargar*, the Maoist *Toufan*, the Tudeh's *Mardom* and the press of the National Democratic Front.

Not only did Khomeini wish to "resurrect" the shah's party, but many of the shah's generals were simultaneously being reincorporated into the officer staff. The shah's old friend Major General Ezzatullah Nourai was appointed deputy defense minister. Much hoopla was made over Khomeini's cancelling military contracts with the U.S. in February as proof of his "anti-imperialist credentials." But Khomeini's "anti-imperialism" was always reserved for such symbols of exploitation and Western decadence as alcohol, movies, music and mixed bathing. Under the "Islamic Republic" Iranian transport planes have been regularly flying into Kennedy airport in New York to pick up military hardware purchased by the shah before he was deposed.

However, these supplies have been rapidly depleted by Khomeini's sanguinary campaigns against national minorities, striking workers and the left. So while Phantom jets were strafing Kurdish villages the ayatollah of Qom sent his deputy prime minister Ibrahim Yazdi to Washington to reopen some of the $5 billion in cancelled military contracts with U.S. merchants of death previously negotiated under the shah. And the U.S. is only too willing to rearm the "Iranian Revolution." According to the 25 August *New York Times*, U.S. State Department spokesman Tom Reston, "said the Administration desired stability in Iran and wanted to see the authority and effectiveness of the government strengthened."

Already, 100 officers of the "Islamic Revolution" are attending U.S. military academies. The labor movement must block any renewal of arms shipments to Iran. Perhaps the ultimate in both irony and endorsement of the "anti-imperialist" ayatollahs by the Carter administration is the agreement, made against much Congressional grumbling, based on Carter's own energy crisis-mongering, to sell Iran $45 million worth of heating oil. This would cover a shortage caused by oil workers' strikes combined with the mess the mullahs have made out of the petroleum industry.

So much for the "anti-imperialism" of the Khomeini regime. Today its true face is revealed as it relies increasingly on the shah's army and the Pasdars, fascist fist of Shi'ite clerical reaction. It was these same forces that were mobilized with CIA money in 1953 by Ayatollah Kashnak to take to the streets to bring down the bourgeois-nationalist Mossadeq. On that occasion the mullahs sided with imperialism to reinstate Shah Reza Pahlavi. This time around Khomeini, not content with the spiritual authority of an "imam," has himself become a "new shah"—with the complicity of the fake-lefts who cheered him on. Only the international Spartacist tendency steadfastly refused to bow to the popular ayatollah and defended the right to self-determination of Iran's national minorities. Down with the mullahs—workers to power! ■

Criminal Tailism...

(continued from page 1)

imprisoned Communist leader Corvalán. The iSt, which defended Corvalán, also pointed out that the Chilean CP's call for confidence in the "constitutionalist" officer corps paved the way for bloody counterrevolution. Again today we point the finger of guilt. The HKS' present plight was prepared by their own criminal policy. *The real story is: their comrades are not just martyrs—they are sacrificial victims of the USec's support for Khomeini.*

But these gentlemen socialists don't like to talk about responsibility for crimes. Speaking recently in the United States, USec leader Ernest Mandel reacted angrily to Spartacist accusations that he and his organization had betrayed the working class with its support to popular frontism in Chile, Portugal and elsewhere:

> "I don't see any workers struggles betrayed by the organization I stand for.... The word 'betrayals' is completely out of order.... You can say it was a wrong policy, or a political mistake. But to speak about betrayals—you can't put in the same category people who are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands and millions of workers."

For seminar socialists like Mandel, words do not have consequences. If the USec called for Latin American youth to go into the hills to follow Guevara's bankrupt guerrilla strategy, if the SWP supported the counterrevolutionary mobilization spearheaded by the CIA-bankrolled Portuguese socialists—no matter, it's just a "political mistake."

No, it is a *betrayal*—of the proletariat, of Marxism, of anyone who follows your advice. And that is what has taken place in Iran. True, the USec is not influential enough to lead "hundreds of thousands and millions of workers to their deaths"—but at least 14 of its own supporters in the Iranian HKS are now facing life imprisonment or sitting on death row, jailed by the regime whose victory was greeted by these pseudo-Trotskyist tailists.

USec, SWP, HKS—Ernest Mandel, Jack Barnes and the rest: you have committed a crime, for which you will be held responsible before the court of history. You must live with it because your own comrades may die for it.

Cover-Up

After working for months to disguise the reactionary character of Khomeini's Islamic regime, the USec is now desperately trying to shift its line without anybody noticing. Today *Socialist Challenge* (30 August), newspaper of the British International Marxist Group (IMG), proclaims in bold letters across its back page, "White Terror in Iran," and announces "Khomeini has become the Shah of Iran." The IMG neglects to inform us how this reactionary regime came to replace Khomeini's "progressive" rule which it applauded only yesterday. Similarly, *Rouge* (24-30 August), newspaper of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, goes so far as to speak of Khomeini's "coup de force." Against himself?

For its part, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party is also moving (albeit more slowly) to dissociate itself from the bloody ayatollah. Today they write:

> "Khomeini's moves against the Iranian working people—aimed to protect the ill-gotten gains of the landlords and capitalists—lead him toward subordination to U.S. imperialism, in spite of the anti-imperialist posture he has tried to adopt up to now."
>
> —*Militant*, 7 September 1979

But it was the SWP which was the foremost con man on the American left for "Khomeini's anti-imperialist posture." Less than one year ago the SWP hailed Khomeini in the *Militant* (17 November 1978) as "progressive":

> "Although Khomeini subscribes to a religious ideology, the basis of his appeal is not religious reaction. On the contrary, he has won broad support among the Iranian masses because his firm opposition to the Shah and the Shah's 'modernization' is progressive."

The SWP is so ensconced in its cocoon of bourgeois-democratic illusions that it does not recognize the burning importance of the separation of church and state for backward countries. Khomeini's religious ideology is his political program: i.e., an Islamic fundamentalist theocracy based on Great Persian chauvinism and the moral codes of desert bedouins.

When the iSt told the truth about what the victory of Islamic reaction would mean and raised the slogan: "Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs!" the SWP claimed we were "blinded by sectarianism" and "chauvinist." But the real chauvinists were those who refused to do their internationalist duty and warn the Iranian toiling masses that Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" would prove no more progressive than the shah's "White Revolution." For many sections of the oppressed (e.g., religious minorities and women), it has already proven more repressive. This is even acknowledged in the SWP's own publications.

A recent issue of *Intercontinental Press* (10 September 1979) contains a translation from a report made by a prominent Algerian lawyer who visited prisoners held in Karoun Prison located in Khuzistan which contains Iran's Arab

Raza/Sipa-Black Star

Leftists defend themselves from rock-throwing Islamic thugs in Iran last month.

Khomeini slaughters Kurds. HKS denies their right to independence. AP

minority. Arab prisoners are reported as explaining:

> "...that the Iranian revolution meant no change as far as they were concerned. For them the exactions of the old regime, based on the local feudal rulers continue, oppressing them both economically and socially. The same feudal rulers today are allied with the officials of the new regime, creating a continuity of repression."

Where is the "victory" for the Arab minority of Khuzistan, criminal opportunists of the SWP?

Theocratic Parliamentary Cretinism

The HKS tried to present its credentials as a loyal social-democratic opposition to the dictatorship of the mullahs by running in the August elections for the so-called Assembly of Experts. But in a theocracy, social democracy doesn't pay, even for short-sighted, narrow-minded opportunists. According to the election statement in the last issue of the HKS paper *Kargar (Worker)* printed before its suppression and dated 8 August:

> "Three days from now, elections will be held for the Assembly of Experts. This body is to ratify a new constitution for Iran.... This constitution must defend the gains of the revolution and extend them.... The new constitution must pave the way for the establishment of such a government of the oppressed majority."

In fact, the Assembly of Experts was bound by Khomeini's phony referendum for an Islamic Republic, which explicitly ruled out a constituent assembly. The Assembly of Experts could only amend Khomeini's draft constitution consistent with institutionalizing the Islamic Republic and the political and social hegemony of the mullahs. The Assembly of Experts was no more a consituent assembly than is the college of cardinals. Nor was it any more democratically "elected" than that appendage of the papacy.

Given the predetermined outcome of a Shi'ite clerical dictatorship, many political parties of secular groups and minorities boycotted the elections, including all the Arab parties. Even the main liberal bourgeois party, the National Democratic Front (NDF), refused to participate as "a protest in principle against the revolutionary regime's lack of attention to basic human rights." In Iranian Kurdistan less than ten percent of the eligible voters cast ballots. Thus, the HKS presented the ludicrous spectacle of self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" running for a seat in the Assembly of Experts next to mullahs who were arguing over whether this or that clause was consistent with the Koran.

The 10 September issue of *Intercontinental Press* quotes long passages from the last issue of *Kargar* enthusing over the HKS participation in the elections of Islamic "experts." But the SWP suppresses the existence of an article in the same issue of *Kargar* entitled, "Last Minute Before Publication," which states that: "There is a very important discussion in the party whether to boycott or participate in the elections of the Assembly of Experts." Apparently, participating in the elections for the rubber-stamp "assembly" of the Islamic Republic was so unsavory that even a significant section of the mullah-tailist HKS balked. The *Kargar* article reports: "As is well known, three of our 18 candidates boycotted the elections."

Fruits of Betrayal

In covering up for Khomeini's reactionary regime and their own record on Khomeini, it is the SWP that has been forced to resort to deliberate lying. A typical piece of slanderous rubbish about that "irrelevant sect," the Spartacist League, that has come to fill so many pages of the *Militant* lately is a piece in the 6 July issue entitled "Spartacists Foiled in Attempt to Sabotage Defense." According to the article, the SL was excluded from a picket to protest the jailing of the HKS because it brought "provocative signs." Through partial quotation the SWP distorts the slogans on the signs: "Overthrow Islamic Reaction" and "Down with Khomeini," instead of "For Workers Revolution to Overthrow Islamic Reaction" and "Down with Khomeini, For Workers Revolution."

According to the SWP, these slogans "were a clear echo of imperialist propaganda against the Iranian workers and peasants"—from which one can only deduce that the SWP believes that the Carter administration is calling for workers revolution in Iran. The article states that the SL was "told by picket organizers that the protest was not open to opponents of the Iranian revolution"—i.e., Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution." Appropriately enough, according to SWP methodology, in order to "defend" the jailed HKS militants one must simultaneously defend their torturers, jailers and potential executioners—or at least not attack them openly!

The SWP's international bloc partners in the so-called United Secretariat do not have a better record. In a heated exchange with supporters of the SL and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League, at Boston University on July 17, Mandel defended the SWP's "Victory in Iran" headline by stating:

> "So some of our comrades are in jail—but our organization is legal. Our paper is legal; it is sold in tens of thousands of copies like all other leftwing papers in Iran. Were they legal under the Shah? ...So what you have is a step from a reactionary dictatorship, which was bourgeois, towards what you could call partial bourgeois democracy.... We said that it is the beginning of the process of permanent revolution...."
> —*WV* No. 237, 3 August

One month later the HKS, along with all other left and secular organizations, was illegal, its press banned, its leaders in jail. Is that what you call the next stage in the "process of permanent revolution," Professor Mandel?

The national secretary of the pro-Mandel IMG in England, Brian Grogan, was so swept up in the "process of permanent revolution" when he was in Teheran that he joined the *chador*-covered women and the men carrying icons of Khomeini and chanted "allah akbar" ("god is great"). At a recent demonstration against Khomeini's terror in front of the Iranian embassy in London, called by a Kurdish student association and endorsed by the IMG, Grogan's disgusting action was not forgotten. As the IMG supporters present—a small fraction of their local membership, in the midst of the USec's supposed "emergency campaign"—stood by, the 50-strong contingent of the Spartacist League/Britain chanted: "2, 4, 6, 8—Does Grogan still think god is great?" Another SL chant was: "Last Autumn You Said Khomeini's Fine, It's Kind of Late to Change Your Line."

The central slogan carried on the SL/B placards was: "USec/IMG Line Kills Arabs, Kurds, Leftists." Other Spartacist signs included: "You Cheered for Khomeini, But You're Not Cheering Now," "Free the HKS and Fedayeen Supporters" and "Khomeini's Revolution Means Massacre of Kurds." On several occasions, when SLers and the Kurdish students jointly chanted "Down with the new shah" and "Down with Khomeini, For workers revolution," the IMG tried to drown this out with slogans which did not attack the ayatollah. Not only do these fake-Trotskyists refuse to directly denounce the mullahs' rule, but they have sabotaged the defense of their own imprisoned comrades in Iran. The IMG waited a month to call its first defense demonstration (on July 7), and then sent only a handful of supporters to the protest.

On the face of it, the USec "defense" of their comrades would seem sectarian and defeatist—if one supposes that their concern was to defend imprisoned leftists. But then the USec at most gave lip service to defense of the Fedayeen, a far larger irritant to the Khomeini regime, when they came under attack. The HKS also abandoned the demand for the Kurdish right of self-determination when things got hot. No, their central aim is to defend Khomeini. And the ultimate price of their betrayal has not been paid by them—*as of yet*—but by the oppressed masses of Iran. But now they appeal for support.

Last fall as the mullah-led opposition gained force, the iSt warned that the Islamic clerics were as reactionary as the butcher shah. But when we said "Down with the shah, Down with the mullahs!" the USec/SWP replied that this is imperialist propaganda, that we were apologists for the shah. In February, when we said "Mullahs Win" the SWP proclaimed "Victory in Iran" and denounced the iSt position as "counter-revolutionary." We said "Your comrades may die, But you support Kho-

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"In Iran, women are not considered human beings."

I remember when I was a young girl and went to class to study the Koran. I was told that if I did not cover my head, I would go to hell and every strand of my hair would turn into long snakes. I was told that if I showed my finger to a strange man when I was married, I would have to cut if off. Since it would not belong to my husband anymore, therefore it would not belong to me."

With this stirring testimony, Fatima Khalil, a communist woman of Muslim origin, denounced women's enslavement under Islam in her American tour. The story of her tour, the defense of persecuted leftists, women, labor and national minorities in Khomeini's Iran are told in this special issue of *Women and Revolution*. The Spartacist League's unique counterposition of workers revolution to both the shah and the mullahs contrasts sharply to the rest of the left's support to Khomeini's rise to power and the continuing enslavement of women in Iran. Order your copy now.

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Victory to the BART Workers!

SAN FRANCISCO—In a provocative move aimed at breaking the militancy of Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) workers, management locked 1,650 train operators, mechanics, station attendants and clerks out of their jobs August 31. The BART bosses are intent on forcing Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1555 and United Public Employees (UPE) Local 390 to give up their full cost-of-living allowance (COLA) clauses which both unions have had through the last two contracts. The lockout comes on the heels of two months during which BART workers have worked under expired contracts gutted of their full COLA formula. Now management is threatening to run the system with supervisors.

The Bay Area labor movement must stop this union-busting attack cold in its tracks. Mass picket lines reinforced by other area unions should be thrown up to prevent management scabs from trying to run the trains. All Bay Area transit workers should go out in solidarity with the BART workers and shut down all Bay Area mass transit. At issue is the question of who pays for the ravages of inflation, those responsible in the first place—the capitalists—or the workers. A successful defense of the BART workers' escalator clause—one of few such union plans that actually provides full protection against inflation—would inspire other unions to fight for full COLA. A defeat would give the bosses a green light to try to gut union contracts of already inadequate COLA clauses in a period of double-digit inflation. This cannot be permitted.

Oakland's Bay Bridge. BART system commuters forced onto the highways by management lockout.

UPI

Only a few weeks ago 50 BART workers at the Concord maintenance yards staged a sit-in to protest the company's attempt to replace union mechanics with management engineers. Perhaps fearing another such takeover, the BART Board of Directors moved to shut the whole system down. BART management is claiming the safety of passengers is what compelled them to discontinue train service. Indeed, safety is an issue and has been ever since service commenced and the automatic train doors opened up unexpectedly at 80 miles per hour. But BART's "concern" for safety doesn't extend to the train operators who've been suspended for refusing to operate unsafe trains.

The company's response to increasing breakdowns and accidents has been to speed up repairs, forcing mechanics to work overtime and allowing unsafe trains to operate. According to Local 1555 president Jim Danzy, "the straw that broke the camel's back" was a small fire which started in the brakes of a Daly City-bound train the day before the lockout. When news of the fire got around, 45 train operators—apparently all stricken with the flu—abandoned their trains one by one as they reached Concord yard.

Both UPE Local 390 president Paul Varacalli and Danzy have done their utmost to avoid a strike and have yet to set up any picket lines. From the beginning they have been demanding binding arbitration in order to keep the trains rolling without "disruption" until a "fair" solution can be arrived at. Danzy went so far as to propose that train operators work without pay for a five-day period in the event of a strike, providing management did the same, and permit passengers to ride for free while bargaining continued. Management rejected the idea outright.

With management out to get the BART workers' cost-of-living clause, the best in the country, the union tops' latest proposal is a shamefaced deal to take a zero pay hike—including COLA increases—in the first year of a two-year contract in return for the company assuming the portion of pension contributions (7 percent of gross pay) that is now paid by the employees. The company, unwilling to pay even Jimmy Carter's insulting 7 percent, flatly refused. In this time of spiraling inflation anything less than a full COLA amounts to a pay cut! BART workers must not allow the bureaucrats to tamper with their cost-of-living allowance! For a full COLA in the next contract!

Although the Bay Area is known for a generally high level of labor solidarity, the BART unions have not gained much sympathy among other unionized workers. The lack of popular support to the BART workers stems in good part from the exclusive nature of this particular transit system. BART is a posh, ultra-modern system mainly designed to commute businessmen from San Francisco's financial district to their homes in suburbia. Working people in the cities usually have to take a bus to get to a BART station, which only adds to the time and expense of transportation. To add injury to insult, one-half percent of all sales taxes in the counties covered by BART are earmarked to finance this bankers' commuter special.

But rather than close the system down for good and chalk it up as a giant boondoggle, as some people have been demanding, the BART unions should demand the system be expanded quantitatively and qualitatively to provide real urban mass transit with stations every few blocks built on a whole series of arteries interconnecting and criss-crossing each other, operating round-the-clock seven days a week. Such a system should be free to all.

BART management is standing tough. Having rescinded COLA payments and refusing to reverse the almost 200 suspensions it has meted out over the past months, it is in no hurry to resume train service. The union tops, on the other hand, who have been unabashedly servile in their willingness to sell out the membership, are unable to come up with a winning strategy. Only a powerful Bay Area-wide transit strike led by a militant leadership can beat back BART's union-busting attacks. Victory to the BART workers! ■

Spartacist Britain

"2-4-6-8, Does Grogan Still Think God is Great?"

Reformists Who Can't Spell

"With aid the chances will be enhanced it will move in the direction of a democratic regime. . . . [I]f we walk away we will almost assure what we don't want, a Communist or Cuban regime." So argued U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher before a Congressional committee in pushing for $8 million in aid to the Sandinista/bourgeois regime in Nicaragua (*New York Times*, 12 September). Having learned the lesson of Cuba, U.S. aid is now used as a weapon against social revolution in Nicaragua.

Once more the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) shows its true colors as "State Department socialists," as left lawyers for the liberal wing of American imperialism. In Iran the SWP portrayed the Islamic reactionary Khomeini as a "progressive anti-imperialist." But facing a popular revolution in Nicaragua these reformists back the liberal imperialist effort to buy off the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas. ■

Criminal Tailism...

(continued from page 7)

meini," and the fake-Trotskyists physically expelled us from "private" picket lines defending the HKS, refusing to march with anyone who doesn't swear fealty to the "imam." You bowed to Khomeini and while you were kneeling the executioner comes along and is about to cut off your heads. So now you want sympathy for your plight.

All those concerned for democratic rights must demand freedom for imprisoned Kurdish partisans, Arab oil workers, HKS members and other leftists, and all victims of Khomeini's reactionary terror. But the working class must never forget those fake-lefts who claimed Khomeini as a "progressive" alternative to the shah, who hoped to ride to popularity or power on the coattails of Islamic reaction. They are covered with blood.

Even Stalin criticized Chiang Kai-shek after the Shanghai massacre. The USec's sudden discovery that Khomeini is not so progressive after all outdoes Stalin himself in hypocrisy. Chiang Kai-shek claimed to be a revolutionary nationalist and friend of the Russian Revolution when he was courting Stalin's support. But Khomeini stated from the very beginning that he was a reactionary Islamic fundamentalist and Great Persian chauvinist who sought to crush the "satanic communists." The criminal opportunism of the USec over Iran cannot be buried beneath its present (still half-hearted) criticisms and cries for international solidarity for its own supporters in Iran who are as much victims of its own wretched line as they are of capitalist terror. The rebirth of the Fourth International depends upon burning this betrayal and its consequences into the collective memory of the Marxist movement. ■

Young...

(continued from page 12)

cident has demonstrated just how little clout the black constituency has within the framework of U.S. bourgeois politics.

So the Israelis shot down Andrew Young in one of the straightforward "cloak and dagger" operations they do as a matter of routine. Young had a hush-hush visit with the PLO observer to the UN at the apartment of the Kuwaiti ambassador on a procedural matter: trying to get postponement of a motion on Palestinian rights coming up in the Security Council. When the story first leaked out, Young explained to the State Department that he had run into the PLO's Terzi quite by chance and simply carried out "the social amenities." Like any experienced "statesman," he delivered the material from which "plausible denials" are tailored. But the Mossad (Israeli intelligence) either had a plant or a bug in the apartment, or both, and Begin threatened to hang Carter with it. For a president who already has every other kind of gap imaginable, to add an LBJ-style classic "credibility" gap could be political death. Carter's best option was to make Young take the rap.

Both in form and content everything Andrew Young did was utterly consistent with U.S. policy. Begin claimed Young's visit violated an agreement signed by Henry Kissinger in 1975 that says the U.S. will not "recognize or negotiate" with the PLO as long as that organization does not recognize Israel's right to exist and accept UN Security Council Resolution 242. But everybody has already been "secretly" meeting off and on with the PLO for years. There are at least three times on record that the U.S. ambassador to Austria has done so. And to take the cake, Israeli foreign minister Moshe Dayan admits to meeting repeatedly with West Bank PLO "sympathizers"! The State Department said Young "acted on his own." But as PLO representative Terzi commented:

> "Nobody believed for a minute that Young was acting on his own. Ambassadors don't do impulse buying and the United Nations is not a boutique."
> —*Washington Post*, 22 August

Israel was worried that American policy toward the PLO was shifting in the maneuvering over the UN resolution. Certainly it is true that at the beginning of the Carter administration there was talk about the U.S. moving away from Israel. Carter went so far as to make his bleeper about a Palestinian "homeland" which drove Jerusalem and the U.S. Zionist lobby into a frenzy. But this was soon dropped in the aftermath of the Sadat-Begin talks and Brzezinski made his famous "bye-bye PLO" comment. While Carter tried to take credit for "moves toward peace" in the Near East with the Camp David talks, there is no disguising the fact that the separate peace with Egypt was entirely on Israel's terms.

But as the Israeli-Egyptian talks bogged down over the key question of finding some phraseology about "autonomy" which would mask the continuation of Israeli rule on the West Bank, Carter's election strategists were worried that by next year the Camp David accords would look like garbage. The new gambit was the UN resolution which they dangled in front of the PLO in order to get it to vote to recognize "Israel's right to exist." In fact, the proposed resolution not only does not mention the Palestinian right to self-determination, which is directly counterposed to the existence of the Zionist Israeli state, nor even a "homeland" (whatever that means), but talks only vaguely of the Palestinians' "legitimate rights."

While Carter was trying to maneuver for personal advantage, the Israelis had a trump card—the objective reality of the Near East conflict. So long as the Palestine-Israel question is played out on the terrain of capitalism it's one nationalism against the other, and victory goes to the stronger. Carter is not ready to jettison Israel as the U.S.' main ally in the Near East in order to embrace the rag-tag PLO and the unstable sheiks and colonels who control the region's vital oil resources. So Begin put Carter up against the wall and squelched the empty "Palestinian rights" maneuver.

Blacks and Jews in the U.S.

If the Israeli government rejoiced at Young's firing, U.S. blacks were incensed. Unlike his successor at the UN, Donald McHenry, Andrew Young is not seen as an Uncle Tom, but as a movement black. And his constant "mouthing off" reinforced the picture of an "unhowed and unbought" black man who, despite his high governmental post, supposedly refused to sell out to The Man. Far from being an embarrassment to Carter, Young's maverick image was a tremendous plus with blacks and left-liberals. It also helped create the impression that the Carter administration was a friend of the black masses of Africa. So when Young got the ax, black voters interpreted it as out-and-out racism on the part of a Georgia "cracker."

Ebony Magazine

Civil Rights halo didn't protect Young from jingoist reaction.

For the black establishment, it was a body blow to their supposed influence in Washington. Not that Andy Young ever did anything for blacks, or anybody else except himself. Under Carter, black people never even got empty promises. The so-called black leaders issued polite protests when the last remnants of the poverty programs ran out, when federal aid to the cities was scuttled and when U.S. support to school busing was sacrificed on the altar of ethnic purity. But when their pipeline to Carter was cut, they hit the roof. And figuring they'd been done in by the Zionist lobby, they struck back by lashing out at the Jews.

"The Klan didn't move on Andy," insinuated PUSH leader Jesse Jackson, adding: "This is the most tense moment in black and Jewish relations in my memory." The nearly moribund SCLC woke up and marched its leader, Rev. Joseph E. Lowery, off to the UN to meet with the PLO's Terzi while its own UN observer, Rev. Wyatt Walker, remarked: "The perception on the street is that the Jews did this to Andy Young." And while the press was hand-wringing about the implications of a new outburst of black anti-Semitism, the NAACP convened a conference along with other "moderate" black organizations to denounce Jewish "insensitivity," condemn Israel's economic ties to South Africa and endorse Lowery's meeting with the PLO.

In fact the Zionist lobby did play a major role in fixing Andy Young's wagon, although it has been publicly conciliatory. Soon after the story first surfaced, some nine U.S. Jewish organizations demanded a meeting with Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss who, besides being Carter's special envoy to the Near East, is the party's number one fundraiser. The Zionist leaders insist that most of them did not demand Young's dismissal. As Henry Siegman, director of the American Jewish Congress, said:

> "Because he was Andy Young, because he was black and we realized the significance of that, was the reason we didn't call for his resignation."
> —*New York Times*, 19 August

But while they did not want to be saddled with the direct responsibility for sacking Young and fanning the flames of black-Jewish tension, his firing was a victory—probably a pyrrhic one—for the Zionists.

Not a New Liberal Coalition, But a Workers Party

The bourgeois press has interpreted the Young affair as a watershed, if not the final demise, in the traditional liberal black/Jewish alliance. The black leaders are seen as charting an "independent" foreign policy course in defiance of their historic bloc with the Jewish liberals, whose substantial political and financial support to the civil rights movement was compensated with the black organizations' support to Israel. In the first instance the break is symbolic—the question of Israel was never important to the black groups, which in any case have always been powerless on foreign policy. Secondly, for at least a decade these organizations have neither represented a sizable voting bloc nor been able to mobilize masses of black protesters in the streets. Furthermore, the shift in position by the SCLC, NAACP, Urban League and so forth, only marks the formal switch of the most conservative of the black groups. The nationalists endorsed the Palestinians already in the mid-1960s and even many Democratic Party "black elected officials" had taken up an anti-Israel position by the time of the 1972 Black Political Convention in Gary, which exploded over this issue.

As for the old black/Jewish/liberal/labor coalition, it has been dead for years. Since the 1930s this coalition was the key to Democratic electoral predominance, held together with the glue of social reforms: unionization and the WPA in FDR's "New Deal," a civil rights plank in the Democratic Party platform under Truman's "Fair Deal"; JFK's "New Frontier" spawned the poverty program, while even LBJ's "Great Society" managed to pass the watered-down Civil Rights Act of 1964.

But the manifest inability of the civil rights movement to provide any real social gains—jobs, housing, education, political power—meant that it could not touch the basic causes of black oppression. This gave rise to black nationalist sentiment whose early political expression pushed beyond the bounds of the old Democratic Party constituency coalition. Meanwhile, as the civil rights movement moved north, its immediate targets were often Jewish shopkeepers, who (isolated from the mainstream of American capitalism and restricted to the ghettos) were more visible exploiters of the black population than the giant corporations with their Park Avenue offices. Thus the rise of black ghetto militancy was associated with the appearance of widespread black anti-Semitism. And in response, developing black radicalism was a key factor in the growing Jewish conservatism, marked by a large Jewish component to the white flight to the suburbs. This was combined with increased pressures, after the Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1973, making support to Israel the central and almost exclusive political question for American Jews.

By the late 1960s the ghetto uprisings and Vietnam War had shattered the old black/Jewish/labor coalition. Jewish voters were moving toward the right wing of the Democratic Party and in 1972 many favored Nixon over McGovern. The dominant Meanyite section of the union bureaucracy, addicted to Cold

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Cleveland Phone Workers Beat Bell

CLEVELAND—Phone company workers here recently showed how to take on Ma Bell *and win*. Disgusted by years of bureaucratic foot-dragging, instead of meekly accepting a rotten pro-company ruling by a so-called impartial arbitrator, they decided to shove it down Ma Bell's throat through strike action.

Ever since 1975 Ohio Bell has demanded that commercial department workers (service representatives) take morning breaks only ten minutes after the start of their shift on peak business days. On August 13 when the latest arbitrator's decision upheld Ohio Bell's arbitrary policy, over 350 angry commercial department workers in Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 4309 walked off the job at four locations. Ten days later Ohio Bell surrendered. The lesson for all phone workers is clear: Ma Bell can be defeated by militant, class-struggle tactics.

Local 4309 won despite efforts by its weak-kneed bureaucrats to sabotage the action. Local president Lily Holt refused to support the strike, demanding that the outraged and determined workers return to work, and blocked all efforts to establish picket lines. Only after a split among local shop stewards were "informational" pickets finally set up—three days after the strike began and far from the struck facilities! Throughout the strike, Holt and her cohorts fought to keep the balance of the 2,000-strong Local 4309 members at work, urging members to cross their own picket lines.

When this didn't work, Holt pushed for accepting a company-proposed 60-day "cooling off" period during which the break policy would be suspended. But angry strikers at the August 20 local meeting rejected this sabotage, overwhelmingly demanding a local-wide strike vote. Rather than face a possible Cleveland-wide phone strike, the next day Ohio Bell threw in the towel and gave up the demand.

The victory by Cleveland phone workers underlines the central importance of the strike weapon. The reactionary CWA International, which advocates instead such pro-company policies as arbitration, has persistently opposed granting CWA locals the right to strike. Phone workers must demand that the union repudiate the International's veto power over the exercise of the strike weapon.

Over the past several years telephone workers have repeatedly demonstrated their readiness to fight the company—the Ohio statewide strike of 1976, wildcats in Michigan and Iowa over the rotten 1977 contract, and most recently the nationwide walkout of over 10,000 AT&T Long Lines workers last year in support of nine workers in Nashville suspended for refusing to cross a picket line. But the CWA tops led by Glen Watts have consistently sabotaged these efforts, groveling before the management of Bell Tel, which runs the phone monopoly like a feudal barony.

Sweatshop conditions of forced overtime, absence control and no paid sick leave are rigidly enforced throughout the Bell System. Also on August 13, over 15,000 craft workers, members of the Communications Workers of Canada (CWC), struck against forced overtime and the company's job-cutting offensive. As we go to press, top bureaucrats of the CWC and the company union CETA are preparing to enforce a sellout contract while organizing massive scabherding.

The CWA bureaucrats' loyalty to the strikebreaking capitalist state knows no bounds. President Glen Watts was so eager to ensure a friendly captive audience for the discredited Jimmy Carter that he allowed the Secret Service to drag an elected union delegate off the CWA convention floor in July! Jane Margolis of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) was handcuffed and held in a back room to prevent her from raising the MAC's class-struggle program and opposition to giving a union platform to anti-labor Carter. But the union ranks have rallied behind Margolis against this despicable and unprecedented assault—over 600 members have protested to the White House, as have official local statements from Los Angeles and the Bay Area. In addition the Portland, Oregon convention delegation fired off an official protest to Watts.

Cleveland Local 4309 proved again that Ma Bell can be defeated. The CWA membership must look to the Militant Action Caucus' class-struggle program for a strategy to *win* against the powerful phone company—for a militant, nationwide contract strike in 1980 to end speedup and absence control; for a big pay hike; for smashing Ma Bell's job-cutting offensive through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay; for the unlimited local right to strike. As MAC spokesman Margolis said at the CWA Convention, "It's time to get this union off its knees!"■

Strike Auto...

(continued from page 3)

New York Times, 22 August) to urge Congress and the White House to adopt an "equitable" energy plan. The impact of this "strike" on Big 3 output and profits was considerably less than that caused by the typical absenteeism resulting from a mildly interesting football game on national TV. In many of the plants the bosses simply docked the workers a tenth of an hour's pay.

General Motors, the industry leader which the UAW has targeted only twice since 1945, is pressing the bargaining advantage provided by the current slump in sales with complete confidence that Fraser & Co. have no taste for a fight. On August 28 GM and Ford offered almost identical proposals which included a 3 percent wage increase, no change in the COLA for active workers, no COLA at all for retirees and a freeze on medical benefit levels. In addition the industry demanded a widened differential between new-hires' pay and regular base wage rates, with lengthened seniority requirements to qualify for full benefits. Although Fraser rejected the offers he noted that they were "a basis, a foundation upon which we can build a settlement."

What an outrage! Inflation is rising at 13 percent annually. By the bureaucracy's own calculation (*Wall Street Journal*, 31 August) the existing COLA formula lets auto workers' income lag 20 percent behind inflation. This is the "basis" for a sellout!

Coupled with Fraser's determination to prevent any militant action against the Big 3, UAW negotiators have cut back their "demands" at the GM bargaining table. Fraser used to say that Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines had "self-destructed" and warned the government to "stay the hell away" from the auto talks. Last summer he went so far as to denounce big business' "one-sided class war" against labor. But now a 3 percent wage proposal is one he can work with! The government will be on too happy to stay out of such amicable negotiations.

For a Militant Leadership in the UAW

From Walter Reuther's post-war scheme to convert aircraft plants into factories producing prefabricated housing, to hallyhooing phony "full employment" bills, to Fraser's endorsement of the Chrysler bailout, the UAW tops have continually pushed empty social-democratic gimmicks as a substitute for class-struggle policies. Arguing that it is necessary to elect liberal capitalist politicians to carry out such "enlightened" schemes, Reuther and his successors Leonard Woodcock and now Fraser, have chained the powerful auto workers' union to the dominant party of this country's imperialist ruling class, the Democrats.

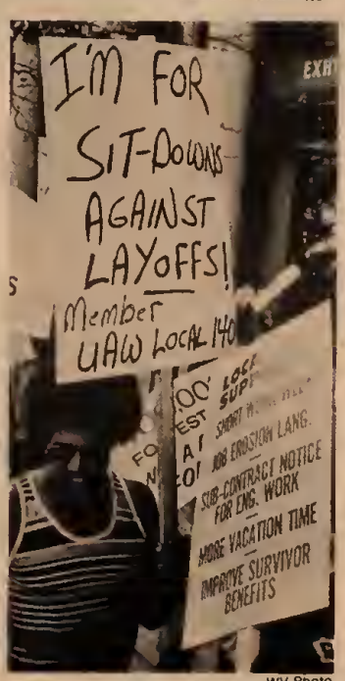
In 1976 Woodcock opposed a militant strike in the interests of allying the union with Carter's election campaign. Woodcock was crucial in mobilizing support for the strikebreaking, pro-Big Oil, peanut millionaire and was rewarded with an ambassadorship to China. Auto workers got a two-bit contract that provided protection neither against layoffs nor mounting inflation.

A determined struggle today against the auto companies would inevitably shatter the UAW's cozy relations with Democratic Party politicians, and it is this above all that Fraser fears. His present anti-strike campaign stems in part from a desire to act as kingmaker in the Democratic Party. Solidarity House is edging away from the hapless and despised Carter to Ted Kennedy and wants very much to preserve its respectability in bourgeois political circles.

In the most immediate way the bureaucracy's commitment to liberal capitalist politics means surrender to the Big 3. Yet despite the UAW tops' boundless capacity for class treason, the rank and file remain a volcano of discontent. Thousands of auto workers genuinely want to fight. What is necessary is to cohere an authoritative, militant leadership which fights to break with the bosses' parties and build a workers party based on a class-struggle program. Armed with such a program and leadership, the UAW can successfully defend itself against the massive attacks on its jobs and living standards.

As the UAW Militant Caucus at Fremont GM stated in a leaflet distributed September 10:

> "The UAW is a powerful union in a key industry! We don't have to take this treatment! We have the capacity to shut down all vehicle production in North America to win our demands. The full power of this union has never yet been mobilized in an industrywide strike. Our strength is untested in an all-out fight with the companies for jobs....
> "The International openly upholds the 'right' of the companies to lay us off, and the role of the local bureaucrats along with their fake-radical toadies is to provide a militant-sounding cover for the International. They all act more or less directly to subordinate the union's interests to an alliance with the bosses' politicians. The Reutherite-Fraser bureaucracy is bankrupt. This contract struggle affords an opportunity to weaken its hold on the union and advance the building of a new class-struggle leadership in the UAW."■



WV Photo

Yates/Business Week

Class-struggle militants call for sit-down strikes. 435,000 unsold Chrysler autos: the anarchy of capitalism.

Young...

(continued from page 9)

War anti-communism, had become virulently anti-black militant and anti-liberal. In 1972 Meany and his friends gave backhanded support to Nixon, regarding the woolly liberal from South Dakota as some kind of commie-symp. Blacks, on the other hand, instinctively recognized that the imperialist slaughter of the rebellious Vietnamese masses was not their war. Muhammad Ali caught the mood when he remarked, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger."

Recently the old Democratic Party alliance appeared to resurrect itself: black, Jewish and labor organizations were instrumental in pulling out badly needed voters enabling Jimmy Carter to squeak past Ford. But while Carter tried to give a populist flavor to his campaign, projecting the image of an integrated "New South" that absorbed "mainstream" civil rights leaders into the club, in fact he was not playing constituency politics. J.C. never promised nobody nothing. As we wrote in our article, "Andy Young: Black Front Man for U.S. Imperialism," *WV* No. 160, 3 June 1977:

> "Carter certainly owes a considerable campaign debt to the man who opened doors for him to black community leaders across the country. But the 'moral' president has made it clear that neither blacks nor labor will receive even the smallest concession in return for their votes...."

Carter is not worried about the black vote because he thinks that blacks have nowhere else to go but the Democratic Party. That still leaves Teddy Kennedy. And no doubt part of Young's calculations are that it can't hurt to jump off the sinking Carter ship at this point. Certainly the SCLC/NAACP/Urban League leaders will be increasingly seen with the Massachusetts senator in the coming months. The black politicians feel that the old constituency politics never resolidified under Carter but can be patched back together with Kennedy. But you can't go home again. It was the demonstrated impotence of the liberal civil rights movement to provide any significant social gains for blacks which brought it to a dead end. Key to that failure was the reliance on the federal government, the Democrats, the liberals and Kennedy in particular.

Andrew Young, Martin Luther King's former aide, entered the Carter administration as a figure from a long-dead political movement, a mass movement which dissipated, through violent outbursts followed by apathy, as its leaders sold out. In firing his front-line black spokesman, the white Georgia pol was just spitting on the grave of the civil rights movement. The official black leaders cried "Outrage!" But these are leaders without followers. Young's sacking spurred not a single significant protest demonstration, not to speak of more militant actions.

In the last analysis, Carter chose to make Young his fall guy because the liberal-led black movement has no real social power. And the root of this powerlessness is the *political* separation of the black masses—whether actively mobilized as in the early 1960s civil rights movement or atomized and passive like now—from the working class as a whole, the *only* force which can revolutionize American society.

Tapping the revolutionary potential of the American working class means first and foremost a fight to oust the job-trusting labor bureaucracy and replace it with a leadership committed to fighting for full social equality. No section of American society has a greater interest in a socialist revolution than the black workers and poor. For the black masses can only break the chains of their oppression when their struggle is bound up with a working class led by a revolutionary communist, Trotskyist party. ■

UPI

As pro-Young gesture SCLC head Joseph Lowry, center, meets PLO's U.N. representative Terzi, left.

Soviet Troops...

(continued from page 12)

"Nope, Jerry, and I bet you never did either. Must be those mushy-headed Democrats who let them slip in." Meanwhile, no one is able to make much of a case because of the lack of hard evidence (the presence of a soccer field—the Cubans prefer baseball, right?—on the base in question is one of the key "proofs").

It is well known to *all* participants in this charade that the Soviet Union has had a military presence in Cuba for years. *New York Times* "elder statesman" James Reston pointed out that the hoary "Russian devil" line is a commonplace of American elections (remember the non-existent 1960 "missile gap"), and recalled that the Kennedy administration assumed after the 1962 missile crisis that the Russians had some 20,000 troops on the island. The MIG-23 jets discovered last year are still in Cuba, and the CIA admits that the Russian troops have been there for at least a decade. "Senior intelligence officials," stung by charges of incompetence, are leaking selected evidence far and wide that they knew about it all along.

Besides, who do they think they're kidding? Who is it that has a genuine foreign military base on Cuban soil? The Americans, of course, at Guantánamo Bay. How would the Pentagon like having Russian warships anchored at Norfolk, Virginia, just a stone's throw from Washington? Blustering about "Russian aggression" coming from the people who launched the Bay of Pigs invasion and spun endless bizarre plots to assassinate Castro is the height of imperialist arrogance. Irritated by the presence of the Cuban deformed workers state, the sabre-rattling senators want to turn the Caribbean back into an "American lake."

Ultimately, reconquest of all the degenerated/deformed workers states, most crucially the USSR, is the goal of *all* sections of the American bourgeoisie. In the face of the renewed Cold War bombast coming out of Washington, we insist that Cuba has the right and duty to take all necessary measures—including Soviet troops, planes, missiles and anything else it can get its hands on—to defend itself against bloodthirsty U.S. imperialism. U.S. out of Guantánamo! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism! Down with SALT! ■

Mountbatten...

(continued from page 5)

consequence of his Asian Command—something which goes virtually unmentioned in imperialist histories of the war—was the death by starvation of literally hundreds of thousands of Bengalis as a direct outcome of British military policy.

Mountbatten was often considered a liberal by the British establishment because of his role as an architect of neo-colonialism in India. Yet throughout his career in the service of the dying Empire he was simply smarter than most, no less ruthless or dedicated. More than any of his contemporaries he upheld the model of lofty arrogance aspired to by ambitious members of the English aristocracy. This ruthless architect of mass murder almost never dirtied his *own* hands with the blood of his victims.

Thus, he returned Vietnam to the French for further suppression following World War II. As Viceroy of India he oversaw the independence of the country and the creation of Pakistan through partition in the late 1940s. Decades of imperialist "divide-and-rule" terror laid the basis for the massive communal bloodletting and population transfers which accompanied the partition of India. But the ever-suave Mountbatten could claim that this was none of *his* doing. (Indeed, the first post-independence Indian government chose him as Governor-General and its present-day successor declared an official week of mourning for his death.) In 1956 it was put about that he only "reluctantly" supplied British ships for the disastrous attack on Suez to oppose Nasser's nationalization of the canal.

Members of the post-war Labour cabinet are said to have had high hopes of recouping Mountbatten on his return from India—something which speaks volumes for the obscene genuflections of British social democracy before royalty. Current Labour leader James Callaghan naturally joined the chorus of condemnation of the assassination.

Revolutionaries, however, have not the slightest regret over the violent death of this ardent defender of imperialism's bloody rule. The crimes which Mountbatten committed for his class will only be avenged by proletarian revolution—and his assassination by the IRA does nothing to bring nearer that day. Nor does it in any way aid the working people of Northern Ireland, victimized by imperialist repression and sectarian-communal terror. Nevertheless, it is simple justice that this butcher did not die peacefully of old age in his bed.

Following the killing, the Provisional IRA stated that "Mountbatten's execution was a discriminate act in that it was against a leading figure" (*Irish Times*, 1 September). This is true—and while criticizing such individual terrorism as a misguided, ineffective act of dispair, we defend against state repression those who were responsible for the death of the Earl. Likewise with those who ambushed the paratroopers at Warrenpoint. Yet these actions stand in sharp contrast to the criminal *indiscriminate* terror which the IRA has also willingly engaged in over the past decade, including attacks on innocent Irish Protestant workers and British civilians.

Even when the IRA confines its military targets to prominent symbols and representatives of imperialism like Mountbatten and the British army, revolutionaries still forthrightly oppose the strategy of individual terror which both leaves the working masses standing aside as passive spectators and provides the bourgeois state with excuses to shore up its repressive arsenal. Already in the days since August 27 Northern Ireland security forces and the Irish Garda (police) have rounded up hundreds of suspected IRA sympathizers in a repressive dragnet. Margaret Thatcher has announced that the sectarian thugs of the Royal Ulster Constabulary are to be reinforced by 1,000 new recruits. Meanwhile, fanatic Protestant paramilitary groups like the "Ulster Freedom Fighters" have launched a new round of communal terror, viciously murdering three innocent Catholic civilians and promising more such atrocities.

The foundation of the Provos' false strategy and tactics is their petty-bourgeois nationalist program: for a united capitalist Ireland, i.e., the incorporation of the North into the southern Catholic republic, forcibly against the will of the Protestant majority if necessary. In contrast to this recipe for communal-sectarian war Trotskyists fight for a program of anti-imperialist proletarian revolution.

Get the British troops and torturers out of Northern Ireland now! Not Orange against Green, but Class against Class! For an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles! The sun has already set on the decaying Empire Lord Louis Mountbatten stood for. But it will take the dawn of a new proletarian order to bring about the final reckoning with the parasitic class he so haughtily represented. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Imperialist Hullabaloo Over Soviet Troops in Cuba

The Senate blow-up over Washington's "discovery" of a 2,000/3,000-strong Soviet "combat brigade" in Cuba is the biggest outburst of manufactured imperialist hysteria since Lyndon Johnson's Gulf of Tonkin red herring greased the skids for full-scale U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Yahoo senators introduce resolutions about enforcing the Monroe Doctrine with a big stick. Others call for a return to the days when Kennedy "stood eyeball to eyeball" with the Russkies in the Cuban missile crisis, "and they blinked first." Do something about those Russian troops "or else," the State Department blustered (not very convincingly) to Havana.

The sudden storm of protest is in large part a smokescreen for opposition to the SALT II "arms control" treaty—not by hawkish Republicans, who have already disavowed it, but by Democrats who see this issue as a way to back off from supporting the increasingly unpopular pact. Democrats Richard Stone of Florida (with a large *gusano* constituency) and liberal Frank Church of Idaho, both in tough re-election contests with conservative opponents, dropped the "bombshell." They also put Carter on notice that they have no intention of going down with his rapidly sinking ship unless he "gets tough" with the Russians real quick.

Worried about his own right flank, Carter after a brief hesitation decided to jump on the bandwagon. The "revelation" was obviously timed to embarrass the Castro regime just as it was hosting a conference of "non-aligned nations," as the Soviet and Cuban press quickly pointed out. And since Carter's hijacking/kidnapping of an Aeroflot jet at JFK airport in New York had flopped, maybe the hard-pressed administration could use this incident to shore up its sagging ratings for "decisive leadership."

The Republicans were naturally chortling over the Democrats' dilemma, while Ford and Kissinger washed their hands of it all: "You ever hear of Russian troops in Cuba, Henry?"

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Prensa Latina

Russian-made tanks defend Cuba.

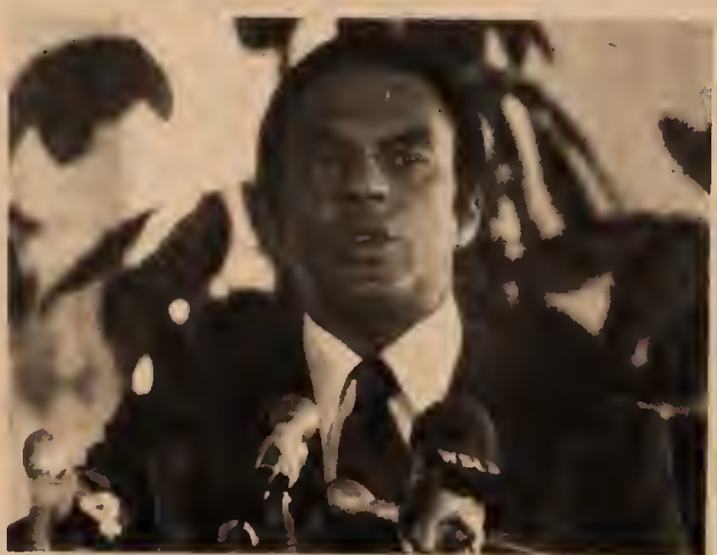
U.S. Imperialism's Black Front-Man

Andrew Young: Expendable

In the midsummer doldrums, when Washington usually grinds to a halt and the politicians head toward the golf courses, the forced resignation of the American ambassador to the United Nations August 15 instantly awakened the languid U.S. capital. Carter had dumped Andy Young, the No. 1 black spokesman in his administration? The political implications were potentially enormous. The media immediately began asking if this spelled the demise of the traditional liberal black/Jewish coalition. More importantly, the sacking of Young was taken as a slap in the face by the mass of the black population which was buzzing with indignation over Carter's arrogance.

The whole thing started as a minor affair—Young had allegedly been caught out fibbing to the State Department about the circumstances of his meeting with Zehdi Labib Terzi, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) observer to the UN. That this should be the cause of his dismissal is patently absurd: if diplomats told the "whole truth"—to each other, to their own governments, to anybody—the United Nations would probably fall into the East River from disuse. But Israel, through its own sources, had gotten the goods on Young's meeting with the PLO and threatened to blow the incident sky-high. So it was bye-bye Andy Young.

However, the black establishment was not about to take it lying down.



Gottfryd/Newsweek

Carter's dumping of Andrew Young, over meeting with a PLO representative, caused big blow-up between black and Jewish leaders.

Following the logic of constituency politics, the lifeblood of the Democratic Party, they retaliated by...coming out for Palestinian self-determination. As for Jimmy Carter, continuing his unbroken string of disastrous policy decisions—from telling Americans to walk during the gas crisis to demonstrating the administration's stability by firing almost the entire cabinet—he figured he would ride out the Andrew Young crisis by drifting down the Mississippi in a paddle boat.

When Harry Truman's fortunes were down, he used to hop on the back of a train and whistle-stop through Pennsylvania burgs and Midwest farm country. Richard Nixon successfully pitched to the sunbelt—the Arizona retirement communities and Texas space-industry boomtowns. But riverboat junkets past the seedy, decaying Mississippi River towns and the bible-and-bourbon belt just don't make it as a strategy for reelection. What the axing of Young does demonstrate is that Carter is running hard to his right. With his ratings at an all-time low—according to a recent *Time* magazine poll only 12 percent of the people had confidence in Carter's leadership ability—the embattled president figures Jewish voters might switch over to the Republican side of the ballot, but blacks have nowhere else to go. Carter very much wants the votes of "middle America" conservatives, who regard the flashy UN ambassador as an "uppity" black "soft" on the enemies of America. So with the Israelis and American Jewish leaders also screaming for his head, Carter decided (perhaps unwisely) that Young had become on balance a political liability.

So Jimmy Carter, the former governor of Georgia, will run as a white man's candidate in '80. In firing Young he has broken with the image of the Democratic Party as the party of blacks. This is the real message of the Andy Young affair. From black front man for U.S. imperialism to Carter's fall guy, the in-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 240

28 September 1979

Kennedy, Carter:

Not a Dime's Worth of Difference!

UPI

Wyman/Sygma

Build a Workers Party!

From about the time of Robert Kennedy's death in 1968, it has been widely assumed that the presidency of the United States would pass to the next and last in line of the Kennedy brothers, "Teddy." It was only a matter of time—and political timing. Now is the time, with the polls counting Carter's popularity even below Nixon's when he was forced to resign. So after a prolonged period of teasing, hinting, primping and posing, Kennedy has at last satisfied his admirers, coyly letting it be known that he had finally secured his mother's permission to go all the way.

Among those admirers who make up the "draft Kennedy" committees across the nation are many of the labor bureaucrats and black misleaders who sold Carter as a "friend of labor" and "man of the people" in the last election. These Democratic loyalists and class betrayers will do it again for their party, but they would rather have a fresh face, particularly the face of a Kennedy to sell for the capitalists. Revolutionists warn as we did with Carter: the Democrats and Republicans are the parties of capital. Kennedy is not fundamentally different from Carter.

Before Jimmy Carter became the pollsters' most unpopular president in U.S. history, Teddy and the Camelot gang seemed to be looking to the presidential campaign of 1984. After all, why should they want to challenge a sitting president, causing a nasty split in their party and making a Republican victory all the more likely? But with Carter totalled, Kennedy can ride in like the Ajax cleanser white knight to save the Democrats from nearly certain defeat.

It is not only the Democratic Party presidency at stake, however. Carter's colossal unpopularity is due not merely to his political stupidities, sermonette solutions and general ineffectiveness. Carter is also a self-made symbol of a punishing economy with its uncontrollable inflation, mass layoffs, shortages amid plenty—grinding a new generation of blacks and Hispanics into desperate poverty, driving workers onto gas lines and unemployment lines, and panicking sections of the middle class. Much of the dismay and anger is focused on Jimmy Carter who blames the American people for "a loss of faith."

The problems of American capitalism are real, serious, and in the long run terminal. But the bourgeoisie portrays the problem as a crisis of confidence. School children are taught that the "Great Depression" was caused by such a crisis of confidence, that money has "value" because people believe in it, and more such wisdom suited to the realm of Oz. The elaborate theatricality of U.S. bourgeois electoral politics is staged to obscure the fact that the real issues in America are class issues. But Carter's sermons have backfired. The American public has no confidence in Jimmy. They do not believe in his baloney that Americans have no confidence in themselves. Carter's religious act has not worked and he has been given the hook as a more seasoned performer heads for the oval stage.

The style of modern American bourgeois politics is conditioned by the absence of an organized mass political expression of the working class. If, as the saying goes, "the business of America is business," the style of American politics is style. That is what Teddy has to offer capitalism in its time of need. Matters of style are even more accentuated because there has rarely been such consensus within bourgeois politics. There is no great issue of imperialist strategy like the Vietnam war which divides the capitalist politicians; they have an amazing amount of agreement even on small issues and particularly on the economy. Not only does Teddy have the same economic programs as Carter, he also has the same program of moral uplift, although the style is more secular, slicker, efficient. The only question is who will deliver the sermons and in what regional accents.

Kennedy has come not only to bury Carter, and to save the Democratic party, but to do a job for the entire capitalist class. The ruling class needs a man for one economic season: *austerity*. And they want a president who can "inspire," that is, enforce, austerity upon the working people. Another Kennedy will tell Americans "what they can do for their country": eat less, take home less wages, pay more, drive less, sacrifice more—not in the name of god perhaps, but in the name of country and some hyped-up Madison Avenue "frontier."

Kennedy as Carter

Running for president in 1960 during a period of economic stagnation, John F. Kennedy promised to "get this country moving again." But today his younger brother is promising nothing, absolutely nothing. Here in a nutshell is Ted Kennedy's current economic wis-

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Down With the State of Emergency in Sri Lanka!...4

SWP Bows to Khomeini, Runs from Spartacist League

Bay Area: Daniel Ellsberg, Kay Boyle Honor SL Picket

Mullah Lovers' Exclusion Backfires

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party is in political hot water. It is unable to answer the Spartacist League's exposure of its criminal tailing of Islamic reaction in Iran. Instead, it has opted for the cowardly, reformist expedients of slander and exclusion. Thus all around the country the SWP is desperately trying to keep the SL from attending demonstrations and rallies called to defend the lives of 14 imprisoned members of the Iranian HKS (Socialist Workers Party of Iran).

The only justification the SWP has ever given for this policy is that the SL demand, "Down with Khomeini—For Workers Revolution in Iran!" is "provocative" and a "disruption." This is getting to be a hard proposition to defend now that Khomeini's executioners prepare to butcher the jailed HKSers. And the SWP's criminal policy of excluding the SL, the one tendency that refused to swear fealty to the reactionary "Islamic Revolution," is backfiring. Even the SWP's liberal friends and favorite trade-union bureaucrats are beginning to object to its blatantly anti-democratic exclusions.

On September 14 the SWP barred nine trade-union militants and SL supporters from attending a rally here to free the imprisoned HKSers. Among those denied entry by the SWP goon squad stationed outside the Retail Clerks Union (RCU) Local 1100 hall, the meeting site, were executive board members of ILWU Locals 6 and 10, several stewards from San Francisco Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) and militants from the UAW and International Typographers Union. When it became clear that the SWP would admit no one who didn't lick the slippers of Khomeini, the ILWU members told the SWP that they intended to lodge a protest with RCU Local 1100 president Walter Johnson. SWPer Lou Jones sneered, "You do that. See if I care."

At this point, an SL spokesman told Jones that the meeting was public, that the SL had the right to attend, that Jones and his gang did not constitute a serious physical obstacle to attendance, but that the SL chose instead to protest the SWP's provocative exclusion by setting up a picket line. Several dozen additional SL supporters who had been waiting in anticipation of just such an exclusion were summoned and a picket line was established.

Among the placards carried by the spirited marchers were: "USec/SWP Line Kills Arabs, Kurds, Leftists!" "SWP/Criminal Tailism in Iran: History Takes its Vengeance", and "USec Revisionists Have Blood of Iranian Workers on their Hands!"

The chants included: "SWP: You Cheered for Khomeini, But You're Not Cheering Now!" "Not USec Tailism, But an Iranian Trotskyist Party," "Last Autumn You Said Khomeini's Fine, It's Kind of Late to Change Your Line!" "Not Cultural Autonomy but Kurdish Self-Determination," and "SWP: If the Boot Fits, Lick It!"

Kay Boyle, Ellsberg Refuse to Cross Picket Line

So far, this anti-communist exclusion was just business as usual for the SWP social democrats. So the SWP was stung when two of its featured speakers from Amnesty International, Kay Boyle and Daniel Ellsberg, refused to cross the SL picket line. Kay Boyle discussed the exclusion at length with both the SWP and excluded ILWU executive board members Stan Gow and Bob Mandel. She ended up shaking Mandel's hand in front of the SWPers, then turned to them and demanded that she be taken home. Daniel Ellsberg drove up, saw the picket line protesting the exclusion, and left.

The 28 September issue of the SWP's *Militant* whined about how the SL protest all but ruined the SWP's meeting—and then the Spartacists had the nerve to applaud Boyle and Ellsberg for refusing to cross a picket line to address a politically exclusionist "public meeting."

The Militant Lies (Again)

Caught out, the SWP is squealing like a stuck pig (but rather more slanderously). The *Militant* article by one Bob Capistrano claims that "more than 30 members of the Spartacist League... tried to march into the rally." Indeed we did not—though this would have been a perfectly principled response to political exclusion from a publicly advertised forum! It would serve the SWP right for a large group of working-class militants to thus enforce workers democracy.

The *Militant* article's main theme is that "The Spartacists placed their factional hatred for the SWP above the lives of the imprisoned socialists." *This is the height of hypocrisy coming from the people who have used physical force to keep the SL out of meetings and demonstrations to defend the HKS!* In fact, the SL was demanding a vigorous defense of the HKS and other victims of Khomeini's white terror while the SWP was still shrinking from publicizing the HKS case which exposes so nakedly the reactionary nature of Khomeini's regime. On June 22, for instance, the Bay Area SWP boycotted a Spartacist-initiated united-front demonstration called around the slogans "Free the imprisoned HKS and Fedayeen Supporters!" and "Stop Khomeini's Government's Attacks on the National Minorities and Women of Iran!" To date the Bay Area SWP has yet to hold a single demonstration in solidarity with any of Khomeini's victims, including the HKS.

SWP/HKS/USec: You flinch in the face of the Spartacist League's accusations and charge us with blind "factional hatred." *In fact, all militant workers should feel revolutionary hatred for your policies in Iran!* You told the workers of Iran that Khomeini was a "progressive," that he was "anti-imperialist." Now the HKS pays the price.

Today Khomeini guns down Arabs, Kurds, and other national minorities. Yet you still refuse to take a forthright stand for the right of these national minorities to self-determination. Today Khomeini orchestrates a campaign of white terror: unions are attacked; workers parties are outlawed, their members jailed, beaten and executed. Women, especially, and the populace as a whole suffer under the hideous code of feudal morality of the mullahs. Yet you still refuse to call for the overthrow of Khomeini's regime, but instead beseech these clerical reactionaries to adopt your parliamentary-cretinist "Bill of Rights for Working People."

In March the SWPers sneered when a

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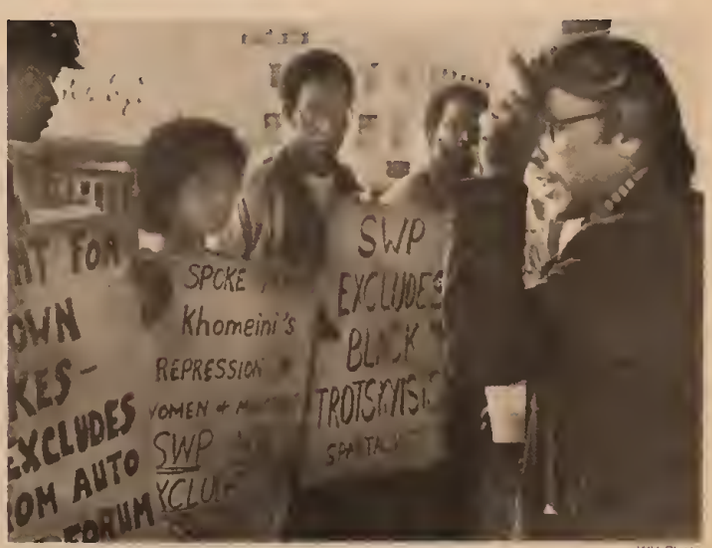
Scab Presidential Candidate Speaks in Detroit

SWP: "No Black Trotskyists Allowed"

DETROIT—Twenty Spartacist League supporters picketed the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) office here September 9 with signs reading, "SWP Excludes Black Trotskyists," "Laid-Off Chrysler Workers Excluded by SWP for Fighting for Sit-Down Strikes" and "Defend Workers Democracy." Inside the hall, the featured speaker was SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. Having admittedly scabbed on the railway clerks strike in Chicago last year, Pulley was well-prepared to cross the SL picket line.

The picket of Pulley's forum was thrown up to protest the SWP's racist exclusion of black members of the Spartacist League from its so-called "public events," a practice begun after the Detroit SWP's film showing/discussion on Malcolm X last February. Since then SL pickets have embarrassed the SWP before the socialist public in Detroit to the point that it felt compelled to issue an "Open Letter" in July to justify the exclusions. The "Open Letter" accuses the SLers of "disruption" for not being willing to "abide by forum discussion policy."

Everyone present at the February 11 forum knows it was actually the SWPers who disrupted—by shouting down black SL spokesman Topaz Knight. Knight pointed out that Malcolm X was beginning to see the importance of the woman question,



"You, you, you and you!" WV Photo

while the SWP tailed after the mullahs who were reimposing the veil on Iranian women. This "disruption" was the SWP's excuse for the anti-democratic, anti-communist, racist exclusion. But for authentic Trotskyists—unlike the apologists for Khomeini, who help get their own comrades of the Iranian HKS killed—fighting the veil is not "off the topic."

The real point is that the SWP cannot defend its suicidal line on Iran and its usual tactic of race-baiting does not work so well against black Trotskyists. When asked at the September 9 forum why SLers were being excluded, the SWP spokesman replied: "Not everyone is being excluded—just you, you, you and you," pointing to every black supporter of the Spartacist League

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No. 240 28 September 1979

Dodge Main workers rally on June 2 against Chrysler's mass layoffs and threatened plant closure. WV Photo

No to the Auto Sellout!

DETROIT—Two and a half hours before the midnight, September 14 contract deadline, General Motors had what it wanted: a sweetheart contract agreed to by the leaders of the United Auto Workers (UAW) *without a strike*. UAW president Doug Fraser and vice president Irving Bluestone made the announcement to the press. "An excellent settlement," they said, "momentous" and "historic." Grinning and backslapping for the cameras, the union leaders praised GM's "affirmative attitude." It was the first time since 1964 that the UAW settled without even a token walkout against its "target" company.

But it was GM that had reason to be smiling. Exploiting the union bureaucracy's obvious unwillingness to strike, the corporation got a contract which will give it a free hand to eliminate thousands of additional jobs while drastically worsening the conditions for those who remain in the plants. The demand for a shorter workweek was abandoned and management's existing rights to schedule virtually unlimited overtime were left unchallenged. The union agreed to a substantial pay differential for new hires, while the company was given the green light to implement a tough, new absentee policy with the UAW's blessing. For auto workers this will add up to even more job overloading, speedup and company harassment.

In our last issue we warned that if the Fraser bureaucracy had its way, auto workers would "have to accept a chicken-feed settlement only to be handed their pink slips after the contract is ratified." But the companies aren't even waiting for ratification. With the ink barely dry on the GM pact, on Friday, September 21 Chrysler laid off indefinitely a whole shift at the Lynch Road assembly plant in Detroit. This is what's in store for all auto workers if this sweetheart deal goes down.

But the UAW ranks don't have to take this kick in the guts lying down. GM workers must throw this sellout deal back in the faces of the auto bosses and their flunkeys in Solidarity House. UAW militants must mobilize the membership to fight for an *industrywide strike* throughout North America, combined with *sitdown strikes* in plants hit by mass layoffs.

Even Less Than '76

Not only is there no new money in the tentative agreement—there is even less than before. The estimated aggregate increase of 33 percent is smaller than that won in 1973 although inflation is much higher now—14 percent annually. The settlement is also less than those approved by the Carter government for Teamsters and rubber workers. The traditional (since 1948!) "annual improvement factor" of 3 percent has been retained and the cost-of-living formula will remain unchanged until September 1982. COLA on pensions, which Fraser touted as the union's top priority in 1979, was junked when GM claimed it was "too costly and unpredictable." Instead, retirees will receive meager three-times-yearly benefit adjustments—to be paid for by deducting an eventual total of 14 cents an hour from the COLA of employed auto workers!

But GM fully expects to cover even these modest pay and benefit increases through a massive new productivity drive. Fraser handed the bosses a major weapon to divide younger workers from high-seniority employees by agreeing to pay rates for new hires 60 cents below base wage. The recovery provision which formerly allowed new hires to regain most of that money once off probation has been abolished.

Solidarity House also committed itself to helping GM police the plants for absenteeism. The UAW will participate with management on a newly established "National Committee on Attendance." Ominously, the International circulated letters to GM locals urging them to work out with management new programs to deal with "unwarranted absences"—thereby allowing auto workers to be picked off plant by plant!

Thus GM is readying itself for a major new speed-up drive. Older workers who cannot take the grueling pace or will not accept company infringements of union standards will be threatened with replacement by lower-paid new hires who have no union protection. At its Fremont, California plant, GM's already-launched productivity campaign has forced over 400 workers to seek medical leaves-of-absence.

New Layoffs Ahead

There is already considerable disgruntlement in the plants over the proposed settlement. To sell this rotten deal, the UAW bureaucracy is banking on the hope that the membership will be reluctant to strike during an economic downturn. With 60,000 auto workers already on the streets and more layoffs projected, the fight for jobs is a central issue in this contract. Fraser says that the few more paid personal holidays (PPH) granted under the contract are a step to a four-day week. This is pure bunk. Auto workers, who are forced to work grueling overtime, do not even have a five-day week! And PPH, based on perfect attendance, is nothing but a disguised absentee control plan. It has nothing to do with fighting layoffs.

The contract at Ford undoubtedly will closely parallel GM's tentative agreement, but the worst is yet to come for the Chrysler workers. Fraser has already promised "special consideration" for the failing No. 3 auto maker. And Lee Iacocca, Chrysler's newly installed chief executive, clearly got the news. Employees at the Lynch Road assembly plant in Detroit got an early taste of the fiscal "responsibility" which the government has required of the union in order for Chrysler to qualify for a government handout. Just one week after the signing of the "historic" agreement with GM, 2,000 Lynch Road workers showed up at the plant only to be told that their jobs no longer existed. Detroit police were summoned as the enraged workers initially refused to disperse. In the days prior to the cutback, rumors of a layoff spread through the plant and, with no hope of support from the cowards in the International, workers reportedly resorted to widespread sabotage.

With 27,000 already laid-off hourly workers at Chrysler, a pink slip means almost immediate destitution, since the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) funds are nearly exhausted. Chrysler workers must respond to the wholesale liquidation of their jobs with militant sitdowns. If management pleads bankruptcy the workers must seize company assets! Not a dime for the stockholders and coupon clippers who have milked the corporation dry—every penny must go to the workers who have sweated out their lives in these pits. Such a militant defiance of the bosses' sacred private property rights could spark a real industrywide strike for a shorter workweek, with a big pay boost and full COLA protection for active and retired UAW members. This is the only way to provide auto workers with the jobs, decent wages, benefits and working conditions that they need.

Fraser on September 14: sellout time at GM headquarters. WV Photo

Fraser's the One!

With their backs against the wall, the UAW ranks have no choice but to fight to protect their jobs and living standards. But nothing except treachery can be expected from Fraser and his cohorts. Fraser is the "leader" who criticized Chrysler for giving in to militants who seized an electrical power station in August 1973 at the Jefferson Avenue plant in Detroit and threw the switch in protest over the abuses of a racist foreman. It was he who personally mobilized a 1,000-man goon squad later that month to crush a sit-down strike a few miles away at the Mack Avenue stamping plant. On the eve of his accession to the UAW presidency, then-Chrysler Department head Fraser broke the back of a militant 12-day wildcat by Indianapolis Chrysler workers in March 1977 following a foreman's assault on a union steward. And, as International president, Fraser abandoned a bitter nine-month strike by mostly women workers in Elwood, Indiana who struggled valiantly against armed

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Tamils Under the Gun

Down with State of Emergency in Sri Lanka!

During the last two months on the island of Ceylon, the United National Party (UNP) government headed by President J.R. Jayewardene has imposed a regime of police-state repression on the oppressed Tamil-speaking minority. Using as a pretext alleged incidents of Tamil terrorism, the cabinet on July 11 declared a state of emergency in Jaffna, in the northern district populated predominantly by the Indian-derived Hindu Tamils. The following week the UNP rushed through parliament sweeping draconian legislation called the "Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act."

Under this act the armed forces and police are free to terrorize and even murder with impunity, while the government has at hand a mailed fist of reactionary sanctions that could be used at any time to smash political opposition. In particular, they will be used to suppress opposition to the economic austerity measures recently imposed by the openly capitalist Jayewardene regime, which is no less Buddhist/Sinhala chauvinist than the preceding Bandaranaike/LSSP/CP popular front. The anti-working-class measures include drastic cuts in the food subsidies on which millions depend for their daily existence.

When the emergency was declared, Jayewardene gave the following marching orders under presidential seal to Brigadier Tissa Weeratunga, his nephew, who had been appointed chief of staff of the Sri Lanka army shortly after the UNP took office two years ago: "It will be your duty to eliminate in accordance with the laws of the land the menace of terrorism in all its forms from the island, and especially from the Jaffna district." And acting accordingly, the military/police forces have made their terrorism the law of the land in Jaffna District.

Although the government has clamped strict censorship on all coverage of the emergency, the authorities have not been able to completely suppress news of the terror unleashed against the Tamils. It has become known that three days after the imposition of the emergency two Tamil youth were taken from their homes by the police. Later the same day they were found dead by the side of a public road, killed by blasts of gunfire and badly mutilated (see exclusive photos of this atrocity above). It is also known that a third youth, who had been arrested on July 13, was assaulted by the police and succumbed to his injuries while under detention in the Jaffna prison.

Exclusive Photos of Anti-Tamil Terror

Tamil youths arrested July 14 and found dead by side of road the same day. Bodies were mutilated to remove bullets.

Meanwhile, the whereabouts of a number of Tamils arrested by the police is unknown, as is the fate of others remanded to Jaffna Prison on orders from magistrates. Under the emergency regulations, the armed forces are empowered to enter any premises and to arrest without obtaining a warrant. They may also detain prisoners for up to 15 days anywhere the inspector general of police decides. Trial by jury and just about every other legal right of the defendant are denied in cases prosecuted under this act.

Initially, the act also empowered the police to seize and dispose of corpses in any way without a coroner's inquiry to determine the cause of death. However, this sanction was withdrawn after the Tamils living in the area where the police murdered the two youths on July 14 closed their shops and businesses in protest. Yet under the emergency act even this protest could be deemed terroristic and punishable with sentences of up to 20 years.

So far the communalist drumbeaters of the UNP have been successful. It has not been challenged by militant action of the working class, even though the cuts in consumer subsidies and the repressive powers sanctioned by the emergency act threaten Sinhalese working people as well. The bourgeois Hong Kong-published *Far Eastern Economic Review*, commenting in its 10 August issue on the cuts in the rice ration already introduced by the UNP, noted with evident surprise: "The political backlash from the most affected urban working class was nowhere near as bad as it might have been."

But this is a testimony not so much to mass support for the UNP as to the mass disaffection with the traditional reformist workers parties—the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP)—which supported and participated in the popular-front governments of the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which predominated in the period 1964-77. During these years the LSSP and CP enabled "Mrs. B" (as former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike is widely called) to break strikes, drive down the living standards of the working people, foment virulent anti-Tamil chauvinism and massacre thousands of young leftists who participated in the 1971 rebellion.

No wonder the reformists' cynical exhortations for mass opposition to the government cuts in food subsidies today largely fall on deaf ears. Routed in the general elections of July 1977 that swept the UNP into office in a landslide vote, the CP and LSSP two years later are still widely despised. It was not sheer cynicism that led J.R. Jayewardene to attend the recent funeral of LSSP leader N.M. Perera (who had been a top minister in the Bandaranaike coalition government) and eulogize this veteran reformist with the farewell, "Well done, thou true and faithful servant, well done" (*Ceylon Daily News*, 30 August).

But a New Left that has emerged around the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) does pose more of a threat to the UNP. As a result of its 1971 uprising against the Bandaranaike popular front, the JVP is seen by many—especially the youth, women and even some Tamils in urban centers—as the only repository of militancy on the the island. Its politics, however, are really nothing more than a "new left" version of Stalinist popular frontism, a kind of class-collaborationism-with-a-gun reminiscent of the Chilean MIR.

Thus today no less than under the LSSP/CP/SLFP coalition, intransigent proletarian opposition to popular frontism remains the touchstone of a revolutionary perspective on Sri Lanka. Support, however "critical," to any component of the popular front is a roadblock to winning over on a principled basis subjectively revolutionary youth from the layer of militants that coalesced around the New Left Stalinist JVP.

Skimpy Carrot, Big Stick

The emergency powers give the UNP regime a ready weapon to use against the working class and Sinhalese petty bourgeoisie in the event the government's economic policies provoke resistance. Jayewardene is committed to drastically reducing state food subsidies, since the International Monetary Fund and other imperialist agencies made such cutbacks a condition for their aid to the UNP government. For more than 30 years the government has subsidized basic foodstuffs and provided free medical services and education. It could do so in large measure on the basis of the superexploitation the British extracted from the Tamil plantation laborers. Now the UNP and its imperialist patrons can no longer afford to expend over $200 million annually while the economy is ever more squeezed between soaring market prices internationally and stagnation domestically.

After the rice ration was eliminated for better-paid workers in February of 1978, the UNP now has dumped the entire food subsidy system, offering in

Asiaweek

Government troops attack Tamil demonstrators in Jaffna in 1977.

its place food and fuel stamps for workers earning less than $65 a month (see *New York Times*, 11 September). Even with the stamps most workers will not be able to maintain their meager standard of living, given the runaway inflation and chronic shortages of basic necessities. If the trade unions or opposition parties mount any serious struggle against the government policies, the UNP is already prepared for emergency action. Jayewardene has a "strong state" now: an increasingly bonapartist regime that is closely linked to the military high command, through both political and familial ties.

With the declaration of emergency in the north and the enactment of such sweeping repressive legislation Jayewardene, while claiming to protect parliamentary democracy in Sri Lanka, has actually taken significant steps to make the central executive power more and more independent of legislative controls. After the UNP came to power, Prime Minister Jayewardene created the office of president so that he and his cabinet could wield more power than traditionally held by the prime minister. In addition, the UNP regime revised the election laws such that a candidate must poll a certain percentage of the vote cast in his constituency in order to be elected—an anti-democratic system clearly intended to keep leftist parties, like the JVP out of office.

With the enactment of the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" the minister of justice has been given extraordinary powers combined with significant autonomy from the control of parliament and the courts. For example, the minister can arbitrarily decide that a given person is "connected with or concerned in unlawful activity" under the emergency regulations and detain him for three months, although the detention could be extended up to 18 months. Likewise the minister could prohibit any person from addressing public meetings or from engaging in political activities under threat of imprisonment for up to five years. In neither case could the minister's action be appealed in court.

Armed with an arsenal of emergency powers, the Jayewardene regime intends to bring the Tamils in the north to heel and to impose its economic policies through the classic carrot-and-stick approach. Imposition of martial law in Jaffna was clearly intended to intimidate the masses of Tamils into submission—the actual incidence of even alleged Tamil terrorism has never assumed threatening proportions (over the last three years 15 policemen were killed, allegedly by Tamil separatists). Jayewardene would like to nip in the bud the "Liberation Tigers," young Tamil nationalists who reportedly number only several hundred, and is prepared to use the same kind of murderous repression unleashed against the leftist Sinhalese youth who participated in the 1971 insurrection.

The iron-fisted police-state measures directed against the Tamil minority have been prepared by the reactionary communalist policies that the UNP has pursued since coming to power in 1977. Last year hundreds of Tamils were killed or injured, and many more were forced to flee north, when mobs of Sinhalese chauvinists ran amok in pogroms that were encouraged, if not fomented, by the UNP. At the same time the government has called for negotiations with the bourgeois politicians of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), who did not even protest the declaration of the state of emergency or the police/army rule in Jaffna. Here the carrot is the offer to discuss "devolution"—an autonomy ploy that would give TULF leaders a rationalization for shelving the demand for "Eelam" (a separate Tamil state), which they adopted reluctantly and reactively, and resume their role as respectable "statesmen" who since the 1977 elections command the largest opposition bloc in parliament.

Popular Front Paved the Way

Today the opposition parties that formed the last popular-front government—Bandaranaike's bourgeois SLFP, the LSSP and the CP—issue polite denunciations of the cuts in food subsidies and criticisms of UNP policy in handling the Tamils. These hypocritical protestations carry little credibility, however, coming from those who have long since become identified with viciously racialist Sinhala chauvinism. The LSSP once championed the rights of the Tamil minority, demanding full citizenship rights for the plantation workers and equal status for the Tamil language. But with the overwhelming victory of the first SLFP government in 1956 on the basis of "Sinhala Only" communalism and calls for "Buddhist socialism" (against the Hindu Tamils), the LSSP's tendency toward narrow national-centeredness and preoccupation with parliamentarism began to blossom into full-scale class-collaborationism and Sinhala chauvinism.

The LSSP's slide into unprincipled coalitionism had already reached the stage of definitive capitulation when after the 1960 elections, which returned the SLFP to office, it announced a policy of "general support of the government." This culminated in 1964 with the formation of an SLFP/LSSP coalition government. One of the most notorious acts of this short-lived popular-front regime was the Sirima-Shastri Pact legalizing the forcible deportation of tens of thousands of Tamil plantation workers to India.

The latter, generally referred to on the island as the "Indian Tamils," were largely landless "low caste" peasants brought from southern India by the British to work the upland coffee (later tea) plantations in the middle of the last century and have been denied all citizenship rights since independence. In contrast, the "Ceylon Tamils" of the north and the eastern coast, whose ancestors inhabited the island more than a thousand years ago, were allowed to retain their representation in parliament even after the "Indian Tamils" were disenfranchised.

Bandaranaike's coalition government fell after only eight months, brought down by the principled opposition of two Members of Parliament from the left wing of the LSSP, Edmund Samarakkody and Meryl Fernando, who refused to vote approval for the work of the bourgeois popular front. Six years later Sri Lanka was again under a coalition government, this time of the SLFP/LSSP/CP, and "Sinhala Only" became the official government policy in every field. Thus the "Ceylon Tamil" intelligentsia, who had enjoyed enhanced access to positions in the British colonial bureaucracy, by fiat became illiterate in the official language of their country. Buddhism was made the state religion. And the "Indian Tamils" on the plantations bore the brunt of pervasive economic discrimination. Sinhalese chauvinism on the key issues of language rights, university admissions, land colonization and employment was more intense under the coalition than earlier under the former UNP regime, so that even the bourgeois Tamil leaders of the TULF felt compelled to adopt the demand for "Eelam."

Life for the Ceylonese working class grew ever more grim with each passing year of the popular front. What limited state control and nationalization of the economy was imposed by the government served only to stifle the motor of capitalism, producing stagnation, unemployment and parasitic bureaucratism. And when in 1971 the petty-bourgeois radical JVP launched an ill-prepared insurrection by un- and under-employed Sinhala ex-students, including many young women, the "socialist" coalition imposed a draconian state of emergency and unleashed the military and police to hound, murder, mutilate and maraud through the insurgent-held areas.

After seven years of popular-front government, which brought nothing but false promises and privation, the masses enthusiastically returned to office a nakedly Tory party in a country where even the Buddhist monks speak of socialism. Popular frontism, as Leon Trotsky wrote, is together with fascism the last defense of the bourgeoisie against proletarian revolution. But while collaboration in the capitalist government with the parties of the class enemy by the reformist misleaders may deflect the workers' struggle, the popular front cannot provide the bourgeoisie with a stable political solution. In a July 1936 article Trotsky forcefully argued this point in respect to the Spanish popular front:

> "Incapable of solving a single one of the tasks posed by the revolution—since all these tasks boil down to one, namely, the crushing of the bourgeoisie—the People's Front renders the existence of the bourgeois regime impossible and thereby provokes the fascist coup d'état. By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralyzing their will to struggle, the People's Front creates favorable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat with years of new torment and sacrifice, if not by decades of fascist terror."
>
> —"The New Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Fourth International"

In most cases, unleashing the expectations of the working class, politically disarmed by illusions that the popular front is "their" government, provokes in short order brutal right-wing military repression, as occurred in Spain in the 1930s and more recently in Chile. But a different variant was played out in Sri Lanka. The traditional workers parties were able to discipline the working masses so thoroughly that the popular front could run itself into the ground and openly reveal its bourgeois, counterrevolutionary character. In Sri Lanka the coalition government itself carried out the bloody repression of the insurgent masses.

But the reformist working-class parties of the popular front reaped the bitter fruits of their betrayal. Along with Mrs. B's resounding defeat in the 1977 elections (the SLFP lost 72 of 81 MPs!), the LSSP and CP lost every single one of their parliamentary seats, including some they had held continuously for 40 years! Today the LSSP is a stinking corpse. After the debacle at the polls in 1977, a section of its cadres scurried like rats from the sinking ship, launching the "LSSP (New Leadership)." The latter's main difference with the N.M. Perera/Leslie Goonewardena/Colvin De Silva old guard is that the LSSP should have played a more "independent, militant" role in the coalition. Such after-the-fact excuses are the stock in trade of reformist betrayers, from the surviving leaders of the Indonesian CP decimated in 1965 to the Chilean Stalinists after the fall of Allende.

Today the LSSP is rightly hated by the masses who identify it with racism, mass murder and economic impoverishment. Its apparatus is moribund, its Colombo office closed, its unions left to drift, and the largest public meeting that the LSSP has recently been able to muster was the funeral for N.M. Perera. Even the miserable Communist Party was able to mobilize more supporters than the LSSP at its last May Day rally. But it is the JVP, which at its May Day demonstration attracted some 60,000, that now appears to the masses as the only militant opposition. Thus in Ceylon, where for decades ostensible Trotskyism has been the historic left wing, the total bankruptcy of the LSSP has allowed a new generation of Stalinists to gain the ascendancy. The task of an authentic Trotskyist nucleus on the island is above all to break this hold of the popular-frontists-with-a-gun by posing itself as the only consistent opponent of class collaboration in all its forms.

Sri Lanka today is anything but politically stable. Not without reason does the UNP fear a mass protest

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F.E.E.R

J.R. Jayewardene

Simon/Katherine Young

Sirimavo Bandaranaike

Militant

JVP suspects rounded up during 1971 revolt—12,000 were murdered by the popular front.

Revolution in Nicaragua and the Left

UPI

The petty-bourgeois nationalist spirit of Sandino dominates the revolution in Nicaragua.

(continued from page 12)

and must be roundly condemned by all would-be socialists. But this is not what the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) thought of it. The SWP did not protest at all. In fact, it issued four different "explanations" of the Sandinista repression against the ostensibly Trotskyist leaders of the Simón Bolivar Brigade, one of which consisted of quoting without comment a statement by the Nicaraguan ministry of the interior. Moreover, the SWP's explanations not only shamelessly support the FSLN government against their own "comrades," but they *join in the witch-hunt* themselves. An August 21 SWP Political Committee declaration entitled "New U.S. Propaganda Drive Against Nicaragua" states:

> "The Simón Bolivar Brigade was organized by the Colombian PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party), under the direction of an international grouping known as the 'Bolshevik Faction,' led by Nahuel Moreno. . . .
>
> "In the case of the Simón Bolivar Brigade, the Bolshevik Faction never consulted the Fourth International about this project or about the policies the Brigade followed. These policies ran counter to the policies decided by the leadership bodies of the Fourth International.
>
> "Through the Simón Bolivar Brigade the Bolshevik Faction led young militants from several Latin American countries—people who wanted to help the fight against Somoza—into a sectarian adventure. Masquerading as a section of the Sandinista Front (FSLN), the Simón Bolivar Brigade entered Nicaragua from the outside to engage in its own organizing efforts along the lines of 'outflanking' the Sandinistas on the left. Their tactic was to up the ante in what the Sandinistas were saying, trying in this way to build a counterforce to them.
>
> "This grotesque idea—that people from the outside can maneuver to capture the leadership of the revolution from those who have emerged in the course of the struggle—has nothing whatever to do with Trotskyism, revolutionary socialism.
>
> "The unfortunate episode of the Simón Bolivar Brigade was just what the Carter administration was waiting for."
>
> —*Militant*, 31 August

In another article in the same issue of the *Militant*, on "The Facts About the Simón Bolivar Brigade," the SWP labels the Managua workers demonstration a "provocative clash" and accuses the leaders of the Brigade of having "acted irresponsibly." Again, the "fact"-sheet charges that the Brigade's attempts to "outflank [the FSLN] from the left" had "absolutely nothing in common with the position of the Fourth International." And it ostentatiously washes its hands of any association: "The Fourth International is in no way responsible for the activities of the Brigade." Quite a mouthful coming from people who are formally part of the same "International."

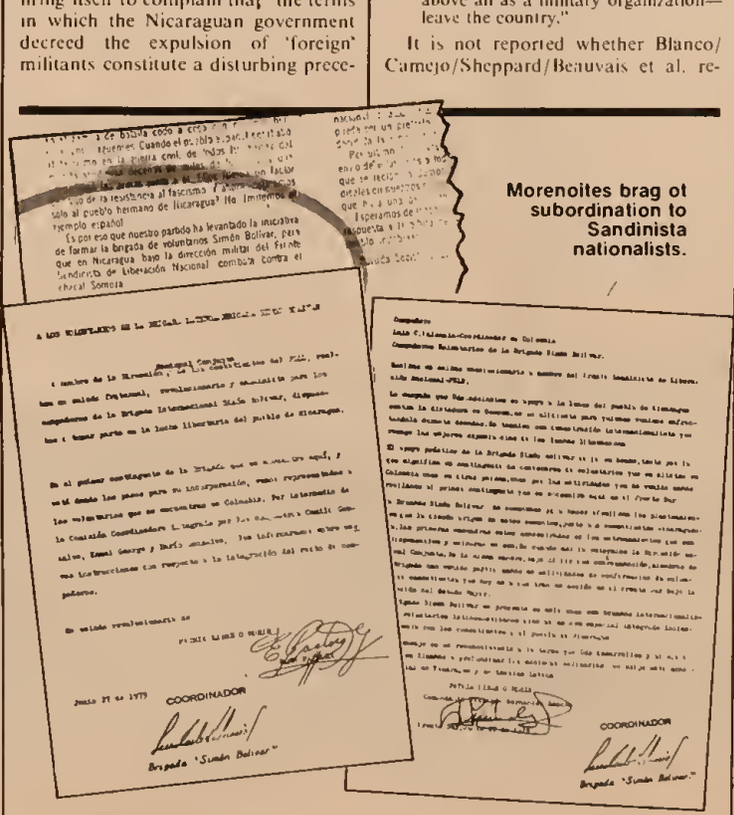
The SWP's response to the expulsion of the Bolivar Brigaders was the most naked stab in the back by a section of the fake-Trotskyist "United" Secretariat (USec) since its supporters in Portugal found themselves on opposite sides of the barricades in the summer of 1977. But what about the other wings of this pseudo-Fourth International, long accustomed to the dirtiest of factional tricks? Those sections associated with the former International Majority Tendency of Ernest Mandel were less virulent than the SWP in their attacks on the Morenoite-led Brigade, at most clucking their tongues at the FSLN-ordered repression. Thus the newspaper of the French LCR, *Rouge* (24-30 August), felt constrained to condemn the remarks of agrarian reform minister Wheelock, who in announcing the deportations launched a diatribe against "Trotskyism and all those who want to accelerate the evolution of the regime in Nicaragua." Of course, on the next page the editors published a friendly interview with the same Wheelock, remarking favorably on his revolutionary credentials.

As to the expulsions themselves, the LCR statement said only that "It is rather unlikely, whatever may be the political differences, that 60 foreigners could pose a real problem for a revolutionary leadership enjoying immense popular support." Supposedly, then, if leftists did pose a real threat to the Sandinista regime, the LCR would begin foaming at the mouth like the rabid SWP! By the next issue, *Rouge* (31 August-6 September) could only bring itself to complain that "the terms in which the Nicaraguan government decreed the expulsion of 'foreign' militants constitute a disturbing precedent." Finally, a resolution by the LCR central committee (published in the 7-13 September *Rouge*) screwed up its courage to utter the mildest of formal protests, declaring that the expulsions themselves "constitute an unacceptable precedent." Anyone counting on such "militant solidarity" to back him against anti-communist repression had better forget it.

But while *Rouge* was gradually escalating its adjectives from "disturbing" to "unacceptable," its man in Managua was taking a sharply different tack. According to the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (24 September), a USec delegation including LCR Latin American "expert" Jean-Pierre Beauvais (as well as Hugo Blanco, Peter Camejo, Barry Sheppard and others) handed a statement to the Sandinistas hailing "the revolutionary leadership of the FSLN" and declaring: "All activities which create divisions between the mobilized masses and the FSLN are contrary to the interests of the revolution." Dotting the i's and crossing the t's, it added "This was the case specifically with the activities of the 'Simón Bolivar Brigade'," which it termed "sectarian." And to top it off the USec delegation explicitly endorsed the expulsion:

> "In a political and economic situation that required the greatest possible unity in struggle, the FSLN was right to demand that the non-Nicaraguan members of this group—which defined itself above all as a military organization—leave the country."

It is not reported whether Blanco/Camejo/Sheppard/Beauvais et al. received thirty pieces of silver, although they clearly hope to cash in on their perfidy by becoming the authorized cheerleaders for the FSLN. But the roots of such treachery are political and go back more than a quarter of a century, to the refusal of Michel Pablo, then secretary of the Fourth International, to defend the Chinese Trotskyists jailed by Mao. He called them "refugees from a revolution" for refusing to bow to the new bureaucratic rulers in Peking. For Pablo it was part of his liquidationist program that led to the destruction of the Fourth International as the organized world revolutionary vanguard. In the case of his epigones it is the consequence of their Pablоist policies, which lead all wings of the USec to chase after non-proletarian, anti-Marxist leaderships—from the Chinese Stalinists to Portuguese army officers and now the Sandinista nationalists.



Morenoites brag of subordination to Sandinista nationalists.

SWP: Reformist Through and Through and To the Core

We will have a good deal to say below about the charlatan-adventurer Nahuel Moreno and his pseudo-leftist Bolshevik Faction. But as regards the SWP, for anyone who still had doubts, the blow-up over the Simón Bolivar Brigade and the SWP's unconditional, almost hysterical political support to the FSLN are proof positive that it is *reformist* from head to toe. For more than a decade the Spartacist tendency has been unique in insisting that the long-since *ex*-Trotskyist SWP was committed to supporting the bourgeois order. This has been contested by those who are afraid to break definitively with the USec "family," and therefore argue that profession of formal Trotskyism indicates subjectively revolutionary will. (What about the Brezhnevite, Maoist and Castroite Stalinists who profess to be Leninists?) Here it is spelled out so that even the willfully blind can't miss it: support to a government of capitalists against left-wing opponents, explicit popular frontism, warnings against frightening the bourgeoisie, a parliamentarist program and a call on the imperialists to "aid," i.e., strangle, the revolution.

Having embarked this year on a campaign of unbridled adulation of the Castroite regime in Havana—SWP leader Jack Barnes, in a speech on the 20th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, termed Castro & Co. "superior to the Bolshevik leadership, once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that"!—the Socialist Workers Party is treating Sandinista Nicaragua as if it were already the "second Cuba" so feared by Washington. And following out their own Cuban precedent in justifying this backstabbing attack on the Morenoites, Barnes is clearly harking back to the SWP's refusal to defend the Cuban Trotskyists jailed by Castro. (The Spartacist tendency denounced this Stalinist repression and brought the case to the attention of the socialist public. See "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba," *WV* Nos. 223 and 224, 19 January and 2 February 1979, and "In Defense of the Cuban Trotskyists," *WV* No. 225, 16 February, for a recounting of the SWP's betrayal and the Trotskyist analysis of the development of the Cuban Revolution.)

However, by the time that the SWP became lawyers for Castro's repression of the Cuban Trotskyists, a social revolution had taken place on the island. Joseph Hansen was defending a Stalinist leadership of a bureaucratically deformed workers state against would-be communists who called for opening the road to socialism by internationalizing the revolution and instituting soviet democracy. In the present case, Hansen's apprentices are covering the left flank of a government including a number of capitalist ministers and committed to protecting the properties of the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie." And the SWP defends this regime against all those "trying to

outflank it to the left"—i.e., anyone who even pretends to mobilize the working masses around demands which go beyond the democratic program of overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship.

Thus in a front-page statement in the 31 August *Militant*, SWP vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann unreservedly endorses the FSLN regime: "We think that the Sandinista government that is trying to get Nicaragua on its feet is doing a good job of it." And an article written from Managua by Pedro Camejo, Sergio Rodriguez and Fred Murphy begins with the flat assertion: "The socialist revolution has begun in Nicaragua" (*Intercontinental Press*, 3 September). If that is so, then what need is there for an independent Trotskyist vanguard? Not only is the SWP opposed to such "irresponsible" acts of the Simón Bolivar Brigade as mobilizing Managua workers to raise demands on the Sandinista regime, but to the existence of any left group outside the FSLN, *including the official USec section in Nicaragua*. In all of the articles on the Sandinista revolution appearing in the main USec organs, not one so much as mentions the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria ("sympathizing section of the Fourth International").

According to Camejo/Rodriguez/Murphy, "The power that exists today in Nicaragua is a revolutionary power." And this praise should not be mistaken as some kind of "critical support" to the FSLN. The classic formula for such a treacherous policy toward a bourgeois "revolutionary power" was provided by Stalin in March 1917, before Lenin returned from exile and presented his April Theses calling for "all power to the soviets." The Bolsheviks would support the Provisional Government, wrote *Pravda* under the editorship of Stalin and Kamenev, "insofar as it struggles against reaction or counterrevolution." But today's SWP is *worse than the 1917 Stalin*, for these raving all-the-way-with-the-FSLN hundred-percenters give a blank check: "... the only way for revolutionary socialists around the world to help advance the Nicaraguan revolution is to recognize the revolutionary capacities of this leadership, to identify with it, and to join forces with it in the struggle to defend and extend the revolution" (*Intercontinental Press*, 3 September 1979).

Stalin's support for the Provisional Government in 1917 anticipated his reformist degeneration in the 1930s, tying the workers to their class enemy through the policy of the People's Front. And it is a hallmark of the SWP's fully flowering reformism that it today openly defends popular frontism against left critics. Its articles on Nicaragua virtually call for the Stalinist-Menshevik "two-stage revolution." Camejo and his friends recognize that "The capitalists and those determined to defend their interests still remain a factor in the government." But this is nowhere criticized, merely presented as a "concession"—and moreover a correct one:

> "In the struggle against Somoza the Sandinistas consciously tried to create the broadest possible front, *including bourgeois forces* who were opponents of Somoza. *That was obviously the correct, intelligent, and revolutionary policy*." [our emphasis]

No clearer endorsement of the treacherous policy of the popular front could be asked for. As Leon Trotsky wrote after the tragic experience of Spain and France in the 1930s: "*There can be no greater crime than coalition with the bourgeoisie in a period of socialist revolution*" ("'Trotskyism' and the PSOP," July 1939).

Not only is the policy the same as Stalin's, even the language and the excuses are identical. Thus in polemicizing against the danger presented by the "provocative" actions of the Simón Bolivar Brigade, the SWP writes that the FSLN leadership "must make inroads into the bourgeois order, without giving the imperialists easy pretexts to whip up propaganda in favor of intervention" (*Militant*, 31 August). Haven't we seen this somewhere before? Yes, we have. It was the famous letter of Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov to Spanish prime minister Largo Caballero explaining the need not to frighten the bourgeoisie: "This is necessary to prevent the enemies of Spain considering her a communist republic and thus to avert their open intervention which is the greatest danger for republican Spain" (21 December 1936).

Naturally the SWP adds its own peculiar spices to this traditional reformist recipe for class betrayal, notably a heavy dose of constitutional cretinism—in a country presently in the throes of revolution. The USec has of late been given to "socialist constitution" schemes as a device for presenting its social-democratic parliamentarism in countries under the heel of bonapartist dictatorships. Consequently the SWP was ecstatic when the FSLN proclaimed a "Bill of Rights," printing the full text, all 52 articles of it, in *Intercontinental Press*. The most socially "advanced" provision of the new Nicaraguan statute is a clause on the "social function of property" which is no more radical than the right of eminent domain in Anglo-Saxon common law.

And of course there is the constant equation of FSLN-ruled Nicaragua with Castro's Cuba. Thus the SWP hailed Fidel Castro's July 26 speech on Nicaragua, reprinting it in every one of its publications. But they neglected to point out that the core of the speech was Castro's reassurance to those (e.g., the U.S.) who "expressed fears to the effect that Nicaragua would become a new Cuba." According to the Cuban leader, the reply of "the Nicaraguans" is: "No, Nicaragua will become a new Nicaragua. And this is something quite different" (*Granma* [English-language weekly edition], 5 August). Instead, the *Militant* (10 August) emphasized that in Castro's speech the OAS vote against the U.S. proposal for a "peacekeeping force" to be sent to Nicaragua "was rightly hailed as 'a great victory for the people of our America'." It didn't mention that Castro hailed the formation of "a great democratic, pro-independence and anti-interventionist front" including the governments of Panama, Costa Rica, Mexico and the Andean Pact countries, or that the U.S. itself finally voted against the proposal.

If the SWP hereby joined Castro in propagating illusions about the possibility of hemispheric "peaceful coexistence" with the predatory imperialist colossus to the north, its central political demand—for "massive U.S. aid to Nicaragua"—is far more sinister. In appearance a utopian call on the imperialist leopard to change its spots, *in reality it is an appeal for a bloc with the liberal American bourgeoisie to prevent socialist revolution in Central America*. This demand encapsulates the SWP's whole reformist—i.e., *counterrevolutionary*—perspective on Nicaragua. As we pointed out in a box in our last issue ("Reformists Who Can't Spell"), these State Department socialists are literally picking up the line of the State Department, which is telling Congress that if the U.S. does not provide aid, Nicaragua may well "go Communist." This is also the position, for example, of Mexican president López Portillo, who told the *New York Times* (23 September) that:

> "I do think that the best way to dissuade the Nicaraguan Government from taking extreme positions would be to provide it with unconditional and generous financial help."

The latest *Militants* read like CARE appeals for philanthropic aid to the starving Nicaraguans. But behind "humanitarian" dollars there is always politics. Aid to rebuild what—a capitalist or collectivized economy? And from whom? What we see here is the SWP's touching faith in the reformability of American imperialism, the butchers of My Lai and authors of the Bay of Pigs invasion. It is their appeal for federal troops to Boston to "protect" black children writ large. Would revolutionary Marxists have called for "massive allied aid to the Russian Revolution" after the February 1917 revolution overthrowing the tsar? Of course not, because such aid—strings or no strings—would necessarily have been aimed at preventing the Bolsheviks from taking power and at keeping Russia in the war.

The principal "aid" which the Nicaraguan working people urgently need is the leadership of a communist vanguard with a program of permanent revolution, going beyond the bourgeois-democratic program of the FSLN to mobilize the forces for proletarian revolution. And they won't get it from the reformist SWP, which supports the Sandinistas against the left and calls on

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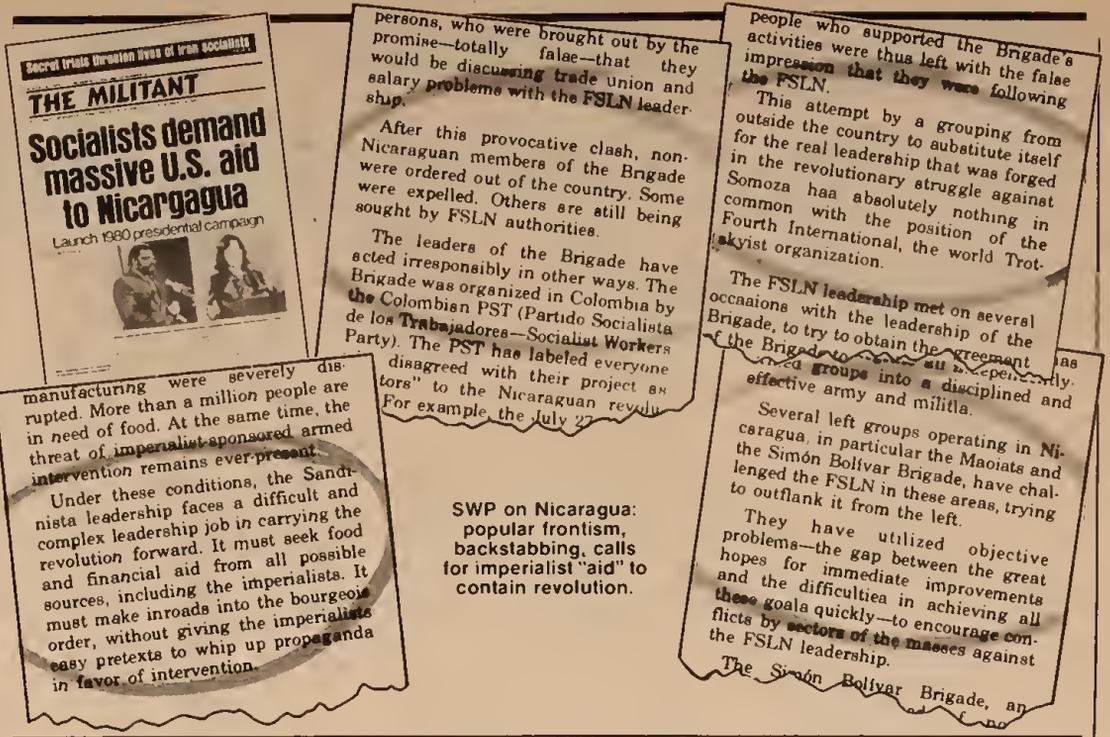

SWP on Nicaragua: popular frontism, backstabbing, calls for imperialist "aid" to contain revolution.

AP

FSLN-appointed junta members Borge, Ortega, Ramirez, Chamorro and Robelo at press conference in July.

Militant

Nahuel Moreno

BART Workers, Teachers Strike Threatened

Beat Back Scabherding Assault in Bay Area!

SAN FRANCISCO—Two drawn-out union struggles here escalated sharply last week as local government employers threatened massive scabherding. School teachers on strike since September 10 and workers of the BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) system locked out since August 31 are facing a showdown with capitalist politicians bent on destroying San Francisco's reputation as a labor town. Union strength was already badly damaged by the defeat of the municipal craft workers strike in 1976. Today the 3,800 teachers and 1,650 transit workers are on the front lines against a vicious provocation by city bosses determined to finish the job. And labor's battle must be fought not only with militant strike action, but also politically,. as the Democrats and Republicans join hands against the workers movement.

BART officials, who locked out the unions and shut the system down last month, are now boasting on the front page of the *San Francisco Chronicle* (20 September) that salaried engineers and foremen have been doing union maintenance work on damaged cars in the Concord yards. Management plans to re-open the system with "recertified" (read "scab") train operators in about two weeks, the paper reports. It was BART's open violation of union jurisdiction that sparked a workers sit-in at the Concord yard in late July—now it is threatening to smash the transit unions altogether.

Both of the unions affected, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1555 and United Public Employees (UPE) Local 390, have been trying to negotiate a contract since their old one expired July 1, but BART management is determined to break union standards. The main issue in the lockout is the transit workers' defense of the cost-of-living formula, one of the few escalator clauses which actually keeps step with galloping inflation. Yet to hear the bosses tell it, fighting for 100 percent COLA has made BART workers Public Enemy No. 1.

Perhaps taking a cue from the BART directors, San Francisco school superintendent Robert Alioto suddenly took a hard line in the ten-day-old teachers strike and began reopening schools on Friday using $90-a-day "substitutes." Negotiations for a new contract had broken down as SF Federation of Teachers president Jim Ballard justly, though belatedly, began demanding the rehiring of all 1,200 teachers laid off last spring. Using smokescreen budget figures, the school board has argued that only 700 of the 1,200 could be rehired—as substitutes without tenure!—and the expense would result in a pay raise of only 5 percent. To top it off, Mayor Diane Feinstein, who as a supervisor led the attack on the craft workers in 1976, is sitting in the bargaining with the teachers as a "mediator."

There must be no mistake about the threat hanging over the unions. The bourgeoisie has already sent out the word that it means business. A major article in the *New York Times* (22 September) announced, "Strike-Support Tradition Shaken in San Francisco":

> "For almost 40 years the tradition around here has been that the public will support organized labor when it strikes to force a recalcitrant employer to terms.... City agencies, aware of that annoyance, have begun to chip away at tradition....
> "Yesterday the San Francisco school board used the ultimate weapon against a striking union. It opened for business behind the picket line, with strikebreakers carrying out union members' jobs. That first, tentative strikebreaking effort has so far not been rebuffed."

The bosses have made it clear: all Bay Area labor is affected. Either the unions close ranks to reverse their 1976 defeat and ensure victory for the BART workers and teachers, or they will go down separately before the anti-labor onslaught. The scabbing must be stopped! But even this simple defensive action is too much for the cringing union bureaucrats, who having been kicked in the teeth just crawl back for more punishment.

In the BART dispute the two main union leaders, Varacalli of UPE and Danzy of ATU, have not called a strike, arguing that an official strike might endanger efforts to get unemployment benefits. But since the lockout began, with almost 200 workers suspended and both local presidents fired, they have not even called a union meeting, let alone set up a mass picket line. And even so, the locked-out workers have not received a penny of unemployment benefits (presently blocked by the intervention of BART management). All Bay Area transit unions have a vital interest in defending the BART workers and their COLA clause. They must help mobilize working-class support for their brothers and sisters under attack by shutting down the entire mass transit system, not just this elite unit catering to suburban executives.

Such militant strike action and bold acts of labor solidarity are crucial to secure victory for the BART workers and San Francisco teachers. But the bureaucrats' "answer" has been to lick the feet of Diane Feinstein and the rest of the capitalist politicians who are leading the attack on the unions. At the last BART workers meeting, on August 23, the general staff of Bay Area organized labor showed up—including Richard Groulx of the Alameda Central Labor Council, the ILWU's Jimmy Herman, Chuck Mack of Teamsters Local 70 and others—in order to derail a strike vote by offering to join the negotiations. Herman boasted then, "Solidarity is alive.... If there is a struggle of workers that needs support from other workers, we will do it" (quoted in *People's World*, 1 September). However, after one abortive negotiating session on August 25-26, this "high-powered" ad hoc group quickly disappeared from sight. Bay Area workers must hold their leaders to their promises and demand full labor support for the teachers and transit workers, including manning mass picket lines to stop the scabherding.

The bureaucracy refuses to carry out such a militant defense of the workers under attack because it is afraid of going up against the state. A real effort to stop scabbing would soon confront the capitalists' hired gun thugs, the police. Already, when the transit workers seized the Concord maintenance yard in July, BART cops were assembled in a nearby building poised for an assault. Yet these police remain members of one of the BART unions, organized as a separate local of the SEIU. They must be expelled now!

"Cops out of the unions!" is an elementary demand in defense of the labor movement, yet the entire opportunist left has tried to duck the question. One treacherous outfit even defends the police as "fellow workers"—the Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (SL-DC), a tiny group linked to the Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Britain. When BART cops struck in August 1977, SL-DC leader Tom Cagle wrote an article for the group's paper supporting the strike and sneering that groups like the Spartacist League who insist that the police are *enemies* of the workers movement simply "worship orthodoxy and dogma" (*Labor News*, September 1977). How now, Brother Cagle? Are BART cops still "union brothers" when their nightsticks are poised and guns drawn against transit strikers? A little dogma wouldn't hurt such dyed-in-the-wool opportunists.

Since the craft workers strike the Bay Area labor leaders have learned nothing. Defeated in 1976 because of their failure to mobilize effective labor solidarity, today the trade-union fakers want at all cost to avoid strikes, placing their confidence instead in the Democratic Party. But Feinstein and her cohorts want to discipline the unions by decisively humiliating them. Only when the workers throw out their sellout misleaders and replace them with class-struggle militants dedicated to forging a workers party can the defeats be reversed. ■

Mullah Lovers...

(continued from page 2)

Spartacist comrade said, "The Spartacist League will be defending your own comrades in Iran when they face the bloodbath that the 'Islamic Republic' will institute against them" (see "They Wanted Khomeini. They Got Him," *WV* No. 227, 16 March). Now the chickens have come home to roost.

Unlike the SWP, which so far has seen fit to defend only the utopian/reformist HKS, the iSt defends the Tudeh party, Fedayeen, HKS, unionists, women, Arabs and the courageous Kurdish guerrillas victimized by the mullah-led terror.

The SWP is now willing to defend the HKS... so long as nobody raises the question: why did the left in Iran and abroad work to bring this murderous Persian-chauvinist, anti-communist, anti-woman regime to power? To keep this question off the floor, the SWP will turn its forums into provocations against workers democracy—provocations which even some of its guest speakers refuse to sanction. The SWP's overriding "defense" priority is to keep from having to account for its political betrayal of the Iranian working masses who are now paying in blood for the opportunists' cynical support to Khomeini.

It is thanks to the criminal tailism of the SWP/HKS and people like them that Iranian militants are today in mortal peril. Even at the height of Khomeini's popularity, the Spartacist tendency did not flinch from raising the independent proletarian perspective—"Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution!"—required to forge a revolutionary vanguard party in Iran. Nor will the two-bit exclusionism of the reformist SWP intimidate us in the face of this historic responsibility. ■

The following motion was presented September 20 to an International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 East Bay Division meeting. Submitted by Local executive board member Bob Mandel, the motion was referred by a membership vote to the international executive board. It reads as follows:

"Whereas, Khomeini's 'Islamic Revolution' has been carrying out increasingly bloody attacks on Iranian labor unions, national minorities, women and leftists; therefore, be it resolved that warehouse Local 6 recommends as policy to all locals in the ILWU and to the international executive board that the ILWU refuse to ship any arms to the reactionary mullah regime."

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Saturday: 1:00-4:00 p.m.
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Kennedy, Carter...

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dom: "I believe we're facing difficult economic problems today to which there are no magic or easy solutions" (*New York Times*, 16 September).

Recognizing that Carter is a hopeless loser, the influential *New York Times* is pushing Kennedy's candidacy. It is trying to convince the ruling class at large that the Democratic Senator from Massachusetts is no big-spending, welfare-state liberal whatever his sometime image. On 14 September the *Times* ran a front-page article entitled, "Kennedy Says That Leadership, Not Economic Policy, Is at Issue." And the following Sunday (16 September) the *Times* lead headline in its "News of the Week in Review" section informs us, "Now, Kennedy Shifts His Perspectives on Economics":

> "To most Americans, the familiar Edward M. Kennedy is the Senatorial Kennedy, an old-style liberal who has remained true to the credo that ever bigger Government is ever better.... Last week, a Presidential Kennedy appeared, and during a brief foray into broad economic issues, offered a more *au courant* philosophy dwelling heavily on free enterprise, the limitations of Government and inflation."

To drive home the point the article quotes an anonymous Kennedy economics adviser, who assures Wall Street that his boss is "a pretty pragmatic guy."

Behind both Carter's holy-roller economics and Kennedy's much-touted pragmatism is the deep concern of the American capitalist class over the present economic situation; all of the talk about "leadership," of course, is a discussion over who can best "lead" the drive for austerity. From the standpoint of the ruling class, the only way to reverse this unhappy situation is *to cut* the consumption standards of the working people in order to add to profits. This accounts for the present drive for fiscal austerity against "big government," cutting social services and seeking to transfer these resources to private capital. Welfare-state liberalism has become anathema from the no-nuke rallies to the boardrooms of the *Fortune 500* top corporations.

For his part, Kennedy knows that this is a bad season for New Deal/Great Society rhetoric and so is shelving it. For years his main claim to fame as a "fighting liberal" was his $90-million national health insurance proposal. But earlier this year he "pragmatically" scaled down this program so it is now not essentially different from Carter's. According to a 19 September *New York Post* column by Evans and Novak, Kennedy no longer thinks Carter is "shielding" excessive defense spending—now he says he supports the president's 3 percent rise in real defense spending. Kennedy used to say the MX missile could "increase the threat of nuclear war"—now he is for its development and hedges only on its deployment (no doubt till he is elected). On foreign policy Teddy claims mere "tactical" differences. And he has dropped his crusade against Carter for oil decontrol, pointing with much clamor to his own sponsorship of deregulation in trucking and air transport.

But Kennedy is not a "betrayer of liberalism" as his more naive followers will surely charge. Rather, liberalism for the moment has a somewhat different role to play. It is interesting that Kennedy—who has a 95 percent favorable rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), as opposed to 1 percent from the ADA's conservative counterpart, Americans for Conservative Action—is as popular as he is. After all, this is supposed to be a country that is shifting ever more rapidly to the right.

It is not merely the mystique of the Kennedy name. The truth is that while American voters may accept the conservative rhetoric of hatred of "big spenders" and "big government," they don't buy the reality. Carter talks about less, but Americans want more. They want more wages, more cars, more gas, more education, more health care. Many of the same Americans who correctly damn the failed liberal schemes and "wars" on poverty favor a cradle-to-grave national health insurance plan. That same ideologically conservative public is faced with unpayable costs and a financial fear of aging and sickness that rivals the fear of death. Thus, Kennedy's popularity is in part due to his identification with "big spending" social programs. But make no mistake. Teddy understands what the role of liberalism must be in this period of austerity and stagnant social struggle.

Labor Fakers Heady for Teddy

The trade-union bureaucrats are not only hoping for a Kennedy candidacy, they are praying for it. One AFL-CIO official said, "We had been hearing from all over the country that union leaders, when they said their prayers at night, would say, 'Please God, let Teddy run.' Now their prayers have been answered" (*New York Times*, 21 September). And no wonder. The labor fakers do not relish the prospect of supporting a president already hated by millions of American working people. For the most part the bureaucrats are loyal Democratic Party activists who would still back Carter if he somehow managed to get nominated. But taking their cue from the bourgeoisie, they would certainly prefer to switch horses, or more accurately, riders.

First onto the Kennedy bandwagon was William "Wimpy" Winpisinger, head of the International Association of Machinists and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) vice-chairman, who launched a "Dump Carter" movement several months ago. Recently one-time Carterite Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers announced that anyone would be better than Jimmy, while the Fraser bureaucracy of the Auto Workers has adopted a pro-Kennedy "neutrality." Even the ILGWU's Sol Chaikin of the "Labor for Carter" committee is now having second thoughts, saying he would take "a long hard look" if Kennedy formally declares his candidacy.

Certainly the union tops have good reason to be fed up with Carter. All of labor's "must" legislation—the $3 minimum wage, "common situs" picketing, the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill and the labor-reform bill were defeated by an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress. Carter personally torpedoed the minimum wage and national health insurance bills. These labor traitors are not angry about Carter's real crimes—like invoking Taft-Hartley to try to break the 110-day miners' strike in 1978 or the railroad workers walkout that same year—after all, Arnold Miller solidarized with Carter in that! Rather, the Meanys, Frasers, Millers and Fitzsimmons are piqued because the wholesale defeats of their legislative *substitutes* for militant unionism leave them without a shred of credibility in the eyes of their ranks.

In the coming months the various union political machines will start cranking out the propaganda for Teddy, as a "*real* friend of labor," reminding trade unionists of Kennedy's support for Humphrey-Hawkins, for his national health insurance plan. Of course this "liberal showpiece" is already cut to the bone and in any case is unlikely to pass the austerity-minded Congress. Kennedy's "friend of labor" image only holds up because, unlike Carter, he hasn't been on the hot seat during the current recession and thus has not been held directly responsible for spiraling inflation and mounting layoffs.

The bureaucrats prefer to counterpose the "pro-labor" Democrats to the "pro-big business" GOP. This time, however, they're stuck with a Democratic incumbent, moreover one they escorted into office. So now they offer up a "choice" between Kennedy and Carter. DSOC's Winpisinger put it well when he told the 26 March *Village Voice* that his pro-Kennedy position was perfectly consistent with the social-democratic desire to "fine tune capitalism with a dose of socialism." From the new breed of labor "reformers" like Winpisinger to the old dinosaurs of the Meany ilk, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy functions to confine working-class protest within the boundaries of bourgeois politics. In order to break labor's ties to the bourgeois Democratic Party, militants must struggle to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. Forward to a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Dynasty of Reaction

One of the creepy side effects of a prospective Kennedy candidacy, let alone presidency, is the heap of media confetti shredded from what is called the Kennedy family mystique. We will not only be sprayed with tearful nostalgia of liberal martyrdom, but confronted with the family vigor (once again pronounced "vigaa"). Carter's praying, jogging and collection of faith-healing crackpots seemed bad enough, but now it will be all of them and their Rat Pack again (how old is Peter Lawford, anyway?): white-water rafting down the Snake River, slumming in Harlem's drug areas and generally acting with unbounded arrogance and privilege. (It is peculiar to America's commercial fascination with youth culture that the two major figures of Democratic Party politics square off against one another as lingering adolescents calling themselves "Jimmy" and "Teddy.")

The mystique of the Kennedy family is supposed to be Teddy's greatest asset in his bid to become president. Surely, the family fortune is a big asset. The bourgeoisie is no doubt tired of modern self-made millionaires with their exposures of Watergates and Peanutgates. But with the Kennedy billions they get not "old" money, just lots of it. Joseph Kennedy, the spirit of the "mystique," made his fortune not as an industrialist, or in his brief connection with the motion-picture industry or in the imported liquor business, but in finance—stock manipulation, to be exact. He was one of this country's big-time hustlers, and surely one of the most rapaciously cynical of men in a milieu of gentlemen vipers.

Basically he brought the boys up to believe in nothing but their own advantage and the family's. A fervent right-winger, he supported "Mr. Republican," Robert Taft, and arch witch-hunter Joseph McCarthy. On the other hand, he could wheel and deal with FDR who appointed him to the Securities and Exchange Commission(!). The boys were supplied with the values of hucksters and the ideological outlook of the Chamber of Commerce. When John Kennedy ran against Henry Cabot Lodge for the Senate in 1952 he managed to redbait him as an "internationalist" and "Truman Socialist." And when Robert joined Joe McCarthy's anti-red staff in the early '50s, he was merely helping out a family friend.

For liberals, Teddy Kennedy's chief virtue is that he doesn't have a Bay of Pigs or a HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) in his past, but he is the legitimate heir to the family's political tradition nevertheless. His supporters like to portray him as an opponent of the Vietnam war as early as 1966. But during a March 1967 televised debate with Texas war hawk John Tower, Kennedy was stating, "I support our commitment in South Vietnam," and as late as October 1969 he was only calling for withdrawal of U.S. air and naval support for the Thieu regime *after 1972*!

Similarly, Kennedy's backers portray him to black constituents as the man who stood up to the racist mobs during Boston's busing crisis. In fact, although an early advocate of busing, when it was

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Nicaragua...

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the liberal imperialists to hold back the revolution.

Morenoite Charlatans and Adventurers

So what about the Simón Bolivar Brigade and its parent, Moreno's Bolshevik Faction. Certainly in comparison with the groveling betrayals of the SWP and the more shamefaced Mandelite majority of the USec, the Moreno outfit might seem a militant alternative. A look at Moreno's chameleon-like political track record, his notoriety for underhanded financial swindles and his ultra-reformist program in his home base, Argentina, will shatter this façade. And, indeed, the SWP is busily dredging up some of this material, filling the pages of *Intercontinental Press* with endless scandal stories about the disreputable adventurer Nahuel Moreno. No doubt Barnes and Mandel are getting ready to expel the troublemaker. But they are in no position to complain. For years they have coexisted in the same International (and in the case of the SWP, in the same faction) with this notorious snake-oil salesman, both after and during his worst betrayals. They have dirty hands.

When they are not echoing the Sandinista leaders' slanders that organizing workers around anti-capitalist demands is a "provocation," the SWP/USec charge that Moreno is an imposter traveling under false passports. According to the USec delegation statement, "to capitalize on the prestige of the FSLN," the Simón Bolivar Brigade "cloaked itself with the Sandinista banner." From news accounts of the August 15 Managua demonstration, it does seem that many of the protesters thought they were supporting a wing of the FSLN (although this does not lessen the significance of several thousand workers demonstrating against the government's pro-capitalist policies). But who do Barnes and Hansen think they are kidding? Their international "Nicaragua solidarity" campaign is intended precisely to drape the USec in Sandinista red-and-black, just as the SWP's Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the early '60s tried to capitalize on the popularity of Castroism. They just prefer to do it at long distance.

Besides, Moreno has a long history of impersonating other tendencies. He got his start in Argentina by pretending to be a left Peronist. In the late 1950s his review *Palabra Socialista* described itself as an "organ of revolutionary working-class Peronism" and carried on its masthead the slogan "under the discipline of General Perón and of the Peronist Supreme Council" (see "Argentina: The Struggle Against Peronism," *WV* No. 24, 6 July 1973). When Peronism was no longer the rage, Moreno fused with a Castroite group and ran endless pictures of Che Guevara on the front pages of his papers. After a brief fling as a crypto-Maoist (hailing the Red Guards), he settled down to a more mundane existence as a social democrat—and to this end fused with a wing of the historic Argentine Socialist Party, in order to capture its ballot slot. Not one to quibble about small change, Moreno promptly wrote a social-democratic program to correspond to the new label (see *Intercontinental Press*, 13 November 1972). Truly, Moreno is, as we have often described him, a political chameleon.

In a polemic against the Simón Bolivar Brigade, the Colombian Mandelite PSR charges that the Morenoite undertaking was simply an adventure: "The brigade as such never entered combat. It could not have done so without adequate training and without being prepared to accept the discipline of the FSLN" (see *Intercontinental Press*, 17 September 1979). It does appear that for the most part Moreno's brigade, despite its bombastic propaganda, sat out the fighting in Costa Rica. In fact, its U.S.-based supporters, the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua, did not even leave for Managua until the day *after* Somoza's fall! So the heroic, gun-in-hand guerrilla image the Brigade leaders would like to assume (Colombian PST "*comandante*" Kemel George reportedly showed up in battle fatigues for a fund-raising rally in Bogotá) is certainly undeserved.

It is not true, however, that the Simón Bolivar Brigade was unprepared to "accept the discipline of the FSLN." Moreno's idea of "discipline" is probably not to the liking of the Sandinistas (or the USec leaders), but the Brigade was definitely built on the basis of subordination to the FSLN. That makes its present situation all the more ironic. The "Open Letter" by the Morenoite Colombian PST to form the Brigade called for volunteers to go to Nicaragua to fight "under the military leadership" of the Sandinista Front; and it flaunted letters from FSLN leaders Edén Pastora ("Comandante Zero") and Plutarco Hernández Sánchez saying its members were "acting under the leadership of the General Staff" (see illustration). (The real content of the "military" posing, of course, has to be taken in light of the lack of combat activity by these Johnny-come-lately guerrillas.)

Politically, the Morenoites called for "a Sandinista government"—although for form's sake they tacked on that it should arise from supposed "organs of people's power" and be based on a program of "breaking with the bourgeoisie and imperialism" (*El Socialista*, 22 June). Such pious wishes aside, they got their Sandinista government and—guess what—they get expelled from the country! That's what often happens when you tail after bonapartists. So the Simón Bolivar Brigade managed to acquire a militant image in spite of itself. As for its detractors in the Colombian PSR, they note that sending off the Brigade was essentially a gimmick rather than a real act of proletarian internationalism. That is true—genuine Trotskyists, had they the resources, would seek to build a communist nucleus among the urban workers rather than tagging along after Comandante Zero on the Southern Front. But what the PSR counterposes is not the struggle for an independent Trotskyist leadership in Nicaragua but inoffensive "solidarity" demonstrations in Bogotá. The difference between Morenoites and Mandelites is the difference between adventurers and cheerleaders, between con men and PR men.

The PSR polemic ended by touching on "the most sensitive point of all, the finances of the Simón Bolivar Brigade." Many people "have begun to have doubts about where the funds gathered by the PST are going," they report. And money *is* always the most sensitive point with Moreno. For those who know his past, the involuntary response upon learning that Colombian Morenoites were organizing an "international brigade" for Nicaragua was to say: "Nicaraguans, Colombians—keep your hands on your wallets!" But it hardly behooves the USec to raise this charge *now*. The Argentine Política Obrera group has been complaining for years that Moreno's Editorial Pluma took 50,000 copies of Trotsky works on contract from them, deliberately held off paying for them for months until the March 1976 Videla coup, and then, pleading poverty, refused to pay.

Moreno's financial skulduggery is legendary in the Latin American left. The most sensationalist case concerns allegations that he failed to deliver promised funds to Hugo Blanco's guerrilla operation in Peru in 1962, and his role in the disappearance of several thousands of dollars taken in a bank expropriation by the Túpac Amaru group and destined for Blanco (for a detailed account of this affair, see Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America* [1972]). In a review of Robert Alexander's grotesquely inaccurate book *Trotskyism in Latin America*, Joseph Hansen noted in 1977 that Moreno had never answered these charges. But in view of the scandalous nature of the charges, it is notable that Hansen evidently never bothered to get an explanation from Moreno during the six years that they were co-leaders of the USec minority.

Moreno stands before the workers movement convicted many times over of political charlatanism and breaches of proletarian morality. Yet his operation is such that he frequently puts on a cover of programmatic militancy for purely factional purposes. On several occasions this has led the Morenoites to adopt positions imitating (or borrowed from?) the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency. Thus in polemicizing against an article on Eurocommunism and Soviet "dissidents" by Morenoite Eugenio Greco, SWP hack Gerry Foley noted that the "award for originality" in raising these positions belonged to "sectarians" such as the ISt (*Intercontinental Press*, 5 December 1977). And indeed, the Greco article (*Revista de América*, August 1977) does bear a notable resemblance to our own writings on the subject (except that, funny thing, the Morenoites identify Stalinism with dependence on Moscow gold).

In particular, in founding the Bolshevik Tendency after his break with the SWP in late 1975-early 1976, Moreno adopted positions on Portugal and Angola strikingly similar to those of the Spartacist tendency. On Portugal he denounced the SWP's tailing after the CIA-funded Socialist Party of Mario Soares as well as the Mandelite IMT's political support to the Stalinist/Armed Forces Movement bloc. On Angola he called for military support to the MPLA against the South African/CIA invasion while formally opposing political support to any of the three competing nationalist groups. The principal characteristic of these formally orthodox positions is that they are far from home and they are utterly arbitrary, not derived from a coherent programmatic worldview.

Thus, while Moreno condemns the SWP's shameless support for the Portuguese SP, in Argentina he fused with Juan Carlos Coral's rump social democrats in 1971. While criticizing Mandel's capitulation to the Eurocommunists, his Venezuelan supporters are now deeply embedded in the "Eurocommunist" MAS. While criticizing the IMT's support for the demagogic Carvalho and the Portuguese MFA, Moreno's Colombian PST called for "support to the nationalist policies of Torrijos" in Panama, calling this demagogic military officer (friend of both Castro and Chase Manhattan Bank) "progressive" in his "confrontation with imperialism" (see "U.S. Out of Panama Now!" *WV* No. 203, 28 April 1978).

Feigning orthodoxy when it is "cheap"—in distant climes and when it suits his unprincipled maneuvers—close to home where it counts, Moreno's opportunism exceeds that of any other wing of the USec. Trenchantly criticizing Bolivian POR leader Guillermo Lora for joining an "anti-imperialist front" with General Torres in Bolivia in 1971 (*International Socialist Review*, February 1973), two years later Moreno himself joined a popular-front Group of 8 together with the Argentine CP and the leading bourgeois parties in pledging support to the bonapartist government of Juan Perón (see "PST Caught Redhanded," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974). Today when the Sandinistas are international celebrities, Moreno is a gung-ho guerrillaist; but when the Castroite PRT/ERP (then affiliated to the USec) was stirring things up in Argentina with its kidnappings and attacks on the army, Moreno's PST equated "the guerrillas and their mirror image—the terrorists of the AAA and other organizations of the ultraright" (*Intercontinental Press*, 28 October 1974).

Nahuel Moreno's record is that of a huckster who has put on the garb of virtually every popular trend in the Latin American 'left—Peronism, Castroism, Maoism, and now Sandinoism. His "left" positions on international topics bear no relation whatever to his rightist positions at home. The only reason he appears militant over Nicaragua today is that he was caught out in the middle of a maneuver with the FSLN—and that while he is up to his old tricks, the rest of the USec has moved distinctly to the right. Until the FSLN took power in Managua the Morenoites' call for a Sandinista government was formally to the right of the other tendencies of the USec, which raised various criticisms of the FSLN ties to the opposition bourgeoisie. But as soon as Mandel and Barnes smelled a chance to hook up to a popular cause, they leapt right over Moreno and left him holding the bag in the unaccustomed role of the far left wing.

Finally, it should be noted that in

choosing the name Simón Bolivar Brigade Moreno chose a singularly appropriate sobriquet. Perhaps it was intended to imitate the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War—although Bolivar, himself from a slave-holding landowner family, would be more appropriately compared to George Washington. But militarily the great hero of the wars of independence was a disaster in every way: he lost virtually every battle he fought, literally dozens of them, repeatedly abandoning his troops in moments of adversity. His specialty, wrote Karl Marx in an article on Bolivar, was "triumphal entrances, manifestos and the proclamation of constitutions." He was, said Marx in a letter to Engels, "the most cowardly, brutal and miserable scum." So too Nahuel Moreno. ■

Kennedy, Carter...

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popular among the liberals, he took a dive on the issue as soon as it became hot, going so far as to vote for a Congressional bill in 1974 which contained an anti-busing amendment. Two years ago Kennedy co-sponsored the racist and draconian S-1437 crime bill, the "son of [Nixon's] S-1." And on July 4, 1973, he paid an ostentatious visit to Alabama governor George Wallace where he presented the Audie Murphy patriotic award to "the man in the schoolhouse door." On that occasion he told a crowd of 10,000 Wallace supporters that perhaps they could teach the North how to achieve racial harmony (see *Senator Ted Kennedy*, by Theo Lippman, Jr.).

What is the "Kennedy mystique," this inherited family tradition, in political terms? It is the tradition of cynical ruling-class attacks against the working and oppressed people of the world, and the most violent aggression against the Soviet Union. John Kennedy, the man of peace? Under JFK this country saw the most rapid buildup of the military in U.S. peace-time history. The first massive escalation of the Vietnam war (from the few hundred "advisers" when Kennedy came to office). The Berlin confrontation. The Bay of Pigs invasion. The Cuban missile crisis. In secret rooms meetings were held to discuss Castro's assassination in a period that has become known to CIA killers as the agency's "Golden Age." The "friend of the black man" consciously appointed a host of racist federal judges throughout the South in a deal to cancel out whatever gains were reflected in civil rights legislation. And what of Bobby Kennedy, the "friend of labor" who ran one of the most vicious anti-labor vendettas against the Teamsters Union?

Although Teddy has not yet had his opportunity to invade Cuba, that he has done so little and "worked so hard" seems to be his most attractive features to those who would sell him to American working people. And selling him is the family tradition. Father Joe said of John's candidacy, with a rich man's easy candor: "We'll sell Jack like soap flakes." And the Kennedy money-men bought up all the available air time of a local California radio station, where they deemed it necessary, in order to win.

The selling of Teddy Kennedy may more resemble the ad campaign for this season's version of a "pet rock." He is in many ways the perfect product for a bourgeoisie pitching to the narcissistic audiences of the late 1970s—glamour, but no substance. If Roosevelt's "fireside chats" made him the first radio president, and the Kennedy-Nixon debates installed JFK as the first TV president, we may be witnessing the emergence of the first disco president.

If gossip continues to be the popular genre then Teddy will keep those invidious mills grinding on into the '80s. It is part of the media mystique that Kennedy is not only sold like the latest TV fashion, but he is also attacked in the same vein. Thus the Chappaquiddick "non-issue" has become "the great moral question" of his candidacy for a host of moral munchkins. The only political point of interest gets lost in the shuffle of moral deuces: Teddy was able to summon nearly the same braintrust to cover up his auto accident that was gathered for the Cuban missile crisis.

The American bourgeoisie presents its problems as a crisis of charisma. In fact they are undergoing a crisis of leadership. Their governmental leaders must administer a decaying and irrational social order. (It has been observed that the Kennedy clan holds a position close to royalty in America. Indeed, a quick measure can be taken of the intellectual and moral decay of the American bourgeoisie by comparing this dynasty to the Adamses of New England.) However, it is not the crisis of bourgeois leadership—so well represented by Carter and Kennedy—that has stalled the progress of mankind, but the crisis of revolutionary leadership in the proletariat.

The labor fakers in the U.S. today hustle betrayal for the Democratic Party, keeping the powerful labor movement tied to its deadliest class enemies. And there is something particularly ominous and repulsive about the labor tops joining in the Kennedy/Carter/Reagan chorus for a "stronger leader." From the point of view of the working class and its allies we do not want a more effective imperialist chief, a more competent strikebreaker, a more virulent carrier of malignant neglect for blacks and minorities, and a more vigorous enforcer of austerity. The oppressed do not call for more effective oppressors. Break labor's ties to the parties of capital—Build a workers party! ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 5)

movement akin to what led to the 1953 *hartal* (general work stoppage) or perhaps even renewed insurgency like the JVP uprising of 1971. Today the JVP has a Robin Hood respect for its insurrection, which has gone down in popular memory not as a criminal adventure like the 1921 March Action in Germany, but as a great patriotic action against oppression by the hated Bandaranaike government. Even the enemies of the JVP now grudgingly hail the revolt. Perhaps the most graphic example is the book *Insurrection 1971*, an account by the chief government prosecutor, which carries a dedication to "the sons and daughters of Sri Lanka who died in the course of the April insurrection."

In addition, the JVP has demonstrated organizational capacity and determination to become an active political factor, running candidates in parliamentary elections and making overtures to the Tamils. However, unable to grasp the key reason for its defeat in 1971—the total isolation of the revolt based on rural Sinhala youth from the decisive urban labor movement and Tamil estate proletariat—the JVP remains wedded to its eclectic Stalinism and is still tinged with Sinhalese chauvinism. Thus the JVP refuses to recognize the democratic right of the oppressed Tamils to self-determination, simply calling for an "anti-communalist front" to fight anti-Tamil repression. Thus the JVP opposes "Eelam" as necessarily an outpost of Indian imperialism. In contrast, genuine Marxist-Leninists, while counseling at present against separation, nevertheless insist that as an oppressed national minority the Tamils have the right to form their own state, if they so choose.

But a revolutionary policy for the emancipation of the oppressed Tamils must go beyond the struggle for democratic rights. Even if some liberal capitalist government were to grant all Tamils full citizenship and language rights, their oppression would continue as a result of the superexploitation of Tamil plantation labor—up to now the heart of the Ceylonese export economy. And even if "Eelam" were established in the north, allowing the bourgeois traders and bureaucrats to become the ruling class of an enclave linked to India, the large number of "Indian Tamils" locked in the Sinhalese heartland as agricultural workers would either remain the most oppressed in a virulently Sinhala-chauvinist state or at best become unemployed pariahs in the "liberated" Tamil land to the north, like the Biharis in Bangladesh. Additionally, a sizable component of the upland estate proletariat consists of women workers, posing the need for special methods of work to reach this key sector, while a struggle must also be waged to overcome the caste lines that divide the Tamil masses.

The oppressed Tamil population will be able to achieve social liberation only through working-class revolution, led by a Trotskyist party which fuses together the conscious vanguard of all sectors of the proletariat. The critical significance of the Tamil question for Ceylonese revolutionaries is enhanced as well by the myriad ties which link the island to the Indian subcontinent on the other side of the narrow Palk Strait. A successful proletarian seizure of power in Sri Lanka could not long survive unless it sparked a more general South Asian revolutionary conflagration. And for the laboring masses of southern India, the program of Ceylonese revolutionaries toward the Tamil minority will be seen as a key test of their internationalist intentions. ■

Detroit Exclusion...

(continued from page 2)

present (including one member who was not even at the February 11 forum). When comrade Topaz asked why she was being excluded, the SWP goon pointed to her sign and said, "For that." Her picket sign read: "I Spoke Against Khomeini's Repression of Women and Minorities—Now the SWP Excludes Me!"

Behind the exclusions is the SWP's cringing before the bourgeoisie and their labor lieutenants. In 1971 the SL was kicked out of an NPAC "antiwar" conference by SWP marshals for objecting to the presence of Democratic senator Vance Hartke. In 1972 the Spartacist League was excluded from a WONAAC "women's rights" conference for protesting the appearance of a spokesman for capitalist politician Bella Abzug. Last year it was over the miners strike, as the SWP was unable to defend its support to the back-stabbing treachery of UMWA leader Arnold Miller.

Now the SWP is so fearful of angering the vengeful Ayatollah Khomeini that it goes so far as to hold "private" picket lines "defending" their imprisoned Iranian comrades. Excluded are all those who do not praise the mullahs who are poised to execute the HKS. And they turn their "public" forms into exclusionist clubs. The SWP has a lot of nerve criticizing former attorney general Griffin Bell for belonging to a segregationist Atlanta club. For above every SWP function in Detroit is an unwritten Jim Crow sign proclaiming: "No black Trotskyists allowed." ■

Auto Sellout...

(continued from page 3)

guards and scabherding police to improve their $2.76/hour wages.

This is the man who negotiated the UAW's new contract. Clearly, the pro-company policies of the UAW bureaucracy spell defeat for the historically militant auto workers. Fraser and his ilk must be replaced by a class-conscious militant leadership whose demands are based on the needs of the membership and not tailored to the sacred profit margins of the Big Three.

The most prominent of the existing UAW "oppositionists," however, have simply capitulated to the anti-strike sentiments being whipped up by the International. Hugh Oginsky for example, the leading spokesman for the Thirty and Out Committee which demanded "COLA on pensions or a strike in '79," announced that he would recommend ratification of the tentative agreement in his home local. "What we got is great," he told a *WV* reporter, "but it's sad that it's got to be diverted from COL." Oginsky is also a member of the Autoworkers for a Better Contract (ABC), the latest catch-all dissident group supported by a myriad of fake-left groupings. But the ABC couldn't even muster the energy to call for a strike and contented themselves with a talent show dubbed the Autoworkers Performing for a Better Contract.

After 30 years of Reuther, Woodcock and now Fraser, the UAW has had enough of gimmicks and excuses. A real fight is long overdue. The task of constructing a militant leadership which can challenge the sellouts in Solidarity House and lead the UAW in struggle against the Big Three has never been more urgent.

VOTE NO! For an industry-wide strike against the Big Three! For sit-down strikes against layoffs! Victory to the UAW! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Sandinistas Expel "Simón Bolívar Brigade"–
SWP Knifes "Comrades" in the Back

Revolution in Nicaragua and the Left

Victorious Sandinistas roll into Managua on mini-tank.

UPI

SEPTEMBER 24—It took 18 months of bitter struggle, including two insurrections totaling eleven weeks of the bloodiest fighting, before they drove out the hyena of Managua. Almost 50,000 died out of a population of 2.3 million, and today the cities are in ruins, the surviving population on the brink of starvation, three quarters of the workforce unemployed. Those who have sacrificed so much are burning to root out every trace of the hated dynasty which bled the country dry. Laying claim to what is rightfully theirs, the Nicaraguan masses are already infringing on the property of the belatedly oppositional bourgeoisie, which for decades extracted fat profits from the sweat of the working people in Somozaland.

"National reconstruction" is now the watchword of the victorious Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). But on what foundations? With their program for a "government of unity of all anti-Somoza forces" the Sandinista leaders hope to limit the revolution to the replacement of a rapacious family dictatorship by a reformed, "popular-democratic" capitalist regime. As proof of the "generosity of the Nicaraguan Revolution," they have refused to execute any of the National Guard criminals who tortured at random and rained high-explosive bombs on their own cities. While expropriating the property of the tyrant and his underlings, the new rulers have vowed to protect the holdings of other capitalists.

From the beginning it has been clear to all that the "government" in Managua is highly unstable. The guns are clearly in the hands of the petty-bourgeois radical-nationalist Sandinistas, but a united FSLN was established only at the last minute by papering over a three-way split. While the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie" are presently pliant, and their influence declined as the fighting intensified, they are not passive nor are they discredited by the stigma of collaboration with the dictator as the Cuban capitalists were with Batista. On the other hand, the working masses are a far more active factor than in the Cuban Revolution, having armed themselves and fought key battles in the streets of the capital and other cities. The common enemy vanquished, it is impossible to stop the class struggle simply by telling the combatants to return home.

The array of forces in post-Somoza Nicaragua has the potential for an explosive confrontation—within the uneasy ruling coalition, between it and the impatient working masses or between a sector of the radical-Jacobin FSLN and reactionary sectors of the domestic bourgeoisie. This highly charged situation poses an acid test for revolutionists. For while the overwhelming majority of the left to one degree or another is tailing after the popular Sandinistas, the task of Trotskyists, who fight on the program of permanent revolution, is to remain the party of intransigent working-class opposition. Those who proclaim that proletarian-socialist revolution can come about peacefully in Nicaragua by nudging the present bonapartist regime gradually to the left could well be the first victims of their own illusions.

The FSLN leaders may themselves believe that their program of "popular-democratic revolution" represents an intermediate stage between capitalism and proletarian dictatorship. But experience will soon demonstrate that only a show of force can halt the tendency of the working masses to turn the victory over Somoza into full-scale social revolution. And if they didn't know already, they are quickly becoming conscious of the fact. When the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina asked top FSLN commander Humberto Ortega, "How will you deal with the class struggle that will develop in this stage?" he replied:

> "In order to keep this struggle from becoming more acute, it is necessary to implement the program supported by the Front and the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. Then we must struggle against various kinds of deviations."
>
> —*Granma* [English-language weekly edition], 2 September

That struggle against "deviations" means anti-working-class repression soon became clear, notably around the land reform. While its scope is sweeping, affecting as much as 60 percent of the arable land of Nicaragua, it is limited to estates belonging to Somoza and his henchmen. This was justified by Agrarian Reform Minister Jaime Wheelock with the argument, "We must keep solidarity with those members of the private sector who supported the ouster of Somoza" (*New York Times*, 5 August). A few days later FSLN officials clashed with a Maoist labor group organizing land seizures near the city of León. According to Wheelock, "the few disorderly occupations" were atypical, the haciendas were "reinstated to their original owners" and the peasants given Somoza lands instead (*Granma* [English-language weekly edition], 12 August).

Expulsion of the Simón Bolivar Brigade

The suppression of "disorderly" land seizures is not the only instance of measures to keep the class struggle from "becoming more acute." The most notable was the expulsion of several dozen foreign leftists, most of them self-proclaimed Trotskyists, associated with the "Simón Bolivar Brigade" which had rushed to Nicaragua in the last stages of the battle against Somoza. The incident was described by *Time* magazine (3 September) at the end of an article praising the "merciful revolution" that was "steering a middle course":

> "Surprisingly, the first serious threat came from the extreme left. Dissatisfied with the government's plans for building a mixed economy melding public and private enterprise, 60 Latin-American Trotskyites, calling themselves the Simón Bolivar Brigade, incited a demonstration by 3,000 Managua factory workers demanding compensation for wages lost during the revolution. The revolutionary government reacted by ordering its armed forces to put the Trotskyites on a plane to Panama."

According to the *Washington Post* (21 August), banners at the August 15 Managua demonstration carried the slogans, "The Revolution is in the hands of the bourgeoisie" and "Power to the proletariat." The expelled Bolivar Brigaders, however, were charged with being "counterrevolutionaries" and "foreign provocateurs."

This expulsion was clearly a blow struck against any independent leftist agitation among Nicaraguan workers

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 241 12 October 1979

Down with the SALT Hoax! U.S. Out of Guantánamo!

Defend Cuba and Russia!

OCTOBER 9—So after all the huffing and puffing about those Russian troops in Cuba, Jimmy Carter's big speech last week turned out to be a hust. Normally nothing less than the declaration of World War III could justify pre-empting the sacred Monday Night Foothall scheduling (where even the pope dared not tread), and Carter's "address" was hardly that. No less an authority than "Tonight" show host Johnny Carson beamed into the nation's hedrooms a few minutes later with the word that it's okay to ridicule the president. How can the Russians be frightened of a man who had "harely survived confrontation with a rabbit?" Carson asked, adding "What do Carter and the pope have in common?" Answer: both will be succeeded by Catholics. Yes, there was the Kennedy connection—it's not Brezhnev, but Teddy that Carter wants to get to withdraw.

The hysteria over the "discovery" of 2,000-3,000 Russian "combat troops" in Cuha was almost universally recognized as an American domestic electoral ploy. After scrambling to outflank vociferous right-wingers and show "decisive leadership" hy hlustering about the "unacceptability of the status quo," Carter finally had to be hauled out of the corner he had painted himself into by a hastily convened coalition of "Wise Men" (including the 87-year-old Averell Harriman, dragged out of mothballs for the occasion).

The *New York Times* was furious with Carter for inflicting the whole "phony crisis" on the nation and further jeopardizing the SALT II treaty. A *Washington Post* columnist snidely deflated Carter's anti-Kennedy remark that he "doesn't panic in a crisis" hy observing that Carter panics when there *isn't* a crisis. More hawkish ideologues of American Empire promptly condemned the speech as backing down in the face of the "Russian menace." Repuhlican presidential candidate Howard Baker summed up for the "war party": "In a toe-to-toe confrontation, we blinked."

In fact, it was all too obvious by the eve of Carter's hallyhooed speech that the troops had been there for 17 years and were no big deal. The only "evidence" of sinister Soviet designs was an "exclusive" full-color photograph published hy *Time* magazine of a "Soviet-huilt intelligence station." This turned out to be (shades of Adlai Stevenson's infamous fake "Cuban B-26 bomber" photos during the Bay of Pigs) an ITT Cuban telephone relay station built in 1957.

Soviet-built tanks in Havana arm Cuban deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism. Prensa Latina

Carter's "measures"—Marines charging ashore at Guantánamo, beefing up American Carihbean forces, a unified military "Task Force" at Key West, increased surveillance of Cuba—are intended to harass and humiliate the Castro regime and demonstrate to Latin America that U.S. imperialism has not lost its capacity (or will) to police the Western Hemisphere. However, it is quite clear that the whole affair was aimed primarily at the Soviet Union. The instant connection and comparison to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 was on everyone's mind. Ultimate proof as to how farcical Carter's "Cuban crisis" really was is the fact that this time the Stalinists didn't even have to sell anything out. The Kremlin bureaucrats knew they could simply fold their arms and sit it out, unlike during the 1962 crisis when they pulled out in the face of imperialist nuclear threats.

But Carter's crisis-mongering should not be dismissed as simply the wild flailings of a politically drowning man. Despite the bizarre aspects of his recent anti-Soviet provocations, including his August commando-style hijacking of an Aeroflot jet at Kennedy airport, the threats are real. The whole thrust of his "human rights" policy is an ideological cover for the most vicious anti-communist crusade; meanwhile the American war machine is being ostentatiously geared up to reassert U.S. military dominance, not only in the Caribhean but worldwide. In the face of these threatening war maneuvers, we demand a *real* defense of Cuba against bloodthirsty imperialism—including the use of Soviet troops, planes, missiles and whatever else they can get their hands on! The presence of the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo is an outrage. If all the talk of sovereignty had any meaning, so long as the Americans stay in Guantánamo the Cubans should he entitled to a base with a good harbor on the U.S. Gulf Coast, preferably (given all the gusano activity out of Miami) somewhere in south Florida. U.S. troops out of Cuba!

The Good Burghers of Boise and the SALT Treaty

It's election time again, which always produces a lot of hot air and frenetic mancuvering on the American political

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No Pope In This Paper

Instead of the anti-communist pontiff and his traveling anti-sex media crusade, we bring you an old quote from Leon Trotsky:

"But best of all is the papal blessing broadcast to Lourdes by—radio. The paltry miracles of the Gospels side by side with the radiotelephone! And what could be more absurd and disgusting than the union of proud technology with the sorcery of the Roman chief druid? Indeed, the thinking of mankind is bogged down in its own excrement." —*Diary in Exile, 1935*

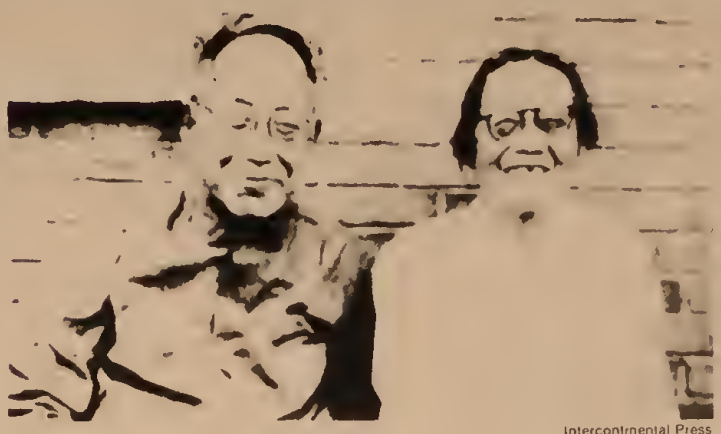
WV Photo

Chinese Trotskyist Released After 27 Years in Maoist Jails

Reports have reached the West recently of the release from a Shanghai prison of prominent Chinese Trotskyist Chen Chao-lin. According to a report in the 1 October *Intercontinental Press*, the 78-year-old revolutionary who spent a total of 34 years in jail, first under the Kuomintang (KMT) and then as a prisoner of Mao, was freed last June 5. Chen's case had been taken up earlier this year by Amnesty International as representative of a number of leading Trotskyists who "disappeared" during the Maoists' nationwide round-up of the Chinese Left Opposition in 1952 and were not heard from since. Many were "liquidated," in the Stalinist parlance of the day. As we said in our article, "Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries" (*WV* No. 63, 28 February 1975),

> "Taken away to be shot, these militants demanded that they be permitted to wear signs imprinted with the single word, 'Trotskyist.' They were refused that last subversive gesture, and were instead falsely branded 'Kuomintang agents' by the Stalinists. Their executioners shoved cotton in their mouths so that they could not shout out to those watching and wondering why veteran revolutionists were being reviled and butchered."

For years there was a curtain of silence over these persecuted militants. Arne Swabeck, the ex-Trotskyist turned Maoist (and now social democrat), claimed in print that they had been released (*Revolutionary Age*, 1975); this was corroborated, he said, by a letter from Pierre Frank, a member of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of the Fourth International. Chen Chao-lin's re-emergence after 27 years in jail proves that all such apologies from the friends of Mao are out-and-out *lies*. We demand the immediate release of all the imprisoned Chinese Trotskyists, or, if they have died under nearly three decades of Stalinist incarceration in Peking, that their fate be known!



Intercontinental Press

Freed Chinese Trotskyists Cheng Chao-lin, left, and Wu Ching-ju.

In our 1975 article, we publicized the plight of Chen, a leader of the 1927 revolution in the Wuhan area, and a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. A close collaborator of Chou En-lai and Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) in Paris after World War I, Chen was invited to Moscow in 1923 to attend the University for the Toilers of the East. Returning to China in 1924 he served as a leading party propagandist and, in 1927, as a member of the Hupei Provincial Committee of the CCP leading the revolutionary struggle in Wuhan. Witnessing the massacre of thousands of their comrades at the hands of their Stalin-imposed "revolutionary ally," Chiang Kai-shek, a significant section of the leading CCP cadre were won early and hard to Trotskyism. Chen Chao-lin was among the 81 original signers of the manifesto of the Chinese Left Opposition along with such party leaders as CCP general secretary Chen Tu-hsiu and CCer Peng Shu-tse.

Arrested by the KMT in 1931, Chen spent the next seven years in jail, participating upon his release in the underground anti-Japanese resistance. According to *Intercontinental Press*, following the Maoists' ascent to power in 1949, CCP leader Li Wei-han, who had known Chen in Paris, contacted him and asked him to compromise with the new regime. But Chen refused to abandon his struggle against Stalinism. He was arrested on 22 December 1952 as the Stalinist bureaucracy began a nationwide wholesale round-up of hundreds of Chinese Trotskyist militants. For his refusal to capitulate, Chen spent the next 27 years in jail, first in the notorious Ward Road Jail in Shanghai, later being transferred to a labor camp. His wife, Wu Ching-ju, a dedicated revolutionary who had earlier been released from prison, voluntarily shared Chen's last seven years of imprisonment; because of failing health, she required constant medical care, which as a political outcast in "People's China" she could obtain only by going to prison.

At a September 9 Stockholm election rally for the KAF, Swedish section of the USec, Ernest Mandel announced the

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SWP Jim Crow Socialists

Jeff Mackler: Racist

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party went one step further in its bid for the title of Jim Crow socialists of the left. On October 5, after formally excluding the Spartacist League from a public forum on Nicaragua, one Jeff Mackler, a national leader of the SWP, started a barrage of racist epithets against Jeff Horne, a black supporter of the Spartacist League.

The insults were vicious and shocking. Mackler pointed to Horne, saying, "You're smiling. They [the white comrades] aren't giving you permission." To a white SLer: "Can you make him dance?" Then to Horne, "Can you tap dance? Do a little tap dance." There is only one word for this: racist.

The comrades immediately closed ranks to condemn these racial slurs, but neither Mackler nor the other SWPers present made any denials or protests. Indeed, the comments continued and escalated. When an SL comrade protested the exclusion of our black comrades in Detroit (see *WV* 240, "SWP: 'No Black Trotskyists Allowed'"), Mackler cried out, "Yes, Stepin Fetchit is all they are." A heated discussion ensued and Mackler soon after slinked back into the SWP bookstore.

"Stepin Fetchit" is a particularly gross, demeaning and abusive epithet. It comes from a racist stereotype from minstrel shows. It became a household word as the name of an actor who portrayed a slow-moving, dumb, shuffling, ineffectual black man who served as a figure of racist "fun." The SWP is obviously having a hard time selling its policies of anti-communist and racist exclusions of the Spartacist League, and its leaders resort to gross provocations. Not only black socialists but no black person has to stand for this kind of racial slur. If that sounds like a warning, to Mackler or anyone else who pulls this kind of stunt, it is.

The racist slanders by a national leader of the SWP cannot be taken lightly. Jeff Mackler is a member of the National Committee of the SWP and was at one time the local president of the Hayward teachers union. We wonder how his black colleagues would take to such racist remarks. Does Mackler tell black students to tap dance? Such slurs are not tolerable within the labor movement.

Mackler's remarks have to reflect how the SWP leadership treats and conceives of its black membership. The SWP is notorious for abuse of its own comrades: from bureaucratically expelling 115 members of the Internationalist Tendency in 1974, in order to prove to the FBI it was "peaceful/legal," then boasting of this atrocity in court; to hailing the Khomeini regime which today is threatening to kill its Iranian co-thinkers; to hailing the Nicaraguan government's expulsion of its comrades of the Simón Bolívar Brigade last August—the SWP's contempt for its membership and for the working class knows no bounds.

For a black in the SWP it must be very hard to swallow defending the right of fascists to free speech with one hand and with the other excluding black Trotskyists from public forums. It must be hard to know that the black candidate the SWP is running for president is an admitted scab. Indeed, the SWP's cynicism is limitless. When SLers condemned Pulley as a scab, the SWP yelled: "Provocation! You're provoking us." But not one word of protest was raised to the real provocation of racial slurs voiced by Mackler, a white revisionist, against a black Trotskyist. A decent socialist organization would expel any "leader" who uttered such racist filth.

As for the question of the undemocratic, anti-communist, racist exclusion in Detroit, one younger SWPer thought it funny. "Look," he quipped, "we aren't racist. Why, we're excluding both black and white members of the Spartacist League." For the Spartacist League questions of proletarian morality are no joke. Our comrades, both black and white, serve notice on the SWP that vicious racist slurs and worse will not be tolerated. Jim Crow must go! ■

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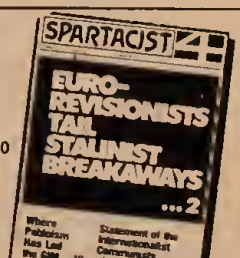

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For a Labor-Centered Fight Against Homosexual Oppression

Gay Democrats Go to Washington

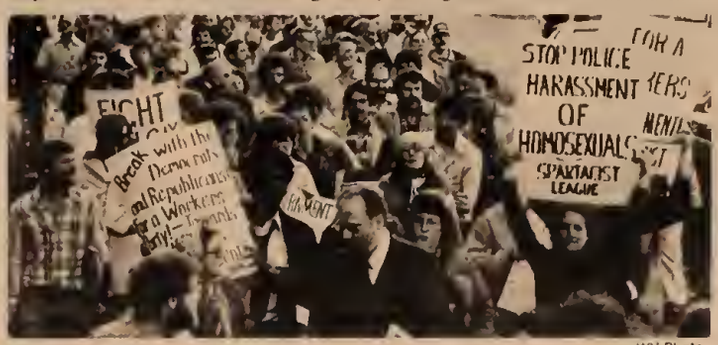
Upwards of 100,000 people are expected to converge on the Capitol October 14 for a "National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights." Called ostensibly to "end all social, economic, judicial and legal oppression of gay people," the march has dominated the activity of the petty-bourgeois "gay movement" for the past year. According to the executive director of the liberal National Gay Task Force (NGTF), "This will be the national gay rights event of the decade."

Many of those who show up in Washington October 14 may believe that they are there demonstrating for "repeal of all anti-lesbian/gay laws," for "a comprehensive lesbian/gay rights bill," and for the various other planks in the formal program of the march. But, unlike the largely spontaneous outbursts which filled the streets in the wake of Anita Bryant's hate campaign or a demonstration in support of specific anti-discrimination legislation, the real purpose of this march is to herd gays into the Democratic Party to serve as voting cattle for capitalist politicians.

Gay Democrats Leonard Matlovich and Harry Britt will join "straight" Democrats such as New York City congressman Ted Weiss and Washington mayor Marion Barry in exhorting the crowd to elect "pro-gay" politicians such as themselves. A "Presidential Nomination Convention Project for 1980" will be held in conjunction with the march, and the following day will be "Constituency Day," in which delegations from various Congressional districts will lobby their representatives. To top it off, representatives of the National Committee for the March on Washington will meet with Jimmy Carter, who considers homosexuality a "sin," to discuss "gay rights."

The official demonstration leaflet is quite clear about the real aims of the organizers: "A demonstration will support lobbying efforts by showing beyond any doubt that a strong gay constituency exists in this nation, a constituency that is politically active and ready to mobilize." The gay liberals hope through the march on Washington to gain recognition as another respectable Democratic Party constituency alongside such notably impotent pressure groups as the black establishment NAACP and the middle-class professional women of NOW.

Gay Democratic leaders doubtless watched with eager anticipation the marches and rallies organized this summer for the tenth anniversary of the Stonewall riot. It is of course logical that those whose perspective is limited to sectoralist "gay power" will seek to build a constituency in the framework of capitalist electoral politics. But this is not the road to effective struggle against oppression or even for democratic rights. At best such movements can win only token concessions and fragile victories which are quickly wiped out when the bourgeois political climate swings toward increasing reaction. Blacks and women who organized on this basis saw their token gains chopped away by the same Democrats and liberal Republicans they supported at the ballot box. On significant issues like busing and the ERA they have met defeat.



WV Photo

Capitalist parties are no friends of the oppressed.

It should be obvious that particularly a socially marginal group like homosexuals can never effectively fight their oppression through sectoralist/Democratic Party politics. The witch-hunt for the deviant is far more influenced by the general state of the struggle between classes than by any assumed "show of strength" by homosexuals. It is only the labor movement which has the social power and class interest to defend democratic rights for all the exploited and oppressed, including homosexuals. Beyond that, individuals who seriously want to fight to end homosexual oppression must confront the need to overturn the entire capitalist social system.

Fake-Left Tags Along

A genuine communist organization is obliged to tell the elementary truth: that this march and the movement it represents are a dead end for the oppressed. Yet the opportunists of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), who claim that such movements are the road to revolution, will be dutifully tagging along behind the Democrats in Washington. Posturing as the angriest and most militant variant of "gay power," the RSL seeks recognition as the "revolutionary" wing of a movement which cannot transcend liberalism. When RSLers presented a motion at a planning conference for the march in Houston last June, proposing that Democratic and Republican Party politicans not be allowed to address the demonstration, it was overwhelmingly defeated. In Chicago they were thrown out of the planning committee for the march by a bloc of gay bar owners and Democratic Party politicos. But never mind—the RSL considers itself part of the same "gay movement" as the Democrats and has therefore decided to give the march a left tail. In New York the RSL has established its own organizing committee for the march after roping in some members of the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA).

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which used to try to present itself as "the best builders" of the gay movement, has cynically dumped this rhetoric in its recently executed "turn" to the labor bureaucracy. This means that it has sent its members into the unions to act as errand boys for various "progressive" labor fakers. Having decided that winning friends among such elements will be impossible unless it distances itself from all but the most respectable homosexuality, the SWP has abandoned gays in its rush to embrace the Ed Sadlowskis and Arnold Millers. When gay activists at a February planning conference for the October 14 march put forth a proposal for "full rights for gay youth, including revision of age-of-consent laws," the SWP went berserk and echoed Anita Bryant's "save the children" hysteria by charging that the backers of the proposal were "*primarily adult men who believe they should be unrestricted in having sex with children.*" The SWP terms the existing age-of-consent laws "historic acquisitions of the working class which should be enforced" (*Militant*, 13 April). Only when the age-of-consent provision was eliminated at a second conference in Houston in June did the SWP endorse the march, thus continuing its long-standing tradition of building a platform for Democratic Party politicians.

Build the Trotskyist Party!

Unlike the oppression of blacks and women, the oppression of homosexuals is not central to the economic functioning of American capitalism and hence is not a strategic question for socialist revolution. But for revolutionaries the defense of democratic rights for homosexuals is inseparable from the struggle for democratic rights for all the oppressed. From its inception in 1966 the Spartacist League has demanded full democratic rights for homosexuals. In 1977 we solidarized with the protests against Anita Bryant and warned against the pollyannas who hailed her hate campaign because it drew "attention" to the issue. We sought to mobilize California labor against the Briggs initiative in 1978. As communists we support all legislation aimed at eliminating discrimination against gays, while warning against reliance on capitalist politicians. Above all we seek to mobilize the labor movement as a powerful force for defending the democratic rights of all the oppressed.

In 1977 the SL fused with a group of homosexual communists based in Los Angeles, the Red Flag Union (RFU). The RFU rejected the overtures of the RSL and SWP, who appealed to them with the same "gay liberation" politics the RFUers were leaving behind. These comrades were won to the SL's perspective of building a vanguard party which acts as a tribune of the people—a party like the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, which abolished laws against homosexuality and legalized abortion when it came to power in 1917. It is in that tradition that the Spartacist League fights today *for a labor-centered defense of democratic rights for homosexuals.* ■

Letter

Roosevelt's Democrats: The Dixiecrat Connection

New York City
30 September 1979

Dear WV,

The article "Andrew Young Expendable" (WV No. 239, 14 September) speaks of "the old black/Jewish/liberal/labor coalition" as "the key to Democratic electoral predominance" since Roosevelt in the 1930s. This is but a partial analysis of the political bases of Roosevelt's Democratic Party, one which might give the false impression that the New Deal involved liberal reforms for black rights.

A key component of the New Deal coalition was the Jim Crow South. Roosevelt transformed the Democrats into the dominant party precisely because he was able to combine the party's traditional solid base in the white-supremacist South with the working-class ethnic groups, including the blacks, in the North.

One of the major changes in American politics in the 1930s was the accession to national political power, especially in Congress, of the Southern Democratic leaders. Roosevelt's vice president from 1933 to 1940 was Texas party boss John Nance Garner, a typical representative of the Jim Crow establishment. It was in the New Deal period that hard-line racists like Sam Rayburn, James Eastland and Strom Thurmond became powers in Congress. Lyndon Johnson always paid homage to FDR, legitimately so, as his political big daddy.

The New Deal did absolutely nothing about institutionalized segregation and racist terror in the South. This is graphically illustrated by the fate of the 1934 anti-lynching bill. This bill was killed in Congress by a Southern filibuster, when Roosevelt refused to put his weight behind it. In 1935 the NAACP's organ, *Crisis*, wrote that Negroes "ought to realize by now that the powers-that-be in the Roosevelt adminstration have nothing for them" (quoted in William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* [1963]). In FDR's 13 years in office *not a single* piece of civil rights legislation was passed.

It was only after World War II that a certain rift opened between the Northern liberal and Southern wings of the Democratic Party, which led to the Dixiecrat (States Rights) secession in 1948. But this difference was soon patched up, as it always is. In 1952 the running mate of liberal darling Adlai Stevenson was a Jim Crow Dixiecrat, John Sparkman of Alabama. Thus, when Teddy Kennedy embraces George Wallace he is not at all betraying or even retreating from the traditions of Rooseveltian liberalism; he is genuinely continuing to uphold them.

Comradely,
J. Seymour

Pro-SWP Steelworkers Bureaucrat Connives with Chicago Mayor

Alice and Jane at City Hall

WV Photo
Jim Balanoff

Lowenthal/Newsweek
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WV Photo
Alice Peurala

CHICAGO—When a disgruntled rank and file elected Alice Peurala president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 65 here last April, some may have hoped that they were at last getting a scrappy president who would fight the company. Peurala, long a supporter of the "Steelworkers Fight Back" team of self-proclaimed "rebel" bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, advertised herself during the election as "tougher" than incumbent president John Chico, who enjoyed the support of "Oil Can Eddie" himself. Behind her narrow victory lies a growing dissatisfaction on the part of steel workers in the union's Chicago-Gary District 31 with the incumbent Sadlowski bureaucrats. Their fake-militant posturing has in practice proved no different from the sellout policies of the McBride-led International.

The election of a woman president of the key 8,000-member U.S. Steel Southworks local drew national press attention. The *New York Times* (18 June) wrote favorably of the "51-year-old maverick [who] is still angry and is still fighting...." And the social-democratic *In These Times* (16-22 May) hailed Peurala's election as "pathbreaking for women" and "a victory for tough-minded trade unionism and relentless union democracy." The *ITT* article cited her reputation as a long-time lefty, noting that she drew inspiration from "Farrell Dobbs, the Trotskyist mastermind of Teamster organizing." The new president of USWA Local 65 is indeed a long-time friend of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and supporter of SWP-endorsed causes. But in the April elections these ex-Trotskyist social democrats couldn't make up their minds between Peurala and Chico, labeling both "progressives."

In the plant, Peurala's reputation as an independent militant rested upon such stands as her past support to the right to strike, presently denied to steel workers under the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) negotiated by the ultra-conservative McBride bureaucracy of the USWA. However, her militancy was never more than skin-deep. She was and is committed to enforcing the ENA "at least" until its expiration, and is unwilling to actually strike over even such vital local issues as a foundry closing at Southworks. Moreover, a recent caper with Chicago mayor Jane Byrne has worn this veneer of verbal militancy so thin that only Peurala's diehard tag-alongs from the reformist left are still cheering.

At issue was a "Mayor's Committee on Collective Bargaining," dreamed up by Byrne ostensibly to draft "impartial" bargaining guidelines for municipal workers. In reality this committee lends support to the no-strike legislation and sub-standard contracts with which the mayor intends to saddle city workers. The weakening of Chicago's notorious patronage system, a development likely to hasten unionization, comes at the same time that Byrne is hot to cut the city budget through layoffs. Thus it is not surprising that, in the words of the committee chairman, her honor "has made it clear that she wants a no-strike provision" in the ordinance. Appointed to the committee in July along with Peurala were two other token "labor representatives"—William Lee, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Charles Hayes of the United Food and Commercial Workers (formerly Meatcutters)—to sit with a bevy of corporate lawyers, city managers and an Inland Steel executive.

From the War Production Board of World War II to Jimmy Carter's Council on Wage-Price Stability, government-sponsored joint "labor-management boards" are invariably mechanisms for replacing a real labor fight on the picket lines with sell-out deals around the conference tables. But in the case of the mayor's committee the seat got a little too hot when Byrne blabbed to the press about her plans to lay off hundreds of city workers, end payment of "prevailing rate" wages to skilled tradesmen and dictate a no-strike clause. She went on to attack city workers as incorrigible loafers who steal from the taxpayer by "abusing" their three (!) paid sick days per year. So on September 14 Peurala and CFL head Lee stomped off the committee after reading a statement denouncing the mayor's recent actions. Nowhere did the statement mention disagreement with the no-strike provision or principled opposition to collaboration on labor-management boards. And for good reason. Peurala can't truly stand for the right to strike for city workers without raising this spectre in the USWA, where she is committed to enforcing the no-strike ENA.

Meanwhile, back at Local 65 Peurala's waltz with the anti-union mayor was causing a stir. At the August 8 local meeting members of the Trade Union Action League, a group supported by the Communist Party USA/Marxist-Leninist (CPUSA/M-L), introduced a motion demanding that Peurala withdraw from the mayor's committee. The motion was duly voted down by the Local 65 officialdom and their left toadies. But soon after Peurala's walkout, on September 19 a rank-and-filer put up a motion specifying that "no member or official of Local 65 shall serve on the Mayor's Committee... now or in the future." Local 65 members report that supporters of the SWP, the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party all blocked with Peurala and conservative fans of USWA president McBride to defeat this motion. A vote *against* prohibiting participation in this class-collaborationist committee is clearly a vote *for* the role of the trade-

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Rouge Workers Demand: Fire KKK-Hooded Foremen!

DETROIT—On September 25 two foremen at the Dearborn Assembly Plant at Ford's sprawling River Rouge complex put on KKK hoods and marched up and down their trim line. Outraged at the sight of these racist scum parading around in Klan garb, dozens of workers in the area walked off the line. Subsequently over *one thousand* members of the Rouge United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600 demanded in a petition:

> "1. That the local union demand the unconditional firing of [general foreman Tim] McKulen and [foreman Fred] Beinke and mobilize to insure these foremen are driven from the plant and the auto industry; and
> "2. No reprisals against workers who protested against working under these racists."

The petition was enormously popular. Workers changing shifts waited in line to sign at the table at Gate 5A, while in the plant the petitions were passed eagerly from hand to hand at lunch tables. Militant workers voiced their sentiments that the issue should be settled "in the parking lot," and many were astonished that these foremen had made it out of the plant at all. The petitions were delivered to the union local hall on Wednesday, October 3, by a delegation of black and white local members, including both skilled tradesmen and production workers.

The Klan hood is the symbol of bloody, night-riding terror against black people and trade unionists. Many older black workers were among those most eager to sign the petition, as many are from the South and bitterly remember the lynchings and cross burnings. But the Klan's terror is not confined to the South. In the 1930s, the Michigan Klan, the Black Legion, went after not only black people and Catholics, but also union organizers. While in the daytime foremen and company goons like Ford's "service men" under that arch anti-labor thug Harry Bennett hunted down, fired and beat up CIO organizers, at night they were flogged and sometimes killed by the Black Legion. This is what the Klan was organizing for.

Elementary self-defense demands that the labor movement organize to smash the KKK wherever it appears. While the petition explicitly called for the union to reject any deals with the company that would allow these foremen to continue working anywhere in the industry, the union leadership has allowed one foreman, Fred Beinke, to continue to work in the trim area. The general foreman, Tim McKulen, has not dared to set foot in the plant since the incident, but he has not been fired. If these foremen stay, it can only encourage fascist outfits like the KKK to venture out more boldly with acts of intimidation and terror.

Ford management, of course, is filled with racists; every woman in the plant can tell stories about sexual harassment from foremen. Rouge workers should be under no illusions that firing one or two racists will alter the horrible working conditions, grueling overtime and constant harassment by management in the plants. These conditions can only be addressed by fighting to build a militant, class-struggle leadership in the union. When the UAW traded the right to strike over shop-floor issues for the present grievance procedure, it gave up one of its most powerful weapons against abuse by management. Unquestionably a powerful and vigilant union would have dealt with McKulen and Beinke's provocation right on the spot!

One of the initiators of the petition, Frank Hicks, a member of Local 600 told *WV*: "Only last year the Nazis opened a headquarters just minutes from Rouge in southwest Detroit. They razor-slashed a woman attending a meeting of an anti-Nazi committee set up by our Local; they harassed people in the neighborhood. Just last week it

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SYL Fall Forum Series

Hate Carter, Hate Capitalism!

This fall the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has launched a nationwide forum series, part of a recruitment drive initiated at the SYL national conference last April (see "Let's Go Out and Recruit a Couple Hundred More Members!" *Young Spartacus*, May 1979). Bringing the program of revolutionary Trotskyism to outlying cities and college towns, SYL spokesmen are trailblazing up the Pacific coast and across the Midwest, visiting scores of cities including Eugene, Oregon, Bloomington, Indiana and Pittsburgh, Pa. Kicking off the series in New York September 15, Spartacist League (SL) Central Committee member Joseph Seymour and laid-off Detroit Chrysler worker Mike Adams gave a forum entitled "Hate Carter, Hate Capitalism," focusing on the mounting economic crisis and the tasks facing labor and the communist vanguard.

SL spokesman Joseph Seymour, left, with UAW militant Mike Adams at New York City forum.

WV Photo

Comrade Seymour began by pointing out how the ruling class has reacted differently to the present crisis than in the past:

> "During the Great Depression of 1929-33, every month hundreds of thousands more workers were unemployed and went on welfare; farmers plowed under food to drive up the prices. And every month Herbert Hoover got on radio and said, 'This is temporary, prosperity is around the corner. Very soon every American will have a car in every pot and a chicken in every garage' [laughter].
>
> "In economically the worst year in American history, Franklin D. Roosevelt is inaugurated as president and says: 'the only thing people have to fear is fear itself.' Now, that doesn't mean anything—but even in so far that it has sort of meaningless meaning, it's wrong. There is a lot to fear in the real world, just the idea that for hundreds of thousands of people their children would grow up malformed because they didn't get enough to eat."

But today, noted the speaker, the rhetoric of the capitalist politicians differs sharply from past recessions, for today the crisis is confronted "by a ruling class which knows that the American dream is in the past."

> "What one gets from Carter is that the economic crisis is god's vengeance visited on the American people for the sin of gluttony. This is from Carter's famous July 15 energy crisis speech: 'In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities and our faith in god, many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption.' Now what's wrong with self-indulgence and consumption?"

Relating the current sharp downturn (as well as the 1974-76 crisis) to the loss of hegemony of U.S. imperialism, Seymour remarked that the American ruling class had emerged from World War II as the dominant capitalist power but has since frittered that advantage away. Thus today American capitalists re-invest a far smaller percentage of their economic surplus than do Japan or West Germany. He cited the case of U.S. Steel which was planning to build its *first* new steel plant in 25 years (!) but just canceled out, because of lack of profits and worries that it wouldn't be profitable with the oncoming economic crisis.

In the face of the capitalist attack, Seymour noted the total passivity of the U.S. trade-union bureaucracy, but that American workers were seething with anger particularly over the gas crisis. He characterized last summer's Levittown, Pa. riot where a gas station was burned down as "a contemporary equivalent to an eighteenth century food riot in France or Britain." Much of the left's response has been to turn to the ecology movement, he said. And while standing aghast at the SL's advocacy of technology, they are apparently oblivious that they fit right in with Carter's austerity program. The speaker also pointed to the class bias and hypocrisy of the ecology movement which rails about the possibility of nuclear accidents, but says nothing about the thousands of coal miners who spew their guts out with black-lung disease. And while they weep over seagulls destroyed in oil spills, "they have yet to complain about the significant percentage of Canadian forest cut down every year to produce the *New York Times*, undoubtedly destroying the habitat of the woodpecker."

Turning to the response of the labor movement, comrade Seymour focused on the situation of the Detroit auto workers, already hit by tens of thousands of layoffs as a result of economic crisis:

> "We raised the demand for a sitdown at Dodge Main. It's a militant trade-union demand well within the framework of the UAW's own history. Yet all of the various left groups would have nothing to do with it, because the bureaucracy didn't like it. They realized it was a confrontation with the company, with the government, an attack on private property and therefore potentially explosive."

The response of the union leadership was to ask for a government handout:

> "The UAW bureaucracy—sort of crypto-social democrats, in their fantasies they conceive of themselves like the British trade unionists—typically came up with a proposal for the government to give Chrysler a subsidy in exchange for government ownership of some of the shares, in other words partial nationalization."

And in the usual fashion the response of the reformist left was to go the bureaucrats one better and call for full nationalizations.

"It may seem to be a small question," noted the speaker, "but behind that is the difference between revolutionary and reformist socialism." Nationalization of bankrupt companies is not very common in the U.S., but in Britain it is the standard response of Labourite reformists. In fact, he pointed out such demands are popular even with sectors of the capitalists because the owners often get more than if they liquidated. Moreover, as a result of nationalizing the least-efficient competitors, the state-owned companies are often more exploitative than private corporations:

> "The end result of a couple of decades of Labourite reformism in Britain is that the British standard of living, at the end of World War II the highest in Western Europe, is now worse than Spain."

Comrade Seymour pointed out that the reformist solution dragged the working class down with the declining bourgeoisie:

> "We're not in the business of preserving inefficient industrial operations. At the same time we have a responsibility to the workers who work there to get them the best deal possible. We have an alternative: No government handouts! If the company's going bankrupt, let the workers seize the assets! Take it over, sell them and take the money. Nothing to the banks, nothing to the stockholders—and a rather nice 'severance pay' achieved in a militant, and within a tactical framework, a revolutionary manner."

The second speaker at the Columbia forum was Mike Adams, a member of UAW Local 140 recently laid off from the Dodge Truck plant in Detroit. Adams pointed out that he belonged to a generation of young auto workers whose only experience of militant labor struggle was the miners' strike of 1978, and which barely knew of the traditions of the Flint sit-down strike. "The consciousness of the UAW has been eroded," he said, "up to the point where even leftist groups talk about 'informational picket lines'—the ones that are supposedly 'okay to cross.' There was a time when you crossed a picket line, you got your legs broken." So how did that situation come to be? Adams pointed to the red purges of the 1940s, where everyone who went up against the company or had a political "record" was kicked out of the union. "And it's the Cold War bureaucracy that's still running the show," he said.

Because the union, which speaks endlessly of "dignity for the members," doesn't defend the workers, Adams noted, the UAW has become known for wildcat strikes:

> "The truth is, the wildcat strike is the weapon of last resort, when you fail to get the union to fight for you, you take things into your own hands. But nine out of ten times with wildcat strikes you lose.
>
> "However, in '73 instead of the usual wildcats, they had a few sit-down strikes and they won. The UAW bureaucracy was somewhat shaken. It had to congratulate these people on their initiative [laughter].... And they decided this kind of thing is not going to happen again.
>
> "At Dodge Truck, where I was working, there was a wildcat in '74. There were 1,000 people on the picket line for five days. The judge came in and he sat on the back of a pick-up truck where he held his trials. Court injunction after court injunction, fine after fine—and the whole local leadership was complicit in this. These are the people that are supposed to defend your rights."

Adams called for a class-struggle opposition within the UAW "based on an understanding that this is the companies' government, that the Democratic Party is no friend of labor, that we have to build a workers party":

> "It's got to be an opposition that speaks to the special oppression of both blacks and women, that's capable of taking up fights, like one of the fights I waged in my union, to mobilize the union to kick the Nazis out of Detroit."

"What makes a class-struggle opposition different?" he asked. "When the miners strike happened in '78, in Britain or France it would have been spontaneous for other unions to have gone out on strike as soon as the Taft-Hartley Act was invoked. It didn't happen here. And the only people who called for it were people like myself, supporters of *Workers Vanguard*." Adams compared this class-struggle program with the gimmicks of various reformist fake-militants. He pointed out that he had fought for sit-down strikes against layoffs, and got a hearing among his fellow workers:

> "I got people to go to union meetings who hadn't been to a meeting in five years... And it was a real lesson for these guys I work with to see the so-called oppositionists get up and not only *not* be in favor of a sit-down strike, but actively oppose it. They did the work of the bureaucracy for the bureaucracy."

What Program for Chrysler?

The discussion period which followed was marked by a heated exchange over

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WV Photo

Judge issues injunction from pickup truck in 1974 strike at Dodge Truck. 6,000 workers stayed out anyway.

Fake-Lefts Can't Wash Hands of Khomeini's Crimes

OCTOBER 9—It has been more than seven months since Iran's "Islamic Revolution" launched its savage assault on all those who oppose Ayatollah Khomeini's "one party of god." The Iranian left has had its offices wrecked, its press banned, its militants arrested, tortured and shot. The Kurdish rebels have been driven out of the towns and into the hills in the wake of ruthless bombing attacks on the entire Kurdish population.

More than 100 Kurdish prisoners have been executed. Arab nationalists continue to be sent before firing squads. The threat of death still hangs over the 14 members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS). Not only were two members of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party executed, but it has been reported that two teenaged sympathizers of the Fedayeen guerrillas were publicly *beheaded* in Teheran on August 26.

Meanwhile, despite all of its ranting and raving about Zionist and American conspiracies, the Islamic regime is resuming the shah's military alliance with U.S. imperialism. In August it was revealed that Teheran was negotiating the delivery of some of the $5 billion in arms ordered by the shah. On October 5 it was announced that the U.S. was shipping spare parts for Khomeini's F-4 and F-5 jet fighters. Defense Minister Mostafa Chamran even raised the possibility of using foreign military advisors.

Khomeini has not yet administered a decisive defeat to the Iranian working class. Unrest among the oppressed nationalities and massive unemployment stand in the way of the regime's stabilization. On October 2, for example, 1,500 unemployed demonstrated in Teheran, shouting "Death to the fascist regime," and "Death to the Islamic government"— only one of a series of such demonstrations. Khomeini's freikorps, the Revolutionary Guards, opened fire on the protesters.

Yet, facing class battles of life-and-death importance, the Iranian proletariat stands leaderless. The Iranian left was essentially routed in August, hamstrung by six months of capitulation to the "Islamic Revolution." Having hailed Khomeini's victory and supported the mullahs as an "anti-imperialist" force, not one among them made any kind of fight for proletarian opposition to the new regime of clerical medievalism.

Reza/Sipa

Khomeini's "Revolutionary Guards" promise: "We will do to the Kurds what Hitler and Eichmann did to the Jews." This is the "Iranian Revolution" supported by the fake lefts.

Fake Trotskyists Squirm

The ostensibly Trotskyist groups have been caught in the most excruciating contradiction. It hasn't been easy reconciling their opportunist tailing of a Muslim holy war—that announced its Persian chauvinist, anti-communist and socially reactionary program from the very start—with their pretensions to stand for the program of permanent revolution.

The former European majority of the so-called "United Secretariat" (USec) around Ernest Mandel, now decomposing at an awesome rate, initially reacted to the regime's August offensive by acting as if it had never supported Khomeini. The French section, for example, wrote of "a vast white terror campaign against the movement of the national minorities and the workers movement" (*Rouge*, 24-30 August). Even more dramatically, the British International Marxist Group (IMG) proclaimed in a back-page spread that "Khomeini has become the Shah of Iran" (*Socialist Challenge*, 30 August). What next? Had the bloody massacre in Kurdistan and police-state repression in Teheran finally driven the inveterate impressionists to their senses? Not the IMG!

By their very next issue these miserable centrists had had time to reflect. They had put themselves in an embarrassing contradiction. Hadn't IMG leader Brian Grogan hailed Khomeini and chanted "god is great" during his visit to Iran last spring? By tailing the mullahs they shared some of the responsibility for putting the "new shah" in power. So the IMG wrote a polemic—against itself (although this was coyly left unstated). The 6 September issue of *Socialist Challenge* announced: "Has Khomeini replaced Mohammed Reza Pahlavi as the new Shah of Iran? We think not." In defense of this flip-flop, all of the now-familiar alibis are regurgitated:

> "Khomeini...rode to power on the crest of a mass movement unequalled in this century.... He was, to be sure, in the leadership of this movement; but the movement was not Khomeini....
>
> "But the expectations of the masses remain, and these expectations run counter to the type of society which Khomeini/Bazargan want to rebuild—a capitalist society. The dynamic of the movement which led to the fall of the Shah cannot be appeased."

A similar mixture of cynicism and objectivism can be found in the statements of the misnamed "Bolshevik Tendency" led by Nahuel Moreno, currently posturing as the left conscience of the USec. The Morenoites also informed us that "...the destruction of the monarchy and the struggle against American imperialism are the first steps of a great workers and peoples revolution.... It has already won its place among the great revolutions of this century, comparable in importance to the prolonged Indochinese Revolution" (*Opción*, April 1979).

Of course the Morenoites were quick to add that, in addition to "populist methods," Khomeini also applied "provocation and violence" against the left and the workers. But this was purely a secondary matter, for *Opción* further declares that the "imam" is "closer to the types of 'bonapartism sui generis' regimes typical of Latin America than to the 'Westernism' of the National Front." This bizarre extension of Trotsky's term for bourgeois nationalist regimes in the colonial world which attracted working-class support became in Moreno's hands the theoretical "justification" for political support to various Latin American bourgeois rulers: first Perón, then the Peruvian junta and finally Torrijos of Panama. Now it is used to justify crawling before the clerical-feudalist Khomeini.

Unlike the chaotic centrists of the British IMG, the hardened reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were not unduly alarmed by Khomeini's bloody offensive—in fact, they said it was actually a good thing. The ayatollah's repression, they tell us, was carried out "from a position of relative weakness. While the regime will surely inflict some setbacks on the workers movement, its repressive moves today are creating the conditions for a major class confrontation and a political break by the working masses from the Khomeini-Bazargan regime" (*Militant*, 7 September).

As Trotsky pointed out to the Stalinist advocates for the Kuomintang, every bourgeois formation with a plebian base betrays the masses' hopes. The Iranian proletariat has no need of a "vanguard" which "discovers" its enemies *after* they have begun butchering leftists and workers, and then announces this is really a "victory" because the reactionaries have been unmasked.

The HKS, apt pupils of the SWP's school for social-democratic parliamentary cretins, further demonstrates the political cowardice behind the USec's "the movement is everything—the goal nothing" position. They plead with their executioners that they are not Khomeini's enemies. The 6 September Teheran daily *Ettela'at* contained a summary of an HKS statement:

> "The HKS reiterated that its main task has always been to patiently explain its program, which is set forth in its Bill of Rights for Workers and Toilers, a list of proposals for the new constitution.
>
> "The HKS is not an armed organization and never has been, nor are its members armed. Moreover, they are completely opposed to violence."
>
> —quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 17 September

There is no room for such a social-democratic "loyal opposition" to Khomeini in Iran today. For Khomeini, the only good Marxist is a dead Marxist. This kind of bowing and scraping will not save the HKSers from the executioner's sword. Defending the lives of the HKS members is sacrificed to defending Khomeini. The USec's defense has been so meager, so legalistic, because it wants to take exception to Khomeini's repression without openly opposing his regime. That is why there has been a systematic exclusion and slander campaign against the only consistent left-wing opponents of the mullahs, the international Spartacist tendency.

In defending its opportunist capitulation to Khomeini the USec is criminally complicit in the possible executions of its own comrades. As the blade descends the USec will not be permitted to use their corpses as shields against our revolutionary criticism ■

SWP Abandons Wayne State Forum to SL

Iran, They Ran

At Wayne State University in Detroit on September 27 students witnessed the strange sight of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members running away from their forum. Political cowardice was dramatically demonstrated as the SWP—faced with having to answer for its criminal support to the Iranian "Islamic Revolution" which is murdering national minorities, striking workers, women fighting for their rights, leftists—fled its own meeting.

The forum was part of a tour to publicize the defense of 14 arrested members of the SWP's fraternal group in Iran, the HKS (Socialist Workers Party). Having hailed and tailed the mullah-led movement which put the HKS's jailers in power, the SWP subordinates its defense of the HKS to its defense of the Ayatollah Khomeini. And since the Spartacist League (SL) was unique on the left in warning that the mullahs' victory would produce a regime just as reactionary as the shah's, the SWP has systematically sought to exclude SL supporters from meetings and demonstrations purportedly called to defend the HKS.

The featured speaker for the present tour, HKS member Farhad Nouri, had come to Wayne State from San Francisco, where the SL had set up a picket line to protest the exclusion of Spartacist supporters from the SWP meeting there (see "Mullah Lovers' Exclusion Backfires," *WV* No. 240, 28 September 1979). Amnesty International's Kay Boyle and Daniel Ellsberg, two featured speakers at the San Francisco meeting, had respected the SL's picket line, touching off a hysterical anti-Spartacist polemic in the SWP's *Militant*.

Liberals have plenty of illusions, but at least they have no illusion that the coming to power of a Persian chauvinist Shi'ite theocracy was a "victory" for the Iranian masses. They do not believe it is a victory that "revolutionary guards" stone unveiled women and shoot adulterers. And they may not agree with the SL's proletarian revolutionary program, but they respect those who told the bitter truth about what the mullahs' victory would mean. The SWP wants to appeal to liberal sentiment in its HKS "defense" campaign, but as the irrefutable evidence of Khomeini's white terror mounts, liberals have no more affection for the "Islamic Republic" than do Trotskyists. Clearly, the SWP's disarray in Detroit was generated by the growing popularity of the SL's principled line on Iran.

Perhaps the Lester Maddox social democrats who run the Detroit SWP were also belatedly embarrassed over their racist policy of excluding black Spartacist supporters from "public" forums. So this time, no political exclusionism was attempted. Instead another tactic for suppression was tried, with hilarious results. Just as Nouri got out the last word of his speech, the chairman rose to "thank you all for coming" and the SWPers got up to go. The audience, annoyed after having paid for a discussion, demanded one. The SWPers bolted for the door, scrambling over each other. Some 35 people remained in the room after the SWP's headlong flight and the discussion continued for well over an hour. One Iranian woman put it well: "I wanted to ask them if they support Khomeini—it seems like they do but I couldn't be sure."

Three days later in Chicago, it was back to the old tactics, with a goon squad of 30 SWPers blocking all entrances to the hotel where Nouri was speaking. A statement run off on the back of the forum announcement was filled with the usual slanders of the thief calling the victim thief. But it is the SWP which has "disrupted" its defense rallies through anti-communist exclusionism of the SL. It is the SWP which has placed "factional hatred of another political party above the need for solidarity" with Khomeini's victims by physically barring the SL from demonstrations. The SWP's slanderous charges of "sabotage" and "provocation" are a cynical cover for *SWP sabotage* of defense of the Iranian left and *SWP provocations* against the SL. The only "defense" threatened by the SL is the SWP's political defense of Persian clerical reactionaries!

WV Photo

Where have all the cowards gone? SWP flees own forum, Wayne State Univ., September 27.

Class treachery cannot be defended in open political debate. Caught out with the blood of Iranian leftists and minorities on its hands, the SWP must resort to political suppression and physical intimidation. The flip side of the political cowardice shown by the SWP at Wayne State is gangsterism, and the drumbeat that prepares the way for physical violence is slander.

There are plenty of indications that the SWP is looking for a chance to physically confront the SL. At the SWP national convention at Oberlin last August, the SWP's response to our literature sales team was truly a provocation. On the third day of the convention, the SWP initiated "defense" squads lining the entrance to the main conference area. A couple of ex-SLers now in or around the SWP and present at the convention were escorted through the halls by bodyguards. Clearly, the SWP ranks were supposed to get the impression that the SL is an organization of violent crazies apt to maul someone in the heat of political polemic. Most recently, at an SWP forum in New York City on October 6, the audience was told that an intimidating SWP goon squad was required because of the possibility of an SL "disruption." The "disruption," of course, never took place, but the groundwork was laid for the SWP to plead self-defense in any confrontation of the future.

These Stalinist methods only expose the SWP. The SL, whose Marxist analysis of Iran receives daily confirmation, will not be silenced, and the norms of workers democracy, so foreign to Khomeini's American fellow travelers, will be upheld ■

Echoes of Betrayal

There is nothing new about the fake-Trotskyists' alibis for their hosannas to the bloody-minded "holy man" Khomeini. In particular, they often echo the arguments of J. V. Stalin & Co. justifying the Chinese Communists' subordination to the butcher Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang.

In contrast to the mullahs, who are bringing back the veil, Chiang (despite massive war-lordist corruption and cynicism) at least paid lip service to a bourgeois nationalist democratic program. The KMT, after all, was opposed to the binding of women's feet! Nonetheless, the arguments are strikingly similar: the Stalinist ideologues argued that the leadership of the Kuomintang was irrelevant because it was a mass plebeian movement. Sound familiar?

But after their tailist policies lead the masses to slaughter, the opportunists' cynical "explanations" are almost word-for-word identical. Following the Shanghai massacre of thousands of Chinese Communists and workers in 1927, the Great Organizer of Defeats announced that Chiang had now been unmasked as a bourgeois counterrevolutionary, and that this meant that the revolution had "entered a higher phase of its development." So today the revisionists of the United Secretariat explain that the "dynamic of the Iranian Revolution" cannot go backwards, no matter how many leftists, homosexuals and members of national minorities Khomeini kills.

Reza/Sipa

Khomeini's troops execute Kurds.

UPI

Chiang's troops behead Communists in 1927.

"And what about the Kuomintang masses, are they mere 'cattle'? Since when is the attitude to a mass organization determined by what takes place at the 'high' summit!"

—N. I. Bukharin, "The Present Situation in the Chinese Revolution"

"Of course, Chiang Kai-shek's coup was bound to result in a partial defeat for the workers in a number of areas. But that is merely a partial and temporary defeat. In point of fact, with Chiang Kai-shek's coup, the revolution *as a whole* has entered a higher phase of development."

—J. V. Stalin, "Talk with Students of the Sun Yat-sen University" (13 May 1927)

"Khomeini, on the other hand, rode to power on the crest of a mass movement unequalled in this century.... It is to this mass movement that Khomeini owes his present position. He was, to be sure, in the leadership of this movement; but the movement was not Khomeini.... The dynamic of the movement which led to the fall of the Shah cannot be appeased."

—International Marxist Group (Britain), Socialist Challenge, 6 September 1979

"While the regime will surely inflict some setbacks on the workers movement, its repressive moves today are creating the conditions for a major class confrontation and a political break by the working masses from the Khomeini-Bazargan regime."

—Socialist Workers Party (U.S.), Militant, 7 September 1979

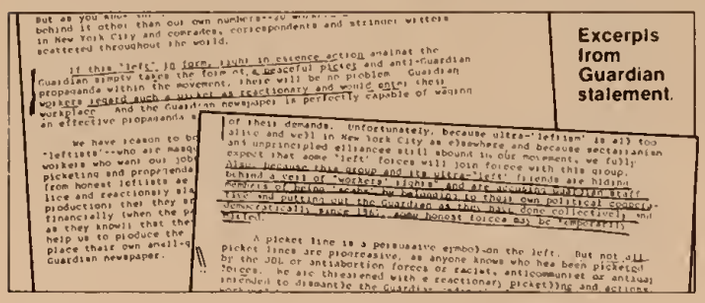
CORRECTION

In our last issue (*WV* No. 240, 28 September) the article entitled "Revolution in Nicaragua and the Left" contained an editorial error. On p. 10, the left-Peronist publication of Nahuel Moreno in the 1950s is referred to as *Palabra Socialista*; it should have read *Palabra Obrera*.

Guardian Interview...

(continued from page 12)

not required to offer them first refusal hiring, at such time that we reopen the shop. We offered that. Nobody asked us for that. We offered it. We were not required to say at any time in the future, even though we're trying to build an all-staff shop; if we can't do it and if we need to go to commercial help again, we *insist* that any commercial help that we rehire will be on the basis of the agreement that we worked out. We offered. Nobody twisted our arm to do that. We thought that was fair. What happened was we closed down an operation that was losing money. One of the reasons it was losing money was that it was too big of an operation in terms of labor costs and equipment rental to be paid for by the small amount of commercial business that it was doing. And one reason it was doing a small amount of commercial business was that there was bad management of the shop, which was due to our ineptness and inexperience in running a business enterprise. We had to close down the shop because it was costing us money—$20,000 in 1978, $40,000 in 1979. I mean, there is no surplus that is being expropriated from the workers. Rather the shop is taking money from other *Guardian* sources in order to keep running.



Excerpts from Guardian statement.

WV: That's true of any small business that's losing money. It's the same thing that Chrysler says, too.

DL: Most small businesses that are losing money do not have a management that is composed of a staff collective all of whom are making about one-fourth of what is paid employees—that's unlike any small business I have ever heard of.

WV: Look, you got yourself in a difficult position here, but look at it as if you were an Israeli kibbutz and you decide that you're not making money on your cannery and then you decide the wages of your Arab employees are too high and you let them go. The point is if you were just closing down the business, that would be one thing. But what you're doing is, you're still doing the work.

DL: We're still producing the newspaper, that's perfectly right.

WV: And trying to do some outside typesetting if you can develop this other thing to do it.

DL: At this point we're not doing any extra outside typesetting. We have our hands full putting out the newspaper. Period. We would like to re-establish and redo some kind of small commercial business as we develop the staff people with the skills to do it. Now, if your position is that replacing the paid $8-an-hour employee with $1.50 staff person—in order to do something that produces a surplus to support a newspaper that serves the interest of the workers movement as a whole, if you say that that's a lockout, that that's an anti-worker action, well, then, I think you've got a very strange perception. Whose interest is being served in that?

WV: The problem is when you start hiring labor, then you put yourself in the position of an employer. And when your employees go and unionize, then that puts you in a difficult situation, which is obviously why you came to this agreement with them in the first place. So what happens is basically you've got the situation here where you decided you weren't making enough money, so you cut your losses and keep the operation going with people who are working at less wages. And that's a normal business practice which in any other circumstance, presumably you would oppose.

DL: Roberts and Churcher are not employees of the *Guardian*. They are a business.

WV: Right, you jobbed it out.

DL: We have a special relationship with them, in that they are willing to produce the *Guardian* for the price they gave us and in such a way that we can reduce the cost of the *Guardian* in the proportion that we do the work on it, which seems eminently reasonable. If we provide our own labor, then there is no, I mean what is the cost? I mean the value of the thing is the amount of labor put into it, if we supply the labor, it reduces the price. And that's the basic principle involved here.

WV: Well, it's about the first time that I've ever heard the labor theory of value quoted to justify a lockout. It's pretty funny when you look at it that way. And besides, it terms of what you've done concretely, its just jobbing out the work to this other unit, and then some of your people are going to be used as trainees at the rate that they get normally. Let me ask just a couple of other things. Are these people going to get any severance pay at all?

DL: They had two weeks notice. They were paid in addition to their final paycheck, the value of accumulated but untaken sick days and accumulated but untaken vacation pay that had been made retroactive to when they first started working here. It amounted to several hundred dollars. In addition, the health benefits that we had agreed to in our agreement was voluntarily extended by the *Guardian* to cover them all through December 31.

WV: I'll just say one thing. You say in here that one of the things you wanted to learn from this firm that you brought in from the outside was the skills for managing a small business. I would say with regard to what's happened here it sounds like you at least learned the first principle.

DL: Which is?

WV: Which is to cut your labor costs by getting rid of unionized workers. That's pretty clear.

DL: That very crazy rhetoric (unclear). If you were at all interested in the facts, it seems to me that you would think about it before you started making statements like that. Do you know anything at all about what it takes to produce a half-a-million-dollar budget for a newspaper like this?

WV: Quite a bit.

DL: It doesn't take just fancy words. It takes hard work; it means learning how to manage a paper, it means learning how to balance books, it means learning how to deal with estimating and pricing and organizing the whole process so that things come out efficiently. It's not easy. And we're not stupid around here. It takes a particular training and a particular skill. It's not crazy to think that if we're talking about being serious revolutionists and we're talking about, really, seizing state power, it does seem kind of elementary to think that the first thing we're going to have to learn about is how actually are we going to run things? How are we going to run propaganda organs? How are we going to operate communications media? We had better learn how to do these things if we are going to take ourselves seriously, and that's what we have to do. And that's what this whole thing is about.

WV: Well, I think that any organization that thinks it's going to take state power and thinks that the first thing it has to do is learn how to lock out workers—that picket lines here, as you have it, are "left in form, right in essence," isn't going to get very far towards organizing a working class seizure of power, anyway.

DL: Well, it seems to me that people who dogmatically cling to a word that sounds bad in an effort to discredit an organization that they find themselves in political competition with doesn't seem likely to get real far either. You've got all the facts.

WV: Just one other thing. This "left in form, right in essence," was that conscious on your part to link it to the title of your pamphlet on Trotskyism? In other words, are you trying to say that these people, by throwing up a picket line, are essentially the same thing as Trotskyism?

DL: I think what we mean by that is that an error that is ultra-left and is attacking the left in the name of the left, that it objectively weakens the left. It essentially has the same result as does an attack from the right. What is left in form serves the interest of the right, of the bourgeoisie. And that can apply to Trotskyism; it can apply to anarchists and it can apply to all kinds of leftists.

WV: Well, I guess your workers, they were pretty gullible when they made this agreement with you, because I guess they didn't figure it was going to be ultraleft to protect their jobs. Okay. It seems pretty clear.

DL: I think so.

WV: Good-bye.

Sub Drive Over the Top! Two Weeks to Go!

The five-week *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive has topped the national quota after three weeks. Local committees which have met their quotas may scale down their sub drive work in the final weeks. This year a gold *chervonetz* will be awarded to the comrade with the highest individual point total. Final figures for the drive will be announced in the next issue.

Area	Quota	Points	Percent
Berk./Oak.	460	478	104%
Boston	190	163	86%
Chicago	365	367	101%
Cleveland	220	221	100%
Detroit	350	322	92%
Los Angeles	350	347	99%
New York	440	468	106%
San Francisco	400	475	119%
At-Large	25	21	86%
TOTAL	2,800	2,862	102%

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USWA Local Calls Rally to Defend Keith Anwar

CHICAGO—Members of United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Local 1010 voted unanimously at a local meeting October 4 to sponsor a rally "to affirm our support for the right of a union member to refuse to cross a picketline." This will be a big boost to the ongoing struggle to win back the job of Keith Anwar, a Local 1010 member fired for honoring a USWA picket line at the plant last spring. With Anwar's arbitration date tentatively set for November 1, the campaign is entering the crucial stage and enthusiasm for this fight to defend militant labor traditions is spreading rapidly.

WV Photo

Keith Anwar (left): union militant fired for honoring picket line.

Anwar was fired from his job at Inland Steel Company in East Chicago last May for honoring the lines of USWA Local 8180 members who work on a contract basis in the plant. Local 1010 represents most of Inland's 18,000-strong workforce. The Anwar case is crucial because the picket line question goes to the heart of defending the union against company attacks. Inland has arrogantly refused to answer protests over Anwar's firing because they rightly fear that other workers will follow his example. Once steel workers honor picket lines, it's only a short step to mounting their own strikes to stop escalating layoffs, arbitrary plant closures and other attacks on the USWA.

The Local 1010 motion, calling for a rally to reaffirm that the union stands behind any member fired for honoring a picket line, highlights long-established union traditions. But the companies want steel workers to think that what's good for the miners is not for them. As the Keith Anwar Defense Committee stated in an appeal to the membership last July: "In the struggle to get his job back Anwar's not just fighting for his livelihood. He's fighting an attack on the union's strongest weapon, the strike, and for the right of the trade union movement to protect its strikes—to have picket lines no one crosses."

The Local 1010 rally will be the most visible expression so far of the considerable union support which has built up for Anwar. The Inland local also passed a resolution in his defense last summer, as did Local 65 at U.S. Steel Southworks in Chicago, while the USWA District 31 conference unanimously pledged to "defend all union members victimized for honoring picket lines." In addition the Keith Anwar Defense Committee has received endorsements from dozens of union officials, as well as letters of support for Anwar's reinstatement from Ed Sadlowski and most recently Local 65 president Alice Peurala.

Rank-and-file steel workers have pitched in to build the fight, as shown by the over $1,200 and more than 350 endorsements collected by the Defense Committee. Also, some 500 postcards addressed to the union, reading "I support Keith Anwar's fight to get his job back and urge the union to do whatever it can to win this case," have been signed by workers from Locals 1010, 65 and 1014 in Gary, Indiana and circulated to the Inland local and District 31 offices.

Unfortunately, reports Anwar, the USWA International has not yet made a firm commitment to take the case to the scheduled arbitration hearing. At the same meeting which voted the defense rally, Inland steel workers overwhelmingly passed a motion affirming that "Local 1010 urges the International to insure that the picket-line grievance of Keith Anwar is arbitrated." One Local official explained at the meeting, Anwar told *WV*, that this grievance is particularly significant because it sets a precedent regarding the right to honor picket lines.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee reports that support from trade unionists and *Workers Vanguard* supporters around the country has been more than generous. *WV* urges all its readers to continue to send contributions and statements of support to the Committee at: Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680. "Now if ever is the time for the ranks to come out in support of my reinstatement and the traditions of militant unionism," Anwar told us. "I invite steel workers to come to the rally at the union hall, and let's get together to beat the company." ■

Steel Workers: Join the Rally

7:00 p.m.

Wednesday, October 17
Germano Hall
(Local 1010 Union Hall)
3703 Euclid Avenue
East Chicago, Indiana

SYL Demo at NYU Drives Moonies Crazier

"War Criminal Bundy Off Campus!"

Chants of "Hey, hey, what do you say, U.S. out of Guantánamo Bay!" and "War criminals off campus!" rang out at New York University October 2 as the Spartacus Youth League mounted a militant protest against the appointment of former national security adviser McGeorge Bundy to an academic post here. The demonstrators also chanted "Bloody Bundy you can't hide, we charge you with genocide!" And as a 50-strong picket line circled in front of NYU's Bobst Library, hundreds of students, drawn by the spirited chanting, looked on and listened to speeches by Professor Bertell Ollman and the SL/SYL. Ollman noted that by NYU's criteria the shah of Iran would be a good candidate for a teaching post.

The NYU administration is honoring Bundy, who masterminded U.S. policy in Vietnam for presidents Kennedy and Johnson, with an appointment in the history department. An SYL leaflet announcing the October 2 demonstration brought to light Bundy's "credentials" for such a post: "Bundy was the No. 1 author of U.S. imperialism's strategy of 'air and naval action' against the North—carpet bombing, napalming villages, the mining of harbors and the bombing of dikes." As one sign at the demonstration proclaimed, "No Academic Post Can Wipe the Blood Off Bundy's Hands!" Today Bundy is once again in the forefront of U.S. imperialism's war drive against the Soviet bloc, having been appointed to Carter's committee of "wise men" on the "Soviet/Cuban military threat."

Coming on the heels of President Carter's nationally televised speech on Soviet troops in Cuba, the SYL demonstration included signs demanding "Carter/Bundy: Hands Off Cuba!" and "Sink SALT! Defend Cuba and the USSR!" Speakers from the Spartacist League and SYL emphasized the urgent need for unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states, while calling for workers political revolution to throw out the parasitic ruling bureaucracies which endanger that defense by banking on the chimera of "détente" with imperialism. SYL speakers also distinguished their protest against U.S. imperialism and its braintrusters from Ollman's argument against Bundy's appointment for his lack of "scholarship." A Spartacist sign proclaimed, "Give Bundy the Kissinger Treatment!", recalling the 1977 campaign led by the SYL which was instrumental in driving the ex-Harvard-don-cum-war-criminal off Columbia University when he was offered a post there.

WV Photo

SYL demonstrators give Bundy "the Kissinger treatment" at October 2 protest.

For many of the two dozen independent NYU students who joined the picket line it was their first political protest. An occasional tense moment was provided by a squad of 15 professional provocateurs from the "Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles," a front group of Sun Myung Moon's anti-communist cult closely linked with the Korean CIA, which was on hand seeking a "rumble." Burly trade unionists in solidarity with the SL/SYL thwarted their intentions as the picketers drowned out the Moonies' howls of "SYL-KGB" and "Communists off campus" with the chants, "Crazy Moonies, they may pray, but they're running dogs for the CIA!" and "Down with the Moonies! For a united socialist Korea!"

The SYL-led demonstration received front-page treatment in NYU's *Washington Square News* and was also covered by the *Villager*, a local weekly. An editorial in the NYU paper expressed concern that the SYL was endangering "academic freedom." But as SYL spokesman Oliver Stephens pointed out in a broadcast interview over radio station WBAI, the real question is responsibility for imperialist war crimes: "People who like to clothe themselves in academia, like Bundy, serve a function of being the ideological armorers and policy makers and shapers for the American bourgeoisie." WBAI also interviewed passers-by, including one woman who deplored the fact that more students didn't show up and opined of Bundy, "I think he should have his hands and feet bound and be ridden down the river." ■

Spartacus Youth League

Campus-Wide Meeting
Open Mike
Bundy: War Criminal or "Asset" to NYU?
Monday, Oct. 15
NYU Loeb Student Center
4:30 p.m.

Demonstrate!
Stop Military Recruiters at NYU!
Drive Bundy Off Campus!
Tuesday, Oct. 16
NYU Loeb Student Center
12:00 Noon

Hate Carter...

(continued from page 5)

the situation facing Chrysler workers and demands to be raised by class-struggle militants. Several social democrats in the audience argued that nationalization of Chrysler was the key demand. One claimed that seizing the company's assets was "to have the workers act in a petty-bourgeois way, in the words of the first speaker, 'to get a better deal'." The answer, he said, was "expropriation under trade-union control." To this Comrade Seymour replied:

> "What you're proposing is either standard social-democratic reformism, which is the partial nationalization of the losers [Chrysler], or a kind of maximum, idiot social-democratic reformism which is to call on *this government* to expropriate a major industry—which, moreover, the workers would in some sense manage, in what is obviously a non-revolutionary situation."

Mike Adams followed, noting:

> "I've found that the same people who have fought against the sit-down strikes call for nationalization. And my union bureaucracy calls for it—for the government to hail the company out. What they both have in common is to take away any initiative of the workers. What I want to see is the workers seize the plants."

A second opposing speaker from the same reformist group, the Shachtmanite League for a Revolutionary Party, rose to confirm Adams' observation. The sit-down strike, he said, "is a good tactic under certain circumstances," but he didn't know about this "specific circumstance"—and besides a sitdown would be "isolated from the rest of the working class." Adams responded angrily: "When is the last time there's been a major sit-down strike in this country? To think that a sit-down strike at Dodge Main would not tap tremendous solidarity among the rest of the workers in Detroit, who are now affected by mass layoffs...?! To downplay the effect a sitdown would have, especially in Dodge Main, is ludicrous."

SI spokesman Reuben Samuels then took the floor to add:

> "We say, 'The factories belong to the workers! Seize the factories!' They say, 'Trade-union control of industries!' That's the classic petty-bourgeois Proudhonist slogan. Ultimately it leads to division along craft lines, because the trade unions are divided along craft lines.
>
> "Let's get down to the concretes of Chrysler. The workers go in, 'We've got Chrysler,' they say. 'Now what are we going to do?' You say: 'We're not going to sell it, because we know that's a shopkeeper demand. So we're going to stay right here and we're going to make Chrysler work. We're going to churn out these cars like the historic Lip strike in France.'
>
> "The problem is that the bosses have looted the company. So workers have to work twice as hard to compete with the other car companies. Then they have to go out and start their own dealerships and so forth."

Samuels summed up the fight with the social democrats. For Marxists, Trotskyists, "human freedom is the struggle to reduce the labor time to produce the overall social product. Your struggle is the opposite: 'More labor time! Build those pyramids!' You say, 'Go back to slavery!' We say, 'Forward to socialism!' Those are our differences."

In his summary, Comrade Seymour noted that "Chrysler is the first time where, in a serious way, a major U.S. union has proposed partial nationalizations. That's why we get all the heat about Chrysler. There's a social-democratic appetite to stand slightly to the left of the UAW bureaucracy, but to demand what the bureaucracy demands. It's a craft-unionist utopia. Our program is to expropriate all industry and finance on the basis, not of workers 'control,' but of a workers government and a planned, socialist economy." ■

Chinese Trotskyists...

(continued from page 2)

news of Chen Chao-lin's release. Never in his whole life, said Mandel, had he seen such a moving picture as that of Chen and his wife standing outside the prison with their fists clenched. No thanks to you, Ernest. It was this same Mandel, then known as Germain, together with Michel Pablo, then secretary of the Fourth International (FI), who refused to defend the Chinese Trotskyists and suppressed their appeals for aid. In one of the most shameful acts in the course of their political degeneration, the Pabloist liquidators labeled the persecuted Chinese militants "refugees from a revolution." While militarily supporting the Communist Party against the KMT, they refused to bow to the victorious Mao-Stalinist bureaucracy.

As hundreds of their number were being rounded up, imprisoned and many shot, the Chinese Trotskyists smuggled out an appeal which was brought by Peng Shu-tse before the leadership of the Fourth International. The International Secretariat of the FI headed by Pablo *suppressed their desperate appeal for aid*. And when Peng then submitted to the IS an "Open Letter" to arouse world-wide working-class protest over the persecution of the Chinese Trotskyists, it was Mandel who arrived on his doorstep to announce that the IS would not support it. As Peng wrote in a letter to James P. Cannon dated 30 December 1953:

> "...Germain came to talk with me about it. He started by criticizing the form of the letter as completely wrong, and asked that it be written over again. According to their ideas, I should have opened the letter by first expressing a total support for the movement under the leadership of Mao's party, praising its revolutionary achievements, and then at last come to the point of enumerating the facts of their persecutions and made the protest. Secondly, Germain remarked that the views expressed in this letter diverged considerably from the line of the Resolution of the International, and for this reason he denounced me as a 'hopeless sectarian.' At last he said that the IS could not undertake the responsibility of sending this document to the different sections for publication. If I insisted on having it published, I myself was to be responsible for any step taken concerning it."

Summarizing his experiences with Mandel, Peng noted his "wavering and conciliationist spirit," adding, "In many respects, especially in his temperament, he resembles Bukharin. He often wavers between revolutionary conscience and the momentary consideration of power." No doubt Peng was reflecting on the steadfastness and courage of a Chen Chao-lin, who was to survive 27 years in Maoist jails, compared to the cowardly capitulator Mandel, who at the slightest threat from Pablo simply threw away the Trotskyist heritage.

The struggle against Pabloist liquidation of the Fourth International was also the struggle for the lives of the valiant Chinese Trotskyist fighters. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) had initially defended the Chinese militants as soon as they knew of their plight. But in unifying with Mandel to form the United Secretariat in 1963, they drew a curtain of silence over the shameful Pabloist betrayals in China, declaring them a matter of simply "historical interest" and banning discussion on China for five years. In contrast to these pseudo-Trotskyists, the international Spartacist tendency has been unique in opposing all wings of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, calling for proletarian political revolution from the very moment of Mao's victory in 1949, and fighting for the rebirth of the Fourth International through political destruction of Pablo-ism.

A renascent Chinese Trotskyist movement that reappropriates its proud history will neither forgive nor forget the Pablo-ists' vile betrayal of Chen Chao-lin, Ying Kwan, Chiang Tseng-ting, Ling Hwer-hua, Ho Chi-sen and the rest of the heroic imprisoned Trotskyists. ■

Alice...

(continued from page 4)

union bureaucracy in tying the unions to the capitalist state.

The CPUSA/M-L (formerly Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee) is an ex-Maoist grouplet which has now discovered a perfect socialist society in the backward Albanian deformed workers state. The behavior of its supporters in steel bespeaks a schizophrenic tension between class-struggle instincts and traditional Stalinist class collaboration. Thus the current issue of its Southworks newsletter carries a lucid and generally correct article on Peurala and the mayor's committee. They have also demonstrated basic union solidarity by endorsing the defense of Keith Anwar, a class-struggle militant at Inland Steel fired for refusing to cross a union picket line. Yet this group supported Peurala for election last April, writing that "with her, the workers will be in a better position to make the change themselves." And they have a history of supporting similar reformist groupings like the "Right to Ratify" movement at U.S. Steel's Gary Works.

The whole mayor's committee incident has exposed Peurala as no better than other nominal progressives of the Sadlowski/Balanoff ilk. In reporting her walkoff to the Local 65 membership Peurala's main beef was that Byrne refused to turn over the names of policemen to a union-organizing drive. Yet the cops are sworn and paid *enemies* of the workers movement who break strikes, herd scabs and serve the ruling class against labor. And even though the present incumbent in city hall is a bonafide graduate of Boss Daley's school of machine politics, Peurala moans about her crushed "expectations that Mayor Byrne was serious and sincere." Alice Peurala has shown herself to be a reformist class-collaborator who would rather rely on "friendly" Democrats, "dialogue" with the companies and the mythical "neutrality" of the bosses' government than fight on the picket lines to defend the USWA.

Instead of settling for a phony "lesser evil" who does not differ on any essential issue from McBride or Sadlowski, steel worker militants must fight to throw out *both* wings of the USWA bureaucracy and elect a militant leadership to struggle for actual strike *action* against layoffs, plant closures and company attacks. Steel workers need a fighting leadership which breaks with the Democrats and the policies of class collaboration to get the union off its knees. Labor off all government/company boards! Smash the ENA! Oust the bureaucrats and build a class-struggle USWA! For strike action to reverse city and steel layoffs! For the right to strike for all public employees! Break with the Democrats—For a workers party! ■

Rouge...

(continued from page 4)

came out that Bill Russell, the two-bit ex-Tuchrer of the local Nazis, is back with a KKK chapter in Detroit. And now this Klan provocation by these loremen right in the Rouge. Every time the labor movement does not mobilize to smash these scum they come back—bigger and more dangerous than before. We must use our strength, the power of organized labor, to crush the KKK/Nazi vermin in the egg."

Last year, Hicks along with other auto worker militants in the Detroit area called on their local unions to initiate a mass labor-centered mobilization to "smash the Detroit Nazi threat." Instead of attempting to mobilize the tens of thousands of auto workers in the Detroit area, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi initiated a "labor-community interfaith council against the Nazis" with his hand-picked flunkey Paul Boatin as chairman. This committee did little more than allow Rinaldi & Co. to posture as anti-Nazi militants to the press while doing nothing. The committee itself called some ill-organized picket lines and appealed to the courts to evict the Nazis from their headquarters for violating their lease.

The UAW bureaucrats were afraid not of the threat posed by the Nazis but of damaging their relationship with Democratic mayor Coleman Young, whose cops stood guard protecting the Nazi headquarters from the outrage in the community. Boatin saw to it that the committee wasted endless time organizing even more committees while refusing to even vote on a proposal endorsed by 550 Chrysler workers from Local 140 at Dodge Truck calling for "a mass picket line and rally in front of the Nazi headquarters around the slogan 'Smash the Nazi Threat!'" Now, after several evictions, ex-Nazi, now Klansman, Bill Russell and his rat pack are back to recruit more racist thugs and anti-labor vigilantes. This is the fruit of the policy of relying on the capitalist courts, cops and government pursued by the labor bureaucrats and the black misleaders.

With thousands thrown into the streets by the near bankruptcy of Chrysler and the threat of a return to the massive cutbacks and layoffs of the 1974-75 economic crisis, the Nazi/Klan scum seem new opportunities to spread their racist filth. Unlike the liberals and the fake socialists who bleat about the "rights" of the fascists to free speech, the Spartacist League has pointed out that the fight with the fascists is not a battle of words or ideas. For the labor movement, minorities and socialists the fight against the fascists is one of life or death. The outrage of the thousand workers at Rouge who demanded their union act to drive out these racist provocateurs must be organized into a massive labor/black mobilization to smash the Klan and the Nazis. ■

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Defend Cuba!...

(continued from page 1)

scene, including the "Cuban crisis" brouhaha. "Americanologists" in the Kremlin say they're at an absolute loss in trying to figure out what's going on. One high-level Kremlin strategist, Daniel Procktor, told the *Washington Post*'s senior diplomatic correspondent that as a Marxist he was totally baffled and frustrated (slowly shaking his head, with more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger amazement) at the "absolutely chaotic movement" over Cuba, the SALT II treaty and even the hoary Monroe Doctrine. American political scientists are fond of accusing the Russians of inability to comprehend our nation's wonderful "electoral process." But after all, it's hard to blame them for wanting to resist the horrid suspicion that Carter is so weak that it's really a bunch of backwoods religious lunatics and run-amok FBI agents who are running U.S. foreign policy.

Of course, that *is* who's out to get Senator Frank Church, who dropped the "bombshell" about Soviet troops back home in Boise, Idaho on August 30. Trying to shake his "super-liberal" label and back off from the increasingly unpopular SALT II treaty, Church grabbed the "combat troop" story and ran with it, hoping to get off his back the hungry coalition of Republicans, Mormons, intelligence agents (mad at Church for chairing the Senate's hearings into CIA and FBI dirty tricks), General Alexander Haig, et al. who want to bring him down in next year's Senate elections.

The Kremlin's American experts are willing to make allowances for electoral "Russian devil" rhetoric. But Carter's apparently willful rush to self-destruct opens up a period of ominous instability in their view. After all, for "peaceful coexistence" to work, the other side is supposed to at least make a pretense of being "responsible" and "peace-loving"—and it's the phony SALT II treaty to which the Soviets have pinned their hopes in American accommodation. Hence the official "incomprehension" by the "moderate" Russian Stalinists (accompanied by off-the-record darker rumblings about a growing "grand design" of renewed American aggression).

The truth, however much the Kremlin would like to evade it, is that there is indeed a resurgence of American imperialist aggressive designs against the Soviet Union, on which all wings of the currently squabbling bourgeois factions are united. What's going on domestically is essentially a struggle over imperialist *tactics* vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and secondarily Cuba and Latin America.

SWP: Left Cover for "Enlightened" Bourgeoisie

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) seized on the Soviet troops affair with delight. Its "Hands Off Cuba" headlines are aimed at building the broadest "single-issue" front with dovish Democrats since "Hands Off Nicaragua" and "Hands Off Angola." Rather than a revolutionary defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states, what the SWP is angling for is a class-collaborationist bloc with "enlightened" bourgeois politicians who merely oppose a stupid, meaningless military adventure.

The SWP makes a peculiar distinction between Castro's supposedly "revolutionary" policies and those of the Moscow bureaucrats ("subservience to détente," etc.) only in order to *evade* taking up the necessary socialist defense of the USSR against U.S. imperialism. Their line on Cuba and Nicaragua is simply that of the liberal Democrats (and even some more sophisticated Republicans): American aid to Nicaragua and "normalize relations" with Cuba. U.S. aid to Nicaragua is precisely Carter's policy, aimed at buying off the Sandinistas and saving Nicaragua for capitalism—a policy which revolutionaries must expose as aimed directly *against* the perspective of proletarian revolution in Latin America.

As for "normalizing relations" with Cuba, Carter has now had to shelve that perspective as a sop to the right wing. But it was only two years ago that the Carter administration was setting up the deal—lifting travel restrictions, a limited exchange of diplomats. Castro was more than willing to reciprocate, suffering through an insulting Barbara Walters interview with lamb-like humility, and dropping references to the CIA's endless plots to assassinate him in the spirit of "let bygones be bygones." As we pointed out at the time, Castro's appetite for a deal with U.S. imperialism is in no wise different from the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking: "In Castro's Stalinist version, it is the pipe dream that by installing a 'progressive' administration in the White House the warmongers at the Pentagon and mad bombers at the CIA will be reined in" ("Castro Soft-Pedals Democrats' Assassination Plots: Behind 'CIA's Secret Army'," *WV* No. 162, 17 June 1977).

The Cuban Missile Crisis and "Peaceful Coexistence"

Yearning for the "good old days" of U.S. imperialist domination, bourgeois commentators were irresistibly drawn to comparing the Soviet troops hubbub with the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, when the U.S. was actually prepared to unleash nuclear holocaust to maintain its unquestioned hegemony in Latin America. The *Washington Post* (1 October) devoted a front-page major article to that American "triumph of the will," and in general, the media's comparisons of Carter's "phony crisis" to "the real thing" had a curiously nostalgic, glowing quality, whose dark meaning is obvious: ultimately American imperialism will stop at nothing to reconquer the deformed workers states for capitalist exploitation.

The fundamental lesson of the missile crisis for revolutionaries is that when the crunch came, the détente-minded Stalinists and all their "progressive" Third World nationalist "friends" had no answer to the threats of a flailing imperialism willing to risk a fiery "Götterdämmerung" in order to preserve its domination. To be sure, Castro was furious when Khrushchev withdrew the Soviet missiles—kicking the wall, swearing and smashing a mirror, according to Che Guevara—but in 1975 he told senator George McGovern, when it looked like a deal with U.S. imperialism was in the works, "Khrushchev was older and wiser.... I was wrong." (*Cuban Realities: May 1975*, Report to Committee on Foreign Relations, 94th Congress, 1st Session). For its part the SWP made a cowering apology for Khrushchev. "What else could he have done under the given circumstances?" James P. Cannon asked in a letter to Farrell Dobbs on October 31, 1962 (reprinted in SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 16, July 1977). But the task of Trotskyist revolutionaries is not to help the Stalinists put a good face on their betrayals. As the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP, forerunner of the Spartacist League, pointed out:

> "The Cuban revolution cannot be defended by arms *under the control of Kremlin bureaucrats whose only interest is to turn the revolution to the service of Russian foreign policy, including selling it out entirely if the price is right* ..."
>
> —"Declaration on the Cuban Crisis" (30 November 1962), in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3, Part I

A real defense of the conquests of the degenerated/deformed workers states rests on international extension of the revolutions and requires the ouster through workers political revolution of the Stalinist ruling bureaucracies that desperately seek to balance between imperialism and the proletariat. Today Castro proclaims (to the applause of the SWP) that the OAS vote against a U.S. motion to send a "peacekeeping" intervention force to Nicaragua is a "great victory" for the people of America and heralds the formation of a "democratic, pro-independence and anti-interventionist front" including the bourgeois governments of Panama, Mexico, Jamaica, etc. This is just a repeat of Castro's attempt in the early 1960s to "defend" the Cuban Revolution through an alliance with liberal regimes such as Goulart's Brazil and Araujo's Ecuador. But as Trotsky pointed out, the bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are inextricably bound to the imperialist system. Thus during the 1962 crisis *every single one* of those "progressive" Third World stalwarts instantly acceded to U.S. demands (Ben Bella and Sékou Touré refused to allow Russian aircraft transit rights at the U.S.' request; the OAS, the U.S.' "ministry of colonies," unanimously supported Kennedy).

Remember the Bay of Pigs!

There *is* a "Cuban crisis" which the American bourgeoisie would be all too happy to forget—the April 1961 CIA invasion of the Bay of Pigs. Naturally today all wings of the bourgeoisie dismiss it as an obvious mistake, a youthful aberration, an unfortunate excess of "machismo" and so on. But that's only because it was a fiasco, just as all the soul-searching over Vietnam stemmed from U.S. imperialism's stunning defeat: the only thing the American bourgeoisie really thinks is immoral is failure.

Of course the mad bombers, warmongers and assassins of the American Empire are still in place and still at work stocking up their arsenal of weapons and refurbished "dirty tricks." Yankee imperialism has not abandoned its appetite to reestablish the Caribbean as a strictly "American lake." Major General Smedley Butler admirably summed up the basic policy of American imperialism some years ago in a fit of outraged patriotism (being deeply insulted at the Liberty League's 1933 proposal to him to launch a coup against Roosevelt). Of his 33-year career in the Marine Corps, covering Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, China, Cuba, etc., he said:

> "I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle-man for Big Business.... I helped make Mexico—and especially Tampico—safe for American oil interests in 1914. I decided to make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in.... Looking back on it, I feel that I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was operate his racket in three districts. I operated on three continents."

By the time John F. Kennedy took office in 1961 *he* was taking tips from the Mafia on how to bump off Castro. He also launched the Bay of Pigs invasion—all in all, a truly spectacular disaster at every level, as Peter Wyden's recent book *Bay of Pigs: The Untold Story* (Simon and Schuster, 1979) makes clear in deeply satisfying detail.

Even then, in the midst of the blatant, bloody U.S. invasion of Cuba, the SWP revealed its liberal-pacifist appetite. The *Militant* (24 April 1961) called for the U.S. to "End the aggression against Cuba at once!" but did *not* raise the call for military support to the Cuban army—it posed the question purely as one of national self-determination and not the defense of the anti-capitalist social revolution occurring in the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism. As we have pointed out before (but it's worth repeating) the Revolutionary Tendency took a rather different approach than the rightward-lurching ex-Trotskyist SWP leadership. RT spokesman James Robertson wrote in an urgent 18 April 1961 letter to the *Young Socialist* editorial board:

> "So let's have a bold, bloody over-the-masthead headline about Yankee Imperialist Rape or Solidarity With Every Soviet-supplied Bullet Entering the Bodies of CIAists, or similar.... Exposure of Soviet diplomatic temporizing, calls for military aid, calls for Concentration Camps in Cuba under workers control, etc."
>
> —SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 16, June 1961

Needless to say, we haven't changed our views since then.

The international Spartacist tendency is the only organization which stands for the unconditional military defense of *all* the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism. We called for "Soviet Nuclear Shield to Cover Hanoi" during the Vietnam war, raised the call "China: Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism" when Peking invaded Vietnam last spring. This is the only policy for revolutionaries: intransigent exposure of the Stalinists' bankrupt counterrevolutionary cowardice in the face of imperialist threats, and the fight for international proletarian revolution to sweep away both the capitalists and their rotten Stalinist collaborators and establish a world socialist order. ■

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
(editor)

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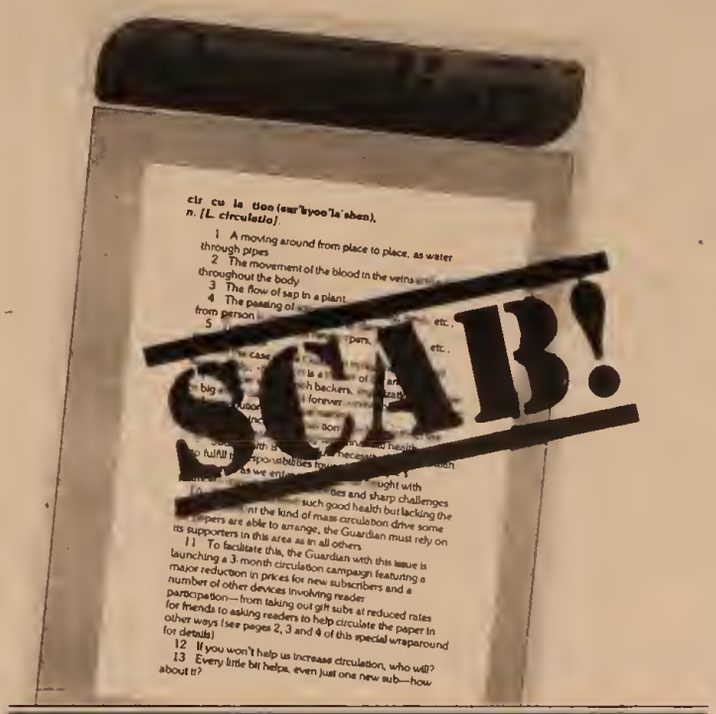
WORKERS VANGUARD

Scab Guardian

"The hours are long, the pay is short. It takes real commitment to work with the *Guardian*..." (want ad for *Guardian* stall, 5 September). But as typesetters in the Guardian Art Room Workers Association (GARWA) found out last month, it takes more than commitment to work for Jack Smith & Co.'s "independent radical newsweekly." You better not form a union or demand enforcement of a contract either. Just a month and a half after the GARWA signed a contract with the *Guardian* staff guaranteeing better pay, health benefits and vacation/sick leave, the typesetters found themselves locked out.

Impassioned fund-raising pitches constantly remind the *Guardian*'s readers that the paper is in chronic financial trouble, a problem made worse by the forced departure of well-connected money man Irwin Silber. So *Guardian* honcho Jack Smith decided to cut costs last summer by contracting out the production of the paper to an outfit from Philadelphia called Churcher and Roberts. The GARWA typesetters, who signed their contract in July, were informed on August 15 that their services were no longer required and that no more in-house typesetting would be done, either on the *Guardian* itself or for outside customers. But no sooner had the new regime been instituted than GARWAers discovered that their jobs had simply been transferred to lower-paid non-union *Guardian* personnel.

Double-crossed and locked out, the GARWA threw up a picket line on September 18 at the *Guardian*'s New York City offices. A Teamster delivery man honored the GARWA line but *Guardian* writers and editors revealed their real attitude toward the elementary principles of trade unionism by turning scab and trooping across the picket line.



WV Exclusive!

This one action says more about the political program of the *Guardian* than all the articles on "participatory democracy" and "progressive" causes printed in the 31-year history of this petty-bourgeois journal of American radical dilettantism. Born as the voice of Henry Wallace "progressives" and fellow-traveling Stalinophiles, the *Guardian* matured into a fashionably New Left/Maoist phase in the late 1960s only to become, with the declining popularity of Chinese Stalinism, an "independent" (i.e., non-party) journal of "Third World" cheerleaders. In none of its incarnations has the *Guardian* ever soiled itself by involvement in the actual class struggle. Judging by Smith & Co.'s attitude toward picket lines this is certainly a service to the labor movement.

The *Guardian* "collective" has made no significant concessions to the GARWA, despite the typesetters' willingness to negotiate a settlement. Smith, in fact, insists that in order to stay afloat the paper needs the "flexibility" to hire its employees for unionism. (Seems to be a good case for a drowning.) With hypocritical exhortations on the need for self-sacrifice worthy of an Israeli kibbutz pink-slipping the hired Arab help, the *Guardian* collective has refused to recognize the GARWA or acknowledge its members' right to their jobs. The *Guardian* has written a hysterical eight-page attack on the GARWA, attacking the group with which they have a signed contract as "ultra-'leftists' masquerading behind the guise of being 'union workers...'."

As we go to press GARWA spokesmen are asking "progressive groups and individuals to take any action they can to inform the *Guardian* of their outrage." The GARWA is calling on *Guardian* sustainers to cancel their pledges and on typesetting customers to take their jobs elsewhere, while urging all left-wing activists to give no support to the scab *Guardian*.

We can only add:

Drive Out the Reactionary Ghosts and Poisonous Weeds of W. 17th Street!

Storm the Guardian Headquarters—Down with the Red Bosses!

Wave High the Bright Red Banner of Trade Unionism!

It is Right to Rebel Against Jack Smith! ■

Right in Form, Right in Essence

Guardian Talks to WV

Interview with Donna Lamb, General Manager of the Guardian, by Jan Norden, Editor of Workers Vanguard, 9 October 1979

DL: My name is Donna Lamb, I'm familiar with the situation, I'm the General Manager here. What do you need to know?

WV: First of all, when I talked with Jack [Smith, editor of the *Guardian*] earlier.... In going over this statement ["Statement to Progressive Groups From the Guardian Newspaper," 6 October], the main thing that struck us was that, in terms of the facts, everything that we had been told by the Art Room Workers Association seems to be confirmed by your statement. I asked him [Jack] earlier whether, that it seemed to us that this was a lockout. He said that this was ridiculous. On the basis of your statement, it seems to me the facts are pretty clear. They were hired labor, is that correct?

DL: That's correct.

WV: And you did sign a contract with them?

DL: We did not sign anything; we had a working agreement.

WV: Well, you had a formal agreement, you had a meeting with them, and you worked out an agreement, at least as I read the statement that's what it says.

DL: How do you define a lockout?

WV: They [the Guardian Art Room Workers Association] have a statement here that's clear—it says that, "In any situation where work that was previously done by a group of workers is still being performed, those workers have a right to keep doing the work." That seems like the classic definition of scabbing. In other words, when struck labor or labor that was performed by somebody else is being done, that's scabbing. And when somebody has a job and they're told that their job is canceled, that's a lockout. It's pretty straightforward. Especially, when part of it quite clearly here is over the contract agreement, because you bring in...

DL: Roberts and Churcher.

WV: Right.

DL: Do you understand the nature of the *Guardian*'s agreement with Roberts and Churcher?

WV: As far as I can tell, it says that it's an independent business that's been brought in to do the typesetting here.

DL: It's been brought in to do the typesetting and to develop a program wherehy the staff members are trained, in all aspects of the typesetting business. So that within a one-to-two-year period, the *Guardian* can *reopen* the type shop that is run completely by all-staff labor, but this time with some skills, so we know what we're doing. You understand that?

WV: Yes, but in terms of the workers that you had hired before, it seems pretty clear that they had a job and they had an agreement with you and then you canceled the agreement and locked them out of their jobs.

DL: We did not cancel the agreement. We fulfilled every iota of that agreement and we went beyond it. In terminating their employment and closing the shop, we were not required to extend health benefits one inch. We did that. We were

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 242 X-523 26 October 1979

Capitalism Means Depression, War

America: No Guns, No Butter?

When the financial page of the daily newspaper becomes more interesting reading than the front page, capitalism is in a certain kind of deep trouble. Hard economic news is now the main event, contrasting sharply with the blurry reflections of bourgeois anxiety which have filled the papers for months. No mere ideological expression of bourgeois pessimism (like Jimmy Carter's speech about America's loss of faith), this is the thing itself: the concentrated politics of capitalism's economic irrationality.

It is not just the gold fever and dollar decline, the stock market plunge and raising of interest rates. There is a growing recognition that disastrous inflation and recession cannot be stopped, that the international capitalist market is falling apart. Bank presidents, financiers, chairmen of the board and big-time government economic wizards are becoming panicky in their increasingly desperate search for solutions. They sense that perhaps nothing really will work, that the capitalist economy may be on an irreversible course to imminent economic collapse.

Thus, the fiftieth anniversary of the 29 October 1929 stock market crash is being commemorated with fear-and-trembling debate on its "prevention and cure." Great Depression anxiety and medicine filled the pages of nearly every important newspaper and journal. How did it happen? Is it happening now? The 23 October *Wall Street Journal* front-page headline: "After the Fall, Trade, Currency Wars Deepened Depression—Will It Happen Again?" Alternately consoling and alarmist, these bourgeois economic ideologues point to parallels and contrasts between the present crisis and the depression of the 1930s. Some even admit that their counterparts of that period had no idea of what was coming, why or what to do about it. But Marxists can answer the question.

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Bosses Make Workers Pay for Economic Crisis

The Panic of '79

Runaway Inflation, Stock Market Slide, Gold Fever

Labor Must Fight Capitalist "Austerity"

Halstead/Time

Conrad/New York Times

Panic in Wall Street, desperation on the unemployment lines.

"The standard of living of the average American has to decline. I don't think you can escape that."
—Paul Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board

For the past months the United States has suffered the highest inflation in its modern history (leaving aside 1946), and the rate is still climbing. Simultaneously, from the beginning of August through early this month the price of gold shot up from $280 to $440 an ounce, a dollar depreciation of about 60 percent. So on the night of Saturday, October 6, the U.S. central bank announced the tightest credit squeeze ever in an effort to save the dollar. The following Tuesday the stock market fell 26 points giving rise to jittery comparisons with Black Tuesday in October 1929.

No surprise then that spokesmen for the capitalist class, both here and abroad, are blasting Jimmy Carter for gross economic mismanagement. Candidate Teddy Kennedy declares that restoring a strong dollar is really "a question of confidence in the ability of the American leadership." Imperious West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt demands that Americans "must not let the dollar go down the drain." But from Carter to Kennedy to Reagan, from the Bonn ministries to the gnomes of Zurich to the sheiks of Araby, all wings of world capitalism agree on one thing: the American working people must suffer austerity.

Labor Bureaucracy for Austerity "Fairly Shared"

The Meanys, Kirklands and Frasers have gotten the message from their masters. On September 28 the AFL-CIO Executive Council approved a "historic" national accord with the Carter administration. The purpose of this new "social contract": "to assure that austerity arising from battling inflation is fairly shared..." (*AFL-CIO News*, 6 October).

Of course, since well before September 28 the labor lieutenants of American capitalism have been making sure that the workers are getting their "fair share" of austerity. They've been party to wage-price guidelines that have *already* cut more than 5 percent off the real income of the average worker. At his latest press conference the *only* part of his economic program Carter could boast of was that "wage increases, for instance, this year ...have been lower than they were last year. We've had more than a million union workers who have signed contracts within the wage guidelines" (*New York Times*, 10 October).

Many observers are surprised that Carter can make this claim truthfully enough. Why the *hell* are union leaders accepting wage guidelines at half the rate of inflation from the most unpopular president since they started taking polls? The *New York Times* saw in the September 28 accord a hard-to-explain vote of confidence in Carter as against Kennedy.

The union bureaucracy is pushing austerity not out of loyalty to Jimmy

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Simón Bolívar Brigade:

Did Peter Camejo Turn Them In?... 7

Shuttle Ed Daly Back to Saigon!

CIA Airline Struck

SAN FRANCISCO—Anti-labor forces have struck another vicious blow at the Bay Area trade-union movement. On October 11, two striking World Airways employees were shot by a scab while picketing outside the company's facilities at Oakland Airport. Members of Teamsters Local 2707, representing almost 1,400 pilots, flight attendants, clerks and mechanics who have been on strike since August 3, told *WV* that the assailant, one Floyd Parker, claimed his car tires had been slashed and proceeded to the picket site where he began brandishing, then firing his pistol. A pilot and a stewardess were hit by ricochets.

Parker was charged with assault with a deadly weapon. But four-and-a-half hours later he was free on $5,000 bail, reportedly put up by a former company industrial-relations man currently acting as a paid consultant. Ed Daly, the arch-right-wing president of World Airways, best known for its sinister government-contracted Far East missions, described the incident as an accident. But Daly later told the press *he* would have shot the picketers between the eyes or in the groin. The media also reported that Parker was given a 5 percent bonus.

This atrocity alone should have sparked a storm of protest from the entire Bay Area labor movement, yet it is hardly an isolated incident as beleaguered municipal workers here have been fighting an onslaught of union-busting attacks.

In addition to the BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) lockout, which began August 31, and a just-settled five-week-old San Francisco teachers strike, both characterized by massive scabherding, on October 19, officials of the Golden Gate Bridge District announced that in two days they would begin operating the Marin-San Francisco ferryboats, tied up for 15 weeks, with or without approval from the striking International Association of Machinists (IAM). In short, Bay Area employers have served notice that labor's right to conduct effective strikes is now under open attack.

In an October 18 letter to all World Airways employees, rabid anti-union boss Daly wrote: "If striking employees desire to return to work, all they have to do is tear up their Teamster membership card." He told Local 2707 officials in a July 24 telegram, "as far as I'm concerned, you can sit with your former leader Mr. Jimmy Hoffa in the swamps or marsh lands of New Jersey for any negotiations you may have." And in threatening to shortly resume World Airways' transcontinental flights discontinued by the strike, he crowed, "In no way can the union break World and Ed Daly. Just the opposite. Daly and World can break the Teamsters" (*Aviation Daily*, 2 October).

The strikers don't consider this unusual behavior—at least not for Ed Daly. On October 18, the day *WV* spoke with picketers at the Oakland Airport, Daly made a personal appearance. As a striking stewardess described his entrance, Daly's cherry red chauffeur-driven Cadillac cruised through the picket line, then stopped to allow the clearly drunk company president to stagger out. Dressed in white patent leather shoes, a red polyester jumpsuit under a fur coat, a ten-gallon hat over his long gray hair and a patch over one eye, Daly tottered up to the strikers, paternalistically exhorting his "troops" to keep up the good work! Throughout this bizarre episode, Daly was accompanied by his Chicano bodyguard dressed in gold toreador pants, black and white cape and sombrero—in addition to a sidearm.

Daly resembles no one so much as the creepy and sinister billionaire Howard Hughes in his final years, a resemblance that is not merely physical. Until a few weeks ago, all of Daly's non-commercial contracts were with the government and included, according to Teamster officials, the ferrying of military personnel, maintenance of Navy DC-9s, care of Carter's four 747 airborne command centers, and, at $250,000 per flight (reportedly half profit), the transport of thousands of "boat people" from the Far East to points in the West. Indeed, the strike has caused Daly to lose his "boat people" contracts (to the Flying Tigers, which got *its* start by aiding Chiang Kai-shek in World War II), leading the infuriated president to bait the strikers for sabotaging his "humane" (and lucrative) mission.

But that's not all. Daly has a long history of such "services." In 1975 he was honored as "Humanitarian of the Year" for his personal participation in "Operation Babylift," the cynical last-ditch scheme to whip up anti-communist sentiment in the U.S. by kidnapping thousands of Vietnamese "orphans" from Saigon in its last hours under capitalism. Previously, Daly had been flying "rice" to Lon Nol's puppet regime in Cambodia, as well as personally engineering the last notorious U.S. flight out of Da Nang where ARVN troops trampled over women and children to get aboard. It is safe to say that Ed Daly, like Howard Hughes, has a CIA connection.

Despite Daly's violent hatred of the Teamsters ("This company doesn't need hoodlums, racketeers, queers or persons such as Fitzsimmons," he wrote to his employees), efforts by the IBT leadership to win this protracted strike have been anemic. Local 2707 mechanics had worked since July 1978 without any contract whatsoever, and Teamster officials have complied with an injunction forcing strikers to work military transport flights, so that as much as 40 percent of Daly's operations are continuing unmolested. Although World's wages, pensions, working conditions and travel accommodations are vastly inferior to the norms in the industry, Local 2707 officials boast that they are willing to increase productivity and "have asked for a raise that is *less* than the cost of living" (Local 2707 newsletter; 5 October)!

One mechanic told *WV* that if the local wins its economic demands he'll still be making less than a similar worker earned at United Airlines *before* the IAM strike at that company earlier this year. World Airways strikers must reject these defeatist policies and demand an effective strike. Down with the company courts' strikebreaking injunctions! *All* of the airline's operations must be shut down with mass picketing until standard industry contracts are won for all classifications. ■

Vietnam 1975: Ed Daly overbooks last flight from Da Nang.

UPI

SMASH THE ANTI-LABOR OFFENSIVE!

The World Airways strike comes in the context of two other protracted Bay Area labor struggles. At press time *WV* has learned that a demoralized San Francisco AFT has just accepted a wretched contract settlement with the city's school board, a defeat set up by the union bureaucrats, who did nothing to stop the 1300-man scab force which reopened every public school during the strike. Meanwhile, with the lockout of the BART workers in its eighth week, management has now resumed service on two of the system's lines with non-union personnel. Doubtless scab-run transportation will be expanded further if the transit workers don't put a stop to it. Incredibly, the officials of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1555 and United Public Employees Local 390 have still not called a strike—a "strategy" supposedly designed to enable locked out workers to collect unemployment benefits, though by now the state has ruled BART employees ineligible for compensation.

At an October 18 ATU meeting one local member called on the union ranks to reject the bureaucrats' blueprint for defeat and to demand a Bay Area-wide transit strike. She urged her brothers and sisters to fight for a winning strategy based on mass, militant picket lines at the BART train yards, to appeal to regional transit workers to refuse to haul passengers to and from scab trains, and to call on other unions in the area to help bolster the picket lines. At mention of the word "militant," however, ATU vice-president Mel Schoppert blew his top. "If I hear the word 'militant' the International will cut off your lockout benefits," Schoppert threatened.

The current struggles in the Bay Area pit the labor movement against a determined united front of the bosses and the bourgeois politicians who run San Francisco and Oakland. Despite the defeatism ceaselessly spread by the pro-capitalist bureaucrats, it is the task of militant trade unionists to resurrect the fighting traditions which made San Francisco a "union town" in the '30s. In reclaiming and surpassing the "Spirit of '34," the working class will rid itself once and for all of its treacherous misleaders along with their pals in the Democratic and Republican parties.

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Steel Workers Back Militant Fired for Honoring Picket Line

Union Rally for Anwar

CHICAGO, October 21—"A picket line is a symbol," proclaimed steel worker Keith Anwar at a union rally here last week. "Workers are out on strike and saying 'don't cross.' The traditions of labor solidarity are what makes the union strong, and in fact what makes the unions exist today. When the companies combine to divide and conquer, the strongest tradition the labor movement has is to answer in one single voice: an injury to one is an injury to all!"

Anwar was addressing fellow union members at a rally sponsored by Local 1010 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) in support of the right to honor picket lines. The meeting, held at the Local's hall, was a high point in the union's defense of Anwar, a member who was fired for honoring a USWA picket line last May. Local 1010, largest single unit in the union, represents 19,000 steel workers at Inland Steel Company in East Chicago, Indiana. The successful rally, which drew 75 steel workers from several area locals, including Local 1010, Local 65 and Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana, as well as news media, demonstrated the active willingness of USWA members to defend militant labor traditions.

An official banner at the front of the hall proclaimed the theme of the rally: "Defend the Right to Honor Picket Lines! Get Keith Anwar's Job Back! Defend the Union!" Mike Mezo, a griever in the local who chaired the meeting, explained that the Anwar case is one of the most important issues currently facing the union. Anwar was fired for refusing to cross a picket line of USWA Local 8180, whose members also work inside the Inland complex, and the company has arrogantly stood by this decision through the entire grievance procedure. The union has now actively taken up the defense of Anwar's job, and an arbitration hearing has tentatively been set for November.

Meanwhile, the tremendous response to the Keith Anwar Defense Committee—which received over 350 endorsements from union officials and rank-and-filers, collected $1,400 in donations and 500 postcards urging a vigorous defense, in addition to obtaining defense motions at Local 1010, Local 65 in Chicago and the USWA District 31 Conference—proves that the ranks know that something important is on the line. Steel workers, including a layer of local officials, are increasingly fed up with seeing union conditions eroded while their hands are tied behind their backs by the no-strike clause and the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA).

"We'll All Go Down Together"

The Local 1010 rally starkly posed these issues. Speakers expressed alarm over the increasing take-away of the rights of steel workers by the company and affirmed the need for the labor movement to dig in and defend itself. Vice President Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo emphasized that with the traditionally protected right to honor picket lines now under attack in the Anwar case, "If we don't wake up, if we don't take to the streets and tell them, 'Look, we are not going to have that taken away, forget it'—when that's gone, it's all gone."

Joseph Gyurko, chairman of the Local's grievance committee, was active in the drive 40 years ago to force Inland to recognize the USWA. Gyurko observed that as of now only 15 or 20 percent of the union membership has been through a major strike. "You young people have not experienced what it took to get to where you are today," he said. "Many benefits were obtained from long years of struggle—and I mean struggle. Lives were lost, men were framed, you got the Joe Hills, you got the Sacco and Vanzettis, the Haymarket Massacre. They fought to give you what you have today. Now it's up to you to protect it."

Gyurko spoke of the days, before a no-strike clause was signed by the union, when a picket line was sacred in the USWA. "Whenever there was something wrong the men stuck together and went out on strike," he said. "It only took a handful from a certain department, and the rest of them would honor that picket line—the problem would be solved in short order." The significance of the Anwar case, he said, is that "Brother Anwar is fighting for a principle that is endeared to all of us.... If we cannot support our brothers, they'll defeat us one at a time, weaken the whole labor structure, and we'll all go down the drain together." He noted that after the defeat of the steel strike of 1919 it took until 1937 to gain recognition for the USWA. "If they break you again, I'm afraid it will take another 30 years to come back to where you are today and you cannot let that happen."

WV Photo

Anwar: "mass picketing built the unions...these weapons will have to come back."

WV Photo

Joseph Gyurko

The Power of the Picket Line

Several speakers addressed themselves to the militant traditions of the coal miners. "Cowboy" Mezo recalled his United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) background. "I was raised up in the UMWA tradition, and there were three things you didn't do. You didn't urinate into the wind. You didn't pull the mask off the Lone Ranger. And you didn't cross a picket line, and no one questioned that."

Anwar in turn described the 110-day coal strike of 1977-78. "The courts were against them, the government was against them. All the miners had was their own militancy and each other, but when Carter tried to get them back to work by invoking the Taft-Hartley strikebreaking law, they kept their picket lines." The current take-away movement by the companies can only intensify, Anwar pointed out, and "the weapons that built the union in the first place—weapons like strike-support by mass picketing, refusing to handle struck cargo, sit-down strikes—these weapons will have to come back into use again. The miners proved that they are effective."

Much the same lesson can be learned, he said, from the action of Bricklayers Local 6 which struck Inland Steel in the summer of 1978. Anwar also honored those picket lines and participated in mass picketing with the Bricklayers on June 19. "It was on the picket line that day that the Bricklayers won their strike. The company guards turned out in force and tried to get members of several unions to cross the line. But they were unable to intimidate the strikers and they could not get other workers to cross those picket lines. So for that day, Inland's multi-million dollar northward expansion was completely shut down and that afternoon Inland Steel signed a contract with the Bricklayers."

After the speeches, steel workers from the audience addressed the rally at an open mike. A number of individuals and a supporter of the Trade Union Action League expressed their solidarity with the Anwar defense campaign.

For a Class-Struggle USWA

The picket line question leads directly to the question of the no-strike ENA and steel workers' right to strike against increasing company attacks. A young black steel worker attending his first union function told *WV*, "This opens up doors. Here's one man with the conviction that what he did was right. Although this is one man, if we win this case, it would have a significant effect on other steel workers. This paves the way for us to have the right to strike."

But steel workers cannot effectively

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 242 26 October 1979

As Fake-Left Judas Goats Lead the Way

Spartacists Oppose Police Trap at Bay Area Anti-Nazi Demo

WALNUT CREEK, California—About 1,000 people assembled here October 13 at Heather Farm Park to protest an "educational speech rally" called by the racist anti-labor vermin of the fascist National Socialist White Workers Party. Intent on protecting the eight scum who showed up for this "rally," the bourgeois authorities of this posh, white Bay Area suburb mobilized hundreds of police. Clad in full riot gear, aided by a helicopter and over a dozen canine patrols, cops cordoned off the Nazi meeting site, a baseball diamond surrounded by a ten-foot-high chain-link fence especially built for the occasion.

Declaring that only the Nazis would be permitted to hold a rally in the park, the cops announced that anyone who wished to exercise their "free speech rights" to oppose the Nazis had to assemble in the area of the baseball diamond inside the police cordon. Not only that, to get through the police cordon every would-be demonstrator was required to submit to a body search by the cops and turn over any "hard objects" including even car keys! Once inside this cordon the defenseless demonstrators found themselves separated from the Nazis by a chain-link fence, plastic barriers and a line of police.

In addition numerous flying squads of riot cops dotted the park both inside and outside the cordon. Large police reserves were also sequestered in a nearby parking lot adjacent to the park. The situation was clearly a police trap and a setup for cop provocation. Yet hundreds of "anti-fascists" meekly submitted to a search—making an absurd spectacle of themselves as they walked into what was literally a temporary concentration camp to shout "militant anti-fascist slogans" under the watchful eye of hundreds of riot police.

WV Photo

ILWU militant and SL supporter Bob Mandel calls for trade unions to lead fight against fascists.

Who were the people who had such touching faith in the police and meekly submitted to degrading body searches? Not the reformists of the Communist Party's Ad Hoc Committee. These legalists did not even set foot in the park once the city government denied them a permit to hold a counter-demonstration. No, the ones who walked into the police trap on the cops' terms were the so-called "militants"—i.e., most of the fossilized but still starry-eyed New Left collectives and supporters of Progressive Labor and the Revolutionary Communist Party, both of which organizations have a history of adventurism and substituting themselves for mass working-class action against the Nazis.

When the eight Nazis arrived on the scene all these "militants" could do was to shout and impotently toss a few handfuls of dirt. The cops replied with mace and attack dogs, videotaped the whole incident and plan to prosecute

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Racist Mobs Terrorize Blacks in Boston

BOSTON—Crouched on top of a public housing project in decaying Charlestown September 28, three white youths said they were only "shooting at pigeons." But when one of their bullets hit Darryl Williams, a black high school football player scrimmaging on a nearby field, it ignited racial tensions which had been building to their highest point since the battle over Boston busing five years ago. Today 17-year-old Williams is paralyzed from the neck down and in critical condition; the three white youths are out on bail.

While their parents are busy organizing anti-busing meetings, young whites have spent the past two weeks stoning school buses, boycotting classes and meeting in gangs downtown to chase blacks off the Boston Common and attack black delivery men in front of City Hall. Their cry of "reverse racism" has become the standard slogan of white backlash mobs from South Boston to Cleveland, where a token busing plan is currently being implemented. But as roaming bands of white racists even forced City Hall to shut down for a day, the response of the black leaders has been to tell the black masses to rely on the mayor and "say a prayer for Darryl."

The bourgeois media crowed when the Boston schools opened supposedly without incident last month, dismissing the constant classroom fights and the September 18 stoning of a school bus by 15 masked white youths as "isolated incidents." The stormy days of 1974 were gone, the racist mobs having fought desegregation in Boston to a standoff by out-mobilizing busing supporters in the streets. Louise Day Hicks' ROAR had quieted down to a whine.

Southwick/Boston Herald American

White racists attack blacks at South Boston High.

But in the white enclaves from Southie to Charlestown, the clubhouse vigilantes were brewing up their racist stew. Since last spring, hardly a week has gone by without another racist attack. Blacks have had their houses vandalized and their cars torched; last spring three white men dressed in KKK-style white sheets attacked a black newsboy with bows and arrows.

The local rulers thought they had pieced off the anti-busing forces by co-opting a number of their leaders onto the city payroll. Most notable is James Kelly, spokesman for the anti-busing South Boston Information Center who was put on a city advisory board by Mayor Kevin White a year ago (Boston *Phoenix*, 5 June). Kelly resigned his post just last week in the midst of the racist escalation, saying he felt he could be a more effective anti-busing leader if he were not on the city payroll!

As a tool for integration, busing has effectively been killed by the liberal politicians and the courts who have watered down every busing plan they originally developed. Mayor White, who affected a "neutral" pose in 1974, is now eager to win the South Boston vote for his re-election bid. So last May he supported appropriating $40,000 in a "community development" block grant for the racist paramilitary South Boston Marshals to provide judo, firearms and "security" courses for South Boston youth! Only after considerable publicity did White cancel the funding.

White's opponent in the November run-off election is state senator Joseph Timilty, posing as a lace curtain Irish politician who (in Louise Day Hicks' classic code words) "lets the people

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Khomeini Unveiled

The legion of phony leftists who cheered Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to power in Iran last February lately has been forced to acknowledge the bloody repression their hero has unleashed against the left, national minorities, women and homosexuals. Nobody is calling Khomeini "progressive" now, as the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* did only a few months ago. But during the months in which the international Spartacist tendency was alone on the left in warning that Khomeini in power would seek to put women in veils and workers in jails, the fake-lefts labeled the SL "sectarian" and "counter-revolutionary" for telling the simple truth.

They offered as evidence of Khomeini's good intentions the phony "anti-imperialist" Islamic sermons the ayatollah was issuing to Western newsmen in Paris. They denounced our charge that Khomeini would enforce the traditional Islamic oppression of women as a slander, citing his obscurantist double talk about the "liberation" of women from their role as "mere dolls" under the butcher shah. While Khomeini was denying authorship of his virulently anti-Semitic published lectures, the mullah lovers approvingly noted that the "Imam" (holy man) was promising to establish "an honest system of justice" in which "even a Jew" could hope for fair treatment (*Time*, 5 February).

Now that front-page photos of firing squads enforcing Islamic "freedom" against rebellious Kurds appear in the papers almost daily, the cheerleaders for the "Iranian Revolution" are having a hard time explaining away their enthusiasm for the butcher of Qom (see "Fake-Lefts Can't Wash Hands of Khomeini's Crimes," *WV* No. 241, 12 October). Khomeini can no longer put a humane 20th century face on his medieval reactionary program, and consequently he has become more outspoken in his interviews with foreign reporters. Recently, the 7 October *New York Times Magazine* published a particularly revealing interview with Khomeini by Oriana Fallaci, an Italian journalist noted for her revealing interrogations of such political celebrities as the ex-shah and Henry Kissinger. Fallaci repeatedly confronted the "Imam" with the contradictions between his early "moderate" pledges and the reality of his government's bloody rule. In the process Khomeini was forced, for a change, to openly defend his clerical-feudalist repression.

Questioned about the brutal suppression of the Kurdish uprising, Khomeini responded that, "The Kurds who are being executed do not belong to the Kurdish people. They are subversives who are acting against the people and the revolution...." Of the most recently executed Kurdish rebel fighter, Khomeini said, "when someone like the person they caught is shot it makes me feel good."

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

An ardent feminist, Fallaci was forced to wear a head-to-toe chador (veil) to her meetings with Khomeini. "Tell me," she asked, "why do you force [women] to hide themselves, all bundled up under these uncomfortable and absurd garments, making it hard for them to work and move about?" The "Imam" proceeded to fulminate against "elegant women all made up like you, who go around all uncovered, dragging behind them a tail of men." But Fallaci persisted:

Fallaci: "I am not only talking about a piece of clothing, but what it represents. That is, the condition of segregation into which women have been cast once again, after the revolution. The fact that they can't study at university with men, or work with men, for example, or go to the beach or to a swimming pool with men. They have to take a dip apart, in their chadors. By the way, how do you swim in a chador?"

Khomeini: "This is none of your business. Our customs are none of your business. If you do not like Islamic dress you are not obliged to wear it. Because Islamic dress is for good and proper young women."

Fallaci: "That's very kind of you, Imam. And since you said so, I'm going to take off this stupid medieval rag right now. There. Done."

When Fallaci pressed him about the suppression of newspapers and the persecution of the left, Khomeini lectured on "freedom of the press" in an Islamic Republic: "For more than five months I tolerated, we tolerated, those who do not think as we do. They were free, absolutely free to do whatever they wanted...." But, he continued, "we understood that they were taking advantage of our tolerance to sabotage us, that they did not want freedom but the license to subvert, and we decided to shut them up to avoid further problems." The liberal newspapers, Khomeini claimed, "tried to restore the old regime and to serve foreign interests.... We shut them up because we knew who they were, and what they were after."

Khomeini's left-wing supporters would do well to note the gratitude with which the ayatollah accepted their aid. Fallaci asked, "How can you call them enemies, how can you deny them a place and the right to exist, those leftists who fought and suffered so much?" Khomeini was categorical: "None of them fought or suffered.... They did not contribute anything. They did not help the revolution at all.... My view is that it is not even a real left, but an artificial left, created by the Americans."

But Khomeini's character is perhaps best revealed in the following exchange when Fallaci's questions disrupted the "Imam's" oceanic calm:

Fallaci: "Is it right to shoot the poor prostitute or a woman who is unfaithful to her husband or a man who loves another man?"

Khomeini: "If your finger suffers from gangrene, what do you do? Do you let the whole hand, and then the body, become filled with gangrene or do you cut the finger off? What brings corruption to an entire country and its people must be pulled up like weeds that infest a field of wheat...."

Fallaci: "...Take the example of the boy they shot yesterday, for sodomy."

Khomeini: "Corruption, corruption. We have to eliminate corruption."

Fallaci: "Take the case of the pregnant 18-year-old who was shot at Beshar a few weeks ago, for adultery."

Khomeini: "Pregnant? Lies, lies. Lies like those about cutting off the breasts of women. In Islam these things do not happen. We do not shoot pregnant women in Islam."

Fallaci: "They are not lies, Imam. All the Iranian newspapers reported the news, and a debate was held on television because her lover was only given a hundred lashes."

Khomeini: "If that is true, it means she got what she deserved. What do I know about particulars?"

Although such comments are particularly bloodthirsty, Khomeini is not saying anything new. While yesterday's mullah-loving leftists today denounce the "Imam" for "betraying" his program, genuine Trotskyists have understood from the beginning that Khomeini is a quite consistent clerical reactionary. It is not the ayatollah but his Western and Iranian leftist sycophants who must answer for the crime of betrayal. ■

Protest NY Post Cover for Anti-Castro Assassins

The following is a press release for the Spartacist League demonstration outside the New York Post *offices October 12.*

Today, Friday, October 12, at 4 p.m., the Spartacist League will demonstrate outside the offices of the *New York Post*, located at 210 South Street, to denounce the campaign of anti-Castro provocation being waged on the front pages of Rupert Murdoch's yellow press. The string of "Castro Death Threat" headlines in the *Post* this past week is designed to whip up anti-Communist hysteria, creating the climate for gusano killers to carry out their sinister aims, a spokesman for the SL said.

It is highly revealing that in Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" America, New York police report that they have received literally "hundreds" of threats on the life of visiting Cuban prime minister Fidel Castro. And it is clear to everyone that the danger is chillingly real. Gusano assassins are guilty of innumerable terrorist actions, from blowing up Cuban airliners to the bomb killing of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier in the nation's capital to bazooka attacks on the UN. Yet these counterrevolutionary provocateurs are free to walk the streets, ever plotting their next terrorist atrocity.

The reason is simple: these are not isolated right-wing kooks. For almost two decades, the professional assassins of the Batista dictatorship have been the source of mercenaries and hit-men for "freedom-loving" U.S. imperialism. From JFK to Ford and Carter, from the Bay of Pigs to CIA plots to poison Castro, the highest levels of American government have armed and unleashed the gusano killers.

Thus when it became known that the Cuban leader would give a speech at the United Nations this week, it was immediately clear that his life would be in danger. And in this highly charged atmosphere, the *New York Post* began running full-page headlines such as "Castro Marked for Death," "'Kamikaze' Threat to Castro," and "Castro Brings His Police State to 39th Street." Such inflammatory sensationalism is not new to Australian press lord Murdoch, who is notorious for the labor-hating smear campaigns by his paper that helped bring down the Labor government of Gough Whitlam in 1975. Now Murdoch has set his sights on Castro, and it is the duty of the left and labor movement to denounce this provocation.

Among the slogans to be carried by the demonstrators are: *Post* Covers for Anti-Castro Assassins! Down with *Post*'s Castro Wanted Dead or Alive Headlines! Defend Cuba and the USSR! U.S. Out of Guantánamo! For Political Revolution in the Deformed and Degenerated Workers States! For a Trotskyist World Revolutionary Party! and Rupert: How Would You Like "Murdoch Marked for Death" Headlines?

WV Photo

OCI/Moreno: Nicaragua Makes Strange Bedfellows

As events in Nicaragua send the United Secretariat carousel madly whirling, the USec has spun off an unexpected liaison. Suddenly the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert is making common cause with Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction (BF). Only yesterday it would have seemed to casual observers that Lambertists and Morenoites stood at opposite ends of the pseudo-Trotskyist spectrum, and never the twain would meet. The BF these days lays claim to the USec's left flank, while the OCI represents the closest thing to a chemically pure social-democratic parody of Trotskyism. Yet today they unite to praise the Simón Bolivar Brigade (BSB), recently expelled from Nicaragua by the victorious Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and to denounce the "reconstituted" (but none too stable) USec majority led by Ernest Mandel and Jack Barnes. Today, but not tomorrow; for this most putrid of rotten blocs is likely to have the lifespan of a mosquito.

At a stormy meeting of the United Secretariat over the weekend of September 30 the USec adopted a series of motions which add up to total liquidation of an independent presence and political line in Nicaragua, in favor of complete subordination to the petty-bourgeois Sandinista Front. The Morenoite-led Bolivar Brigade was unequivocally condemned and the BF ordered to cease operating as a "public faction," on pain of expulsion. A lengthy political resolution, "Nicaragua: Revolution on the March," fulminates against a "headlong plunge into ultraleftism" and "adventuristically forcing the rhythm of the class struggle," while labeling calls to break with the bourgeoisie a "sectarian temptation of applying an abstract schema" (*Intercontinental Press*, 22 October). It ends by calling on all USec supporters to act "as loyal militants of the organization which led the overthrow of Somoza"—i.e., to dissolve their organizations, join the FSLN, shut up and take orders from the Sandinista leaders.

In response to this treachery, Moreno submitted a countermotion condemning the USec's scandalous refusal to express even elementary solidarity with its own "comrades" in the face of repression by the bourgeois Nicaraguan government. This Bolshevik Faction resolution "REJECT[S] these measures, which break all rules of democratic centralism," and calls on militants to "prevent the holding of an anti-democratic world congress." The threat to split before the USec's "11th World Congress," scheduled for early November, was clear. In addition to Moreno's BF, members of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT) voted for this motion. (The LTT is a grouping of former supporters of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction—led by the American Socialist Workers Party—who after the SWP's dissolution of the LTF in 1977 wanted to continue the factional struggle against the USec majority under Mandel, and have since politically aligned themselves *grosso modo* with the Lambertists.)

Immediately after the explosion in Brussels, representatives of the LTT and the BF held a private meeting with the leadership of the OCI, which then provocatively published this fact in its public newsletter (*Lettre d'Informations Ouvrières*, 10 October) along with various USec internal documents ("from a dossier given us by Comrade Moreno"). The newsletter politically endorses the Simón Bolivar Brigade and the BF as attempting to "aid the masses in developing their own organizations," while the 6 October issue of the OCI's newspaper *Informations Ouvrières* announces that refusal to defend the BSB's right to stay in Nicaragua would be joining "the liquidators of the Fourth International" (in the previous month and a half the weekly *IO* had nothing to say on the subject). So the bloc is sealed, at least for the purposes of a joint wrecking operation against the SWP and Mandel, while the OCI's previous attempts to join the United Secretariat have apparently been shelved for now. Lambert was angling to blow apart the USec, and now that a split is clearly in the offing, he has simply placed his money and picked his horse.

WV Photo

Militant

Reformist Pierre Lambert, meet adventurer/charlatan Nahuel Moreno.

Left or Right on Nicaragua?

In the face of the SWP's outrageous support for Sandinista Front repression against the workers and its alliance with the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie" in a capitalist government, and in contrast to the Mandelites' more shamefaced and whimpering capitulation, it's very cheap for the Morenoite/Lambertist bloc to look left on Nicaragua. Thus the OCI wrote of the new FSLN-appointed regime:

> "This bourgeois government, installed solely due to the conciliationist spirit of the Sandinista leaders... has received, for the accomplishment of its counterrevolutionary tasks, the support of imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy...,"
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 8-23 August

Similarly, the Costa Rican Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST), a USec sympathizing section which is linked with the LTT and directly tied to the French OCI, wrote in its newspaper *Qué Hacer?* (26 June-11 July) shortly before the fall of Somoza that the opposition by the FSLN's provisional government to immediate elections "clearly demonstrates its intentions of safeguarding the interests of the national bourgeoisie and imperialism..." (translated in *Intercontinental Press*, 1 October). In turn, the Colombian Morenoites of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) write that Latin American governments:

> "...bought 'life insurance' for capitalism in Nicaragua with their intervention and support for the FSLN.... To sum up, the 'democratic' bourgeoisies have sent the bill to the FSLN; and the advice of Castro is very clear: pay up!"
>
> —*El Socialista*, 7 September

These are very left-sounding critiques of the currently popular Sandinista regime. But the real policies of the BF/BSB and the OCI/LTT are considerably to the right of their present posture, and moreover mutually sharply counterposed. In fact, before the FSLN took power on July 20 there was no basis whatever for Morenoites to unite with Lambertists in or over Nicaragua. As we have explained previously ("Revolution in Nicaragua and the Left," *WV* No. 240, 28 September), the Morenoites' present hostility to the FSLN is the pique of rejected suitors. Over the last year they have repeatedly called for a Sandinista government, later dressed up as "a government of the Front and of the workers and people's organizations" (*El Socialista*, 15 June) and similar formulas. But the FSLN, under the pressure of imperialism and "friendly" Latin American capitalist governments, and at the behest of Castro, preferred the company of industrialists and technocrats.

As for the Morenoite policies in the Simón Bolivar Brigade, they were even more opportunist (while also aggressively pressuring the FSLN tops, soon leading to their downfall). Sending an international brigade is a sometimes necessary and valiant tactic for communists in civil war situations; the participation of several dozen European Trotskyists in the POUM's Lenin Brigade during the Spanish Civil War, for instance, was principled and admirable. But since one can't expect to operate independently of an existing military leadership, it is *essential* to establish and defend the proletarian character of such a unit. The Bolivar Brigade was a parody of these principles. Its very name denies a working-class character, and the Morenoite "Open Letter" calling for its establishment says flatly, "the only programmatic point of the Simón Bolivar Brigade is to support the struggle of the Sandinista people..." (*El Socialista*, 22 June). In addition to the Morenoites' usual financial shady dealings—the Colombian PST, which organized the Brigade, raised money by selling bogus Sandino Bonds—they appealed to the Colombian government to "legally recognize the Simón Bolivar Brigade, guaranteeing its papers, transportation and financing."

But if Moreno & Co. tried to capitalize on enthusiasm for the Sandinista-led revolution against the hated tyrant Somoza, and their gimmick simply blew up in their faces, at least they stood to the *left* of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN. In contrast, the Costa Rican OST—and by extension its co-thinkers of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency—*denounced the Sandinista Front as criminally adventurist and ultra-leftist!* Their chief spokesman on Nicaragua is one Fausto Amador (brother of assassinated FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca Amador), who quit the Front some years ago as a demoralized element. In a pamphlet entitled *Adónde va Nicaragua* (Where Is Nicaragua Going?), published in February by the OST, Fausto Amador and Sara Santiago presented an analysis that was not only 100 percent wrong—it amounted to defeatist propaganda, in effect calling on the Nicaraguan masses to lay down their arms when the showdown with the dictator was almost underway:

> "In Nicaragua, the second offensive was rapidly being converted into a myth which no one believed any more.... There will not be a second offensive. That is obvious for everyone, at least in the immediate future.... The lack of a second offensive would reveal the September [1978] action as an ill-fated adventure."

The OST/LTT's "alternative"—peaceful demonstrations for democratic rights—was cretinist legalism in a country suffering under a bonapartist dictatorship (and, moreover, in the throes of a popularly supported insurgency). As we noted when the American SWP printed a similar piece by Amador and Santiago last June: "To present this social-democratic cowardice and demoralization as having anything to do with Marxism is just about the worst thing the SWP/USec could do to besmirch the name of Trotskyism before the Central American masses" (*WV* No. 234, 22 June). As for the OCI, *its* opposition to the new FSLN regime is based purely and simply on Stalinophobia—denouncing "the sudden resurrection of the moribund Nicaraguan Socialist Party (national branch office of the Kremlin)" and "the excessive weight of its members vis-à-vis the Sandinistas in the government" (*IO*, 8-23 August).

Portugal, Angola, Cuba...

We have dealt elsewhere with the stark contradiction between the abstract "leftism" of Moreno's Bolshevik Faction on Eurocommunism, the dictatorship of the proletariat or popular frontism in far-off Europe and his ultra-opportunist practice in Latin America (political support to Perón, Torrijos, etc.). But what of its new bloc partners of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (and its mentors in the OCI)? In opposing the dissolution of the LTF in 1977 the future LTTers put forward a face of left-wing militancy: where the SWP called the Mandelite majority ultraleftist, they said centrist; where Jack Barnes said the faction was formed to fight guerrillaism alone, they said it

was also to fight popular frontism at home. But by the time it came to formulating a "Call for the Formation of an International Tendency" ([SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, December 1978), the future LTF stood on the whole of "programmatic and political acquisitions" of the LTF, and in particular "the texts of the LTF on the Portuguese revolution and on Angola."

This statement definitively branded the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency as a *reformist* formation, and ignominious capitulators besides. For what did the LTF stand for in Portugal and Angola? At the height of the 1975 polarization in Portugal, when Lisbon workers were taking over factories, the LTF called for a purely "democratic" program of defense of the constituent assembly (at the time the battle cry of the right). As the Socialist Party of Mário Soares was leading a mass anti-Communist mobilization which was burning down CP offices, the SWP proclaimed that the "real vanguard of the Portuguese working class... participated in the SP demonstrations" (*Militant*, 8 August 1975). And the OCI called for a "Soares Government" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 23 July-6 August 1975). Moreno broke from the SWP and split the LTF precisely over this issue, while the future LTFers were at first even harder in condemning the SWP's tailing after Soares (only to capitulate a few weeks later and vote for the LTF's "Key Issues in the Portuguese Revolution" resolution).

For principled Marxists differences of the magnitude that divided the Morenoites and Lambertists over Portugal would make unity *impossible*; like the SWP and Mandel, they would have been facing each other on opposite sides of the barricades in Lisbon. The same on Angola, where at the height of the fighting between the South African-led, CIA-financed imperialist drive on Luanda, the SWP/LTF *refused to take sides* for the military victory of the Soviet-backed MPLA. (Later they tried to disguise this vile betrayal by some heavy-handed "editing" of a January 1976 SWP national committee statement.) Moreno denounced this in the most violent terms, publishing a whole book on the subject (*Angola: La revolución negra en marcha* [1977]) where he said that, "the best way to aid Vorster and Yankee imperialism was to say what the SWP said...." So how does Moreno feel about uniting today with people who consider the SWP/LTF's stand "historic"?

And Cuba? On Cuba, the LTF supports "the general line of D. Keil's contributions," while three leaders of the Costa Rican OST (Andrés, Rodrigo and Sara) signed together with Keil a document labeling the Castro regime a "bureaucratized workers state" ("For a Change in the Fourth International's Position on Cuba," [SWP] *IIDB*, December 1978). Again, at first glance this might seem a move to the left from the USec's political support to the "unconscious Trotskyist" Fidel (now taken to new lengths by the SWP's latest panegyrics to Castro, the champion of peace and friend of the world's children). But as we pointed out in our article, "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba!" (*WV* No. 224, 2 February 1979), Keil et al. were attacking the SWP "*from the right*, arguing in effect for a consistently *social-democratic* position of opposing all Stalinist regimes." We summed up: "Add up the SWP/LTF positions on China, Vietnam, *Portugal* and *Angola* and throw in a deformed workers state position on Cuba and what do you get? A fleshed-out program of Stalinophobia." The LTF/OST's openly *counterrevolutionary* positions on Nicaragua, calling the Sandinistas' victorious "second offen-

continued on page 10

Simón Bolívar Brigade:

Did Camejo Turn Them In?

Workers Vanguard has just learned that the 60 leaders of the Simón Bolívar Brigade deported from Nicaragua last August by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) *may have been expelled from the country at the request of their own ostensibly Trotskyist "comrades."* The putative fingerman? Peter Camejo, a leader of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). And behind him? The leadership of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), which allegedly ordered the denunciation.

As reported in *WV* No. 240 (28 September), USec leaders, far from protesting the FSLN's expulsion of the "foreign Trotskyist" leaders of the Bolivar Brigade (who were beaten by Panamanian police during their transit through the land of "anti-imperialist" strongman Torrijos), went so far as to actually endorse the regime's anti-communist crackdown. On September 3, Sandinista leaders were handed a statement by a USec delegation stating that "the FSLN was right to demand that the non-Nicaraguan members of this group ... leave the country."

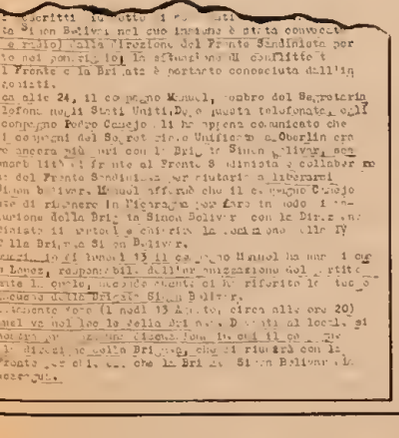
Now at a meeting of the United Secretariat over the September 30 weekend an "official" statement was voted to explicitly "condemn and repudiate the Simón Bolivar Brigade and its activities." However, an amendment by USec leader Ernest Mandel mildly criticizing the expulsion as unnecessary, was enough to cause the rabidly pro-Sandinista SWP to vote against the resolution. Now it appears that this is only the political aftermath of the affair.

The source of the information is a letter (reprinted on this page)—published in a bulletin of the Italian LSR, followers of Brigade mentor Nahuel Moreno—from three members of the pro-OCI "Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency" of the USec. The authors politically oppose the Brigade's policies and mainly relate this story of the betrayal as it unfolded before their eyes.

The events the letter relates are straightforward. A delegate of the USec in Managua allegedly spoke by phone with Peter Camejo at the SWP convention in Oberlin in mid-August, and was instructed to "collaborate with the leadership of the Sandinista Front in order to help it get rid of the Simón Bolivar Brigade." The next day he carried out this mission and then so informed the leadership of the Brigade.

Can the Socialist Workers Party, the United Secretariat and/or Peter Camejo refute the serious charges made in this letter? *Are they true?* Further, just how did the FSLN pick out the Morenoite leaders of the very much larger Bolivar Brigade? *Did USec representatives supply them with names?* In a Marxist organization any member (much less a leader) guilty of such treason would be expelled. And faced with such grave charges, silence by the accused can only be interpreted as admission of guilt.

Did Peter Camejo, the SWP and the USec finger the Simón Bolívar Brigade? We demand an answer! ■



Managua, 20 August 1979

United Secretariat of the Fourth International

Dear Comrades:

At dawn on Friday August 17, 1979, the leadership of the Sandinista Front expelled from Nicaragua part of the membership of the Simón Bolivar Brigade, members of the Bolshevik Faction of the Fourth International. The context in which this expulsion took place was marked by a serious factional incident between a member of the United Secretariat and the leadership of the Brigade, and we consider it our duty to transmit in written form to the leadership of the International an account of the events which we witnessed. This testimony does not imply any support to the Simón Bolivar Brigade's [political] orientation, of which we have an extremely negative opinion. Our only objective is to help the appropriate bodies of the International to throw light on the incident in question and draw all the lessons so that events of the same nature and such gravity don't occur again.

The events described below happened in a situation in which the whole Simón Bolivar Brigade was summoned (through the press and radio) by the leadership of the Sandinista Front for the afternoon of August 14; the situation of conflict between the leadership of the Front and the Brigade was therefore known to all the protagonists.

Sunday at midnight comrade Manuel, a member of the United Secretariat, made a phone call to the United States. After this phone call, he stated that comrade Pedro [sic] Camejo had just informed him that the position of the comrades of the United Secretariat in Oberlin was to be even harder on the Simón Bolivar Brigade, to take no responsibility [for the Brigade] with the Sandinista Front and to collaborate with the leadership of the Sandinista Front in order to help it get rid of the Simón Bolivar Brigade. Manuel stated that comrade Camejo had asked him to remain in Nicaragua so as to be present at the meeting of the Simón Bolivar Brigade with the leadership of the Sandinista Front on Tuesday and make clear the position of the Fourth as regards the Simón Bolivar Brigade.

On the afternoon of Monday the 13th comrade Manuel had a discussion with Julio López, a representative of the Sandinista party organization, during which, according to what the comrade himself reported to us, the Simón Bolivar Brigade was discussed.

Immediately afterwards (Monday, August 13 at about 8:00 p.m.) comrade Manuel went to the Brigade's headquarters. In front of the headquarters a discussion took place in our presence in which comrade Manuel informed the leadership of the Brigade that he was going to meet the leadership of the Front to ask that the Simón Bolivar Brigade be kicked out of Nicaragua.

Comrades Olivier and Romero, who arrived in Managua on Tuesday the 14th, gave a different version of the position of the United Secretariat, stating that it did not include collaboration with the leadership of the Front against the Simón Bolivar Brigade.

The events described above are strictly those which we witnessed, in a situation in which we warned comrade Manuel that he could not count on our collaboration in this maneuver which we disapproved of from the start. The position presented as that of the United Secretariat, which, according to comrade Manuel had been communicated by telephone by comrade Camejo, and was enforced by him seems to us to constitute a break with our political principles. Whatever the magnitude of our differences, collaborating with the petty-bourgeois leadership against members of the Fourth International, within which they are organized as a faction, cannot be tolerated. Such unprincipled and factional maneuvers can nevertheless only damage greatly the clarity of the clash of the political orientations present in the Nicaraguan revolution, as well as the defense of the International and of its unity.

Trotskyist greetings,

Sara (Executive Committee, OST Costa Rica)
Felix (Executive Committee, OST Costa Rica)
Galeote (Central Committee, French LCR)

cc: Bolshevik Faction, Socialist Workers Party (USA), Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Mexico), OST (Costa Rica), Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Spain), Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (France), Manuel Aguilar, Pedro Camejo, Olivier

The Panic of '79

(continued from page 1)

Carter as such, but rather to the Democratic Party. Everyone knows the Republicans will label their opponents as the party of inflation. The younger Kennedy, with his reputation as a big-spending liberal, is even more vulnerable to this charge than Carter. So the union tops are doing what they can to give Democratic candidates anti-inflationist credentials. That is, they are cutting their ranks' wages in order to elect Kennedy or even re-elect Carter.

The September 28th accord was not only designed to make the Democrats look better. The union bureaucrats also ask that the "war against inflation" be fought according to the Geneva Convention prohibiting inhumane weapons. In particular, they want the usual Keynesian monetary and fiscal policies (e.g., cheap mortgage rates, public works programs) to counter the present recession. Here is what Meany/Kirkland, Fraser & Co. think they bought with their "social contract" with Carter:

> "The war against inflation must be the top priority of government and of private individuals and institutions.... But it should not mean acceptance of higher than otherwise levels of unemployment....
> "The current recessionary conditions developed following the large increase in world oil prices in the second quarter. Policies should be directed toward moderating and reversing the resulting downturn."
> —*AFL-CIO News*, 6 October

One would assume that the country's corporate executives would be overjoyed that the unions are continuing to adhere to wage guidelines half the inflation rate. But no, they roundly denounced Carter for betraying "the war against inflation" for union votes and money. In a scathing editorial *Business Week* (15 October) wrote:

> "...the President has given the unions a set of loosely worded promises that could destroy any hope of stopping inflation in the U.S....
> "The President's National Accord with labor is not just a bad bargain. It is a totally irrational sacrifice of the nation's welfare that brings nothing in return."

This well expressed the consensus of capitalist class opinion.

Behind the furor over the recent Carter-labor accord is the question of the inflation-unemployment trade-off, which has dominated bourgeois economic policy debate since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Does this trade-off actually exist? In certain short-term conjunctures, measured *in months*, capitalist governments do have some such option. For example, if bank reserves in the U.S. right now were cut back sharply, this would probably trigger a wave of bankruptcies, as many firms can meet their bills and debt payments only through further borrowing. But credit expansion *cannot* put a floor under employment and production. "Easy money" at most only postpones and stretches out the economic contraction and mass layoffs. Any workers who believe that if they accept wage guidelines then government policies will keep them employed are being cruelly taken.

German Bankers Demand U.S. Monetary Discipline

The men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 think that Carter is being way too soft on inflation, but they come off looking like cheap-money populists compared to the bankers of Frankfurt. German financiers are demanding that Washington stop the dollar's depreciation *now*—actually yesterday. And if this means 10 percent unemployment and a 10 percent fall in U.S. national income, well, that's just tough.

New York Times financial columnist Clyde Farnsworth reported that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) conference last month in Belgrade was dominated by a claque of German bankers who belligerently lectured Americans on the virtues of monetary discipline:

> "And the Frankfurt, Bonn, Munich and Düsseldorf moneymen, who were demonstrating almost aggressive self-confidence, were willing to make their case to just about anyone who would listen. Late one evening in the bar of the Serbia Hotel, for example, one Düsseldorf banker, after drinking a Slivovitz, banged his fist on the table and told an American: 'You must do something about your inflation. You must follow our example and get rid of negative interest rates'."
> —*New York Times*, 7 October

The drunken, table-thumping German banker has a point. Although *nominal* interest rates in the U.S. have been record high, the *real* cost of borrowing money has been marginal to negative. In the third quarter of this year top corporations were charged 12 to 13.5 percent on bank loans while wholesale prices were rising at 15 percent annually.

A worried bourgeoisie recalls Great Crash of 1929.

In other words, big industrialists have to repay less value than they borrowed.

And borrowing they are. Between May and mid-September business loans at the big New York banks jumped at an annual clip of 33 percent (*Newsweek*, 24 September). This spate of corporate borrowing is not a feverish capital-spending boom like in 1973. It is caused by the beginning of an economic downturn under conditions of accelerating inflation. Businesses find their sales income falling off while their supplier invoices are not only still coming due, but are being jacked up in price. For many the only alternative to borrowing is to sharply cut back production and the wage bill and, for some, to declare bankruptcy. This is the classic situation of inflationary credit expansion feeding on itself at the moment of cyclical crisis.

"Jump off this inflation roller-coaster," shout the world's bankers. At the late September IMF conference there was so much heat on American officials that Federal Reserve chief Volcker left three days early with Treasury Secretary William Miller hard on his heels. Back in New York the central bank chairman responded to the pressures of the American and West European bourgeoisies and quickly announced massive escalation in the "war against inflation." Whatever the actual impact of the Fed's new policy—and credit may still not be all that tight (the multinationals can borrow abroad)—capitalists now believe the Carter administration has been forced to accept a severe recession. That's why the Dow-Jones industrial average plummeted from 900 to 815 in the two weeks following the Fed's new credit crunch. All the newspaper and magazine articles recounting the Great Crash of 1929 are more than the standard 50th anniversary retrospectives.

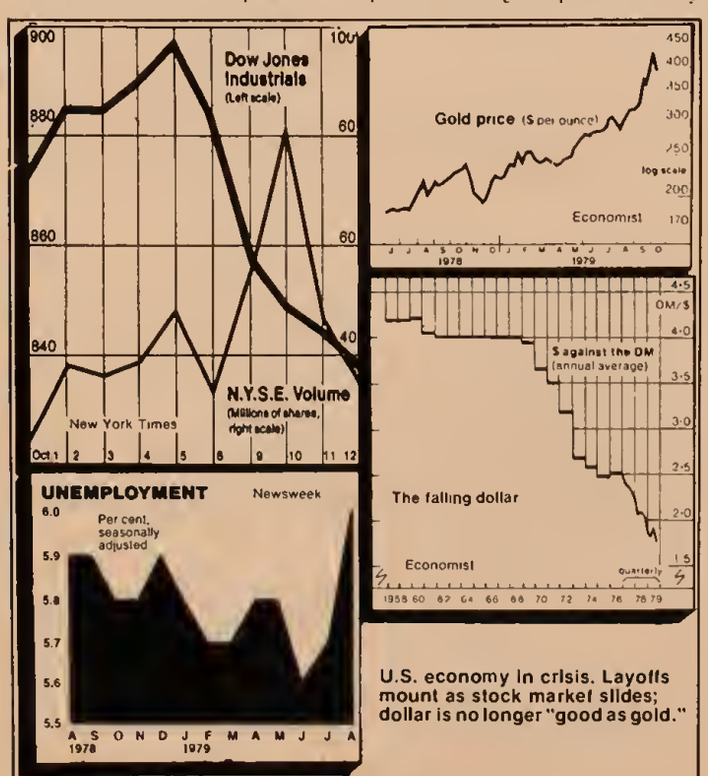
Normally such a stock market slide would greatly distress industrialists, especially when it signals a sharp cyclical downturn. But this time it's somewhat different. The Volcker squeeze was unanimously approved in the corporate boardrooms. The attitude on Wall Street is: if mass unemployment and falling production are necessary to drain the inflationary pressures out of the economy, that's the sacrifice "we" have to make. America's capitalists are facing the present slump with truly stoic resolve. Typical is Du Pont chairman Irving Shapiro who nobly declaims, "I'm quite prepared to endure whatever pain I have to in the short-run" (*New York Times*, 15 October). To set this statement in correct perspective, consider the pain this multi-millionaire will suffer amid his servants, his yacht, his Lear jet compared to a laid-off Detroit auto worker, his wife and children trying to live on $125 a week unemployment insurance.

Behind the Gold Rush

The Fed's great credit crunch was aimed above all at stopping the dollar's depreciation in terms of gold. America's rulers believe that if they can just eliminate the balance-of-payments deficit and cut the inflation rate to, say, 5 or 6 percent they can restore a stable dollar as *the* currency of world commerce and finance. This is an illusion. The outflow of dollar holdings into gold and other major national currencies is *irreversible*.

To be sure, the immediate cause of the latest run on the dollar is the disastrous U.S. inflation/balance-of-payments situation. During the past three months prices in the U.S. have been rising three times faster than in West Germany; over the last year the U.S. suffered a $20 billion foreign deficit while West Germany netted a $17 billion surplus. What these conjunctural factors have done is turn the long retreat from the dollar as the world's basic currency into a panicky rout.

The house organ of international financiers, the London *Economist* (29 September), correctly observes: "The long-term reason for the dollar's decline is the continuing desire of reserve-holders to offload some assets denominated in what is now just a national currency like any other." The dollar—now just a national currency like any other. That sums it up. The dollar standard of the 1950s and '60s was a product of the overall U.S. hegemony in the capitalist world, a dominance achieved through its victory in World



U.S. economy in crisis. Layoffs mount as stock market slides; dollar is no longer "good as gold."

War II and the suppression of the post-war revolutionary wave in West Europe and Japan. The end of the dollar standard with Nixon's devaluation in 1971 expressed the declining weight of American capitalism in the world economy. In 1948 the U.S. accounted for 34 percent of all exports from advanced capitalist countries—by 1976 the American share had been halved to 18 percent (United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1977). These figures show why the dollar is no longer "as good as gold." (For an analysis of the post-war dollar standard and its collapse, see "Behind the Dollar Crisis," *WV* No. 204, 5 May 1978.)

The recent gold rush was the other side of a major collapse of the so-called "dollar overhang," the vast sum of American currency holdings abroad accumulated over the past three decades. Foreign dollar holdings amount to more than $400 billion, of which over half is in private hands. This enormous sum of little-wanted dollars is more than twice total U.S. export earnings plus returns on foreign investment for 1978. Movements of the dollar overhang quite outweigh the current balance-of-payments situation in affecting the exchange rate. In early 1973, for example, the dollar depreciated sharply although at the time the U.S. was actually running a small payments surplus.

It is not only multinational treasurers, Swiss bankers and Arab sheiks who want to offload what has become just another national currency. For years the major capitalist governments have projected replacing the dollar with an internationally created and managed means of payment, the IMF Special Drawing Rights (SDRs), sometimes called "paper gold." This "paper gold" scheme has never gotten off the ground, and almost certainly never will. After ten years SDRs are still a small fraction of total foreign exchange and gold reserves.

Basically the SDR scheme is yet another device whereby the major surplus countries, principally West Germany, lend or give money to the U.S. But as the dollar weakens, Bonn becomes more and more resistant to throwing good money after bad. In a broader sense, the German ruling class is unwilling to replace the dollar with the Deutschmark as the basic world (as distinct from regional) currency, because its economy (less than a third the size of the American) is incapable of shouldering such a financial burden.

International Financial Anarchy and National Protectionism

For over a decade Bonn governments have propped up the dollar despite significant costs to the West German economy (not least the exchange of real resources for ever-higher piles of paper). But this time around it was no go. On their way to the IMF conference Messrs. Volcker and Miller stopped off in Hamburg to negotiate yet another dollar-rescue package with West German leaders. They were unsuccessful. Financial journalists noted that Bonn officials did not make the usual statements that the dollar would soon strengthen in the exchange markets. When asked about the significance of his meeting with the beleaguered American finance chiefs, Schmidt replied, "We had a good lunch" (*New York Times*, 30 September).

And Schmidt is putting his money where his mouth is. In March of this year he pushed through the European Monetary System (EMS) for Common Market countries. The Deutschmark is the main reserve currency in this system; it is also the currency used to intervene to prop up weak currencies like the Italian lira. The EMS has transformed West Europe into the Deutschmark zone, with dollars being used only in extra-European transactions. The significance of the newly formed European Monetary System is that it points to the break-up of a unitary world market into protected regional blocs dominated by a local imperialist power.

The present international monetary chaos will in the short term disrupt world trade and in the longer run lead to national autarky and protected regional blocs. Wildly gyrating exchange rates make it impossible to calculate costs and prices, and therefore profits, on international transactions. For example, take a Swedish electrical products manufacturer who contracts to supply a British firm with a generator in six months, payable in pounds. A sharp depreciation in the pound in terms of the krona could turn a profitable deal into a net loss. Businessmen can and do protect against exchange rate loss by hedging in the forward market, a kind of financial insurance. But such insurance is expensive, and the more chaotic the exchange markets, the more expensive it is.

Capitalists who operate on the world market demand international monetary stability, but that is just what they can't get. The dollar standard is dead and is being buried under piles of gold and Deutschmarks. The scheme that the IMF or a similar body create a new international means of payment is a technocrat's pipe dream. The SDR project is the international monetary equivalent of Esperanto. A return to the old pre-1914 gold standard is also impossible. A true gold standard involves periodic reductions in money wages, and so would require the destruction of the organized labor movement.

If capitalists cannot have rudimentary stability in the world market, they will turn to national economic protectionism. This is what happened following the collapse of the pound-sterling standard in 1931 under the impact of the Great Depression. The 1930s was a decade of beggar-thy-neighbor economic policy—high tariffs and quotas, competitive devaluations, multiple exchange-rate systems, export subsidies and more ingenious devices.

That the present combination of global economic stagnation and international financial chaos is a setup for a wave of national protectionism was expressed recently by Helmut Schmidt, who is clearly worried about protecting West Germany's perpetual foreign-trade surpluses:

> "...the greater economies could, with wrong leadership by their respective governments, have lapsed into the beggar-thy-neighbor policies of the early 1930s. It could happen, it could very well have happened. It could still happen.
>
> "There are still enormously strong tendencies for protectionism of all kinds, not only in the trade field, also in the monetary field—beggaring-thy-neighbor in the monetary and balance of payments fields."
>
> —*Economist*, 29 September

While Schmidt is diplomatic enough not to name specific countries, he is likely referring to the U.S. As the world's largest and more-or-less open market, the objective tendencies toward protectionism are particularly strong in the U.S. The American ruling class will not allow German and Japanese capitalists to take ever larger shares of *its* market for steel, autos, now computers, etc.

It is an established historic fact that trade wars lead to total wars. The attempt to achieve commercial advantage through direct state intervention provokes counterintervention by the affected state. Japan "got under" the British colonial tariff barrier when in 1941 Yamashita's 25th Army swept down the Malayan peninsula and took Singapore. The U.S. acquired a strong negotiating hand against German economic nationalism when Patton's Third Army crossed the Rhine in 1944.

To the extent that the present dollar crisis intensifies interimperialist rivalries and economic nationalism, it sends out alarm signals warning of the urgent need for the working class to sweep away the irrational and destructive world capitalist system. ■

Guns/Butter...

(continued from page 1)

Yes, the U.S. is on the path to a depression of staggering proportion. In this epoch of imperialism, the nation state has become a barrier to production. Since 1914 this has meant a cycle of depression and *inter-imperialist war*, two of the inevitable horsemen of the capitalist apocalypse.

Marx noted long ago that capitalism was an inherently contradictory system. It cannot be fixed. Every apparent cure to one set of ailments exacerbates other equally fatal diseases, for the patient is in terminal decay. Notions of recovery through government regulation, international cooperation, demonetizing gold, free trade and so forth are hopeless nonsense. The exchange of rhetoric between neo-Keynesians and conservative monetarists takes place in an ideological fantasyland. The one claims to be for a free market willing to "risk" massive unemployment, the other is for more government intervention and spending, "risking" inflation. But there is no evidence that any of this will work. The supposed choice between unemployment and inflation is a phony—no matter what the capitalists do they get both, and it is getting worse. Particularly for those at the bottom of the economic heap—blacks and poor—it all looks about the same: hopeless.

The recession, claim the government's economists, will cure the disease of inflation. This too is part of the austerity program for the working class.

Russell Baker caught it well in an imaginary dialogue with an economist:

> "'What I offer you here is the new improved economic miracle—corrective recession.'
>
> 'How many do I take?'
>
> 'That's the beauty part. You don't take any. It's strictly for your neighbors.'...
>
> 'Economics has done it again.'"
>
> —*New York Times*, 16 October

Politics of Economic War

Behind the present crisis is the end of the "American Century," a few decades after it began. The U.S.' unchallenged dominance after World War II supplied a measure of relative stability to the international market. And just as the deterioration of Britain's industrial base led to the collapse of the gold standard, the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement in 1971 signaled the fact that the U.S. was no longer the hegemonic imperialist power, but the biggest of a number of competing capitalist countries. The international financial system once again showed the deep instability fundamental to capitalism.

The U.S. bourgeoisie took on the "responsibility" of the "free world" as part of its dominant role, from which it profited wildly, but which also created problems. Mainly the U.S. anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary geo-political strategy meant that it maintained highly inflationary military spending combined with being an open market for the goods of other capitalist countries. Financing the Vietnam war through deficit spending and refusing to invest in basic industry has, in the main, brought the U.S. to its present inflationary state. But the economic overhead of leading the "free world" is becoming increasingly costly given a stagnant industrial base.

After years of a trade surplus, the U.S. is being hurt by imperialist rivals. With its home markets permeable and its economy less efficient than Japan or Germany, the U.S. is ripe for protectionism and other forms of trade war. Economic nationalism and the accompanying jingoism are in turn the preparation for imperialist war.

A recent article in *Forbes* magazine (14 May 1979) made the case for protectionism, pointing out that U.S. trade was nearly in balance in 1970 and last year had a $34 billion balance-of-trade deficit. The article quotes Charles Vanik, Democratic chairman of the House Subcommittee on Trade:

> "I think we're pretty close to setting an import surcharge. We ought just to say: When the U.S. deficit gets to a certain point, the surcharge goes on, and let the other countries worry about how to get it in balance. That's the only way, frankly, of dealing with the Japanese. You may call this protectionistic...."

The U.S. is the most powerful country on earth, and its bourgeoisie knows it. This ruling class will simply not slip quietly away into a British-style decline while Japan and Germany come on strong. In the absence of a proletariat aware of its class interests, large sectors of the American population are ominously open to the appeal of a "strong leader." And he may not enter goose-stepping. Listen to the liberal candidate Teddy Kennedy, for instance, and imagine a tougher future:

> "I refuse to believe that we can longer hold our own in the face of challenges like Arab oil or Soviet power. I refuse to believe that our magnificent system of free enterprise and competition is an also-ran compared to Germany and Japan."
>
> —*New York Times*, 14 October

The drive for protection of home markets is part of a dangerous chauvinist response to economic decline. But import restrictions in themselves cannot save obsolescent industries. Quite the contrary! The high tariffs and quotas of the 1930s were economically disastrous. Protectionism "works" only when combined with massive state subsidies for industrial expansion. It was World War II, not the 1931 Smoot-Hawley tariff or Roosevelt's New Deal reforms, which pulled the U.S. out of the Great Depression. Successful capitalist economic nationalism in the twentieth century means authoritarian mobilization for war.

Never mind that this is a country that still votes. The new "strong leader" will dispense quickly with the democratic expectations of "parasitic" constituencies. There will be no more griping about arsenic and asbestos in the atmosphere, no more problems about the plight of the bio-rhythm on the second shift—just dirty, dangerous hard work while the foreigners are squeezed out. If there are only six cars going to Zaire in the next year, four of them will be Yank! One can only imagine the fate of ghetto blacks in America's new "protected" industries.

Oh, What a Lovely War...for the U.S. Bourgeoisie

The social-chauvinist trade-union bureaucracy has for years waved the flag of protectionism, particularly in textile and steel. Working-class resistance to the capitalists' "economic initiatives" must be consciously organized into international working-class solidarity. That means a fight against the reformist bureaucrats who will everywhere attempt to channel the struggle of the working class into the losing "British solution" of helping the government to help "our own" capitalists at the workers' expense. As a result of that strategy in bankrupt capitalist Britain today, the "modest proposal" of an article in the conservative British *Spectator* to simply give the uncompetitive nationalized British Leyland to the workers makes capitalist economic sense. And the spectre of the Britainization of America haunts more than the run-down Chrysler industrial plant in Detroit.

In the U.S., the reformist bureaucrats praise New Deal liberalism as the basis for a benign, regulated capitalism. But it is now generally conceded, even by bourgeois historians and economists, that it was not some Keynesian New Deal programs, but the old deal of war that accounted for the "miracle of recovery." What they do not admit is that the war took the U.S. out of the depression by massively *destroying* productive forces on a world scale.

The U.S. "modernization campaign" conducted in Japan and Germany

continued on page 10

OCI/Moreno...

(continued from page 7)

sive" an "adventure" are a vivid confirmation of our earlier conclusion.

...And the Strange Case of Fausto Amador

These questions—the most basic issues of revolutionary perspective in key recent events—are hut the small change in the horse-trading combinations and recombinations ul USec factional struggles. There is a hasis ol sorts lor the Morenoite/Lambertist bloc: hath are deeply reformist while appearing left today on Nicaragua. Besides there is the attractive bait that the OCI recently brake with Moreno's long-standing opponents in the Argentine Politica Ohrera group (enemy of my enemy makes you my friend, etc.). But there are a few sticky points, even lor these consummate opportunists. And one of these is the case of Fausto Amador, already introduced to our readers.

For F. Amador did not simply break from the FSLN. He was interviewed on Somoza's television and spoke to Somoza's press, where be urged other members of the guerrilla organization to lay down their arms in return for promises of amnesty by the blood-soaked dynastic dictatursbip. For tbis the FSLN leaders rightly considered him a traitor. Later, as a Nicaraguan cultural attaché in Brussels—i.e., an employee ol Somoza—be was reportedly won to the USec's perversion of Trotskyism. Naturally tbis caused a certain commotion in Central America, where the case was well-known. Moreno picked this up and was the first to make it an issue in the USec. At a December 1977 meeting of the central committee ol the Colombian PST, Bolsbevik Factinn leader Eugenio Greco complained:

> "Do you know the name they give in Europe to what Fausto Amador did. It was called collaborationism.... If a very probable combination of circumstances occurs: that Somoza falls; that the Frente Sandinista emerges as a movement of great prestige because of its antidictatorial struggle.... the Frente Sandinista might say: I would like the Fourth International to explain why Fausto Amador Arrieta is in its ranks...and, gentlemen, at that moment Trotskyism will be finished in Central America."
>
> —[SWP] *IIDB*, April 1978

And so it came to pass. But today the notorious Fausto Amador, a leader ol the Costa Rican OSL, is defended by the LIT *and its new allies of Moreno & Co.* The BF countermotion at the September 30 USec meeting explicitly defends Amador against his accusers, "a petty-bourgeois leadership foreign to the Trotskyist movement." Attacks on the personal integrity of political leaders are the bane of the Latin American left, where most splits focus on accusations of stolen money or cowardice and betrayal. In the case of Fausto Amador the charges are essentially proven by his own admission; and yet he remains a recognized leader of the USec. What is destroyed by this fact is not Trotskyism, however, hut the revolutionary pretensions of these renegades from Marxism for whom Fausto Amador's hands are only a little dirtier than all the rest. ■

Anwar...

(continued from page 3)

light to defend and extend the gains ol the past without a leadership which is willing to wield the weapons of militant unionism. Several times during the rally the point was made that bad thousands ol 1010 members refused to cross the USWA Local 8180 picket lines. Anwar could not bave been victimized. Yet the leadership of Local 1010 opposed Anwar's motion during the strike, and a similar motion during the Bricklayer's Local 6 strike last summer, calling on the union to honor these picket lines.

Conditions in the mills are getting worse. With their contract expiring next year, steel workers confront grinding 15 percent inflation, plant closings and layoffs, stepped-up disciplines and firings and increasingly unsafe work conditions. The "dissident" Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy, centered in the Chicago-Gary District 31, has long hidden behind McBride's ENA and no-strike clause as an excuse for failing to mobilize a real counterattack against the companies. The time to prepare for a fight is now, not when ENA "expires" in 1983. Steel workers need a powerful, industrywide strike next year to abolish the no-strike clause and defend their jobs and living standards. And they need a class-struggle leadership with the guts and

With arbitration on the Keith Anwar case set for November, the Keith Anwar Defense Committee continues to need the support of trade unionists and friends of the labor movement. Donations and statements of support may be sent to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, Illinois 60680 (phone: 312-768-2233).

determination to take on the companies, their cops and court injunctions, on the picket line, just as the unions did when they were organized and as the coal miners did a year ago.

Addressing himself to the need for the unions to actively mobilize millions of workers against the bosses, a member of the Keith Anwar Defense Committee said at the open mike during the rally, "When Keith says picket lines mean don't cross he's getting right to the heart of the matter. What if 19,000 steel workers don't cross? What if 1.3 million steel workers don't cross picket lines, and what if 20 million organized workers in this country refuse to cross picket lines and fight every day for labor solidarity? That's why this rally is important. I want to see the union win this case, right now, in arbitration, through the power of the rank and file—a big union victory to stick it down Inland Steel so that they know that the trade-union movement's going to win." ■

Racist Mobs...

(continued from page 4)

know where he stands" on busing by blaming the media for blowing recent incidents "out of proportion." Another Democratic candidate in the September primary, black "activist" state representative Mel King, the darling of Boston's left liberals, did organize a rally to protest the shooting of Williams. It was not a militant mobilization against racist attacks, however, but simply a small contingent along Pope John Paul II's motorcade route, beseeching his holiness to intercede with higher authorities for more police protection.

Essentially the same position was taken by the fake-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose Boston mayoral candidate Luis Castro called for "full protection of Black students by the city, state and federal governments" (*Militant*, 19 October). At the height of the busing crisis in 1974-75, while these reformists were calling for federal troops to protect black children being bused to schools in white areas, the Spartacist League called instead for mounting a labor-black defense force. Today as in 1974-75 not the imperialist army but the organized working class is the only force capable of protecting black youth from escalating racist violence. What is urgently needed in Boston is a massive show of strength by a racially-integrated labor movement.

In his re-election bid, White is running as the man who brought massive new construction to Boston. Seeking to use federal and state dollars like grease to ease social tensions, he has built a plethora of high-rises, shopping malls and expensive reclamation projects for the well-to-do, concentrated along the city's waterfront. But his flashy projects have not improved the lives of poor whites crammed into low-income enclaves in Southie, Charlestown and East Boston. The blacks and other minorities have received less than nothing—they are currently being expelled from the South End to make room for young professionals with the money to rehab townhouses and are being pushed further out along the decaying elevated Orange Line in Roxbury and Jamaica Plain.

In the midst of it all, the "Camelot" crowd came back to town October 20 to dedicate the JFK library just across the way from Columbia Point housing project. The contrast between the shimmering glass and stone of I.M. Pei's new creation and the devastation next door symbolizes the fraud of Kevin White's "New Boston" for the working masses. It is not only the small-time racists like Hicks and Kelly who buried busing, but also the limousine liberals of the Kennedys and debonair Mayor Kevin White from gas-lit Beacon Hill. Only by breaking with all wings of the Democratic Party and allying the black struggle with the power of labor in united *class* struggle can the murderous cycle of racist reaction be broken. ■

Guns/Butter...

(continued from page 9)

during World War II (i.e., destruction of the competitors' old capital stock) won the military imperialist war but laid the basis for U.S. industry to lose the next round of inter-imperialist trade wars, posing again the prospect of more Tokyo and Hamburg fire-storms to resolve inter-imperialist competition and depression.

A 3 September *Business Week* retrospective on the depression presents this "solution" with a cynical abandon that has become commonplace among "social realist" economists:

> "The [second world] war showed what massive government spending could accomplish. Output soared, unemployment disappeared, and a decade of nightmare ended."

Oh, what a lovely war it was for bourgeois economists and U.S. capitalist presidents. The problem with this "solution" is that it was a "final solution" for some 20 million Russians, 6 million Jews, 5 million Germans, 2 million Japanese and countless others.

Capitalism is not capable of rational planning. The bourgeois revolution created an international market, but it remains for the socialist revolution to make world distribution rational in the process of the qualitative expansion of material production. Until then, all talk about rational allocation of the world's resources is at best utopian.

A case in point is Fidel Castro's October 12 speech to the United Nations in which he called for, over the next ten years, "an additional contribution of not less than $300 billion at 1977 real value, to be invested in the underdeveloped countries..." Why not? Had Castro been speaking in the central workers soviet of the world, his proposal would have been humane and sensible, in fact sub-minimal in the construction of a world socialist order (although as he himself noted, the figure is far too "modest.") But this Stalinist who calls his island a "socialist society" spoke in the successor to the imperialist body Lenin described as a "den of thieves." At the UN this kind of talk is simply reformist utopianism.

Between the irrationalities of 20th-century capitalism and an international planned economy lies the implacable struggle for state power by the international working class, a struggle betrayed at every turn by the Stalinists and social-democratic reformists, the Castros and Tony Benns. If Castro thought about it, it might seem strange to him that we Trotskyists are dedicated to the rationally planned revolutionary future in which some of his speeches make sense. ■

WV Sub Drive Success

A gold *chervonetz* coin will be presented to Rosalind Garcia, winner of the 1979 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. Comrade Rosalind, the San Francisco Spartacist League (SL) organizer, got many of her 132 points as part of a team which toured the Pacific Northwest and gathered 163 points in Oregon and Washington State.

The five-week drive closed October 18 with all locals having met their quotas. The final national total was 3,697 points (132 percent). In addition to bringing the *WV* subscription list up to 2,480 the drive brought in 536 subscriptions to *Young Spartacus*, monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), and 368 to *Women and Revolution*. An additional 247 points in *WV*, *YSp* and *W&R* subscriptions were sold by the Trotskyist League of Canada (167 points in Toronto, 70 in Vancouver and 10 in Winnipeg, Manitoba) for a final total of 3,994 points overall.

Campus work during this year's drive was even more intense than usual as the sub blitzes were combined with an ambitious schedule of public forums organized as part of the current SL/SYL recruitment drive. The relative ease of campus sub-selling this year (especially among black students) was an index of potential SYL recruitment on particular campuses (and an enjoyable outgrowth of the Socialist Workers Party's "turn" away from campus presence as the SWP's *Militant* replaced its usual fall sub drive by an attempt to increase single-copy plant gate sales).

This year several locals experimented with door-to-door sub sales; best results were obtained in Berkeley (100 points) and in the integrated working-class areas of East Cleveland/Cleveland Heights (50 points). In the San Francisco area, trade-union friends of the SL consolidated a real readership for *WV* among co-workers; 62 points were bought during the drive by ILWU (longshore/warehouse) unionists and 57 by phone workers.

In addition, a record 205 points was received by mail during the drive's five weeks, representing not only the loyal support of readers who sent in subs for friends and a gratifying resubscription rate which has kept the *WV* sub base stable at one sub drive per year instead of two, but also the expansion of bookstore placements (55 during this year's drive) bringing the SL press to new areas.

Area	Quota	Points	Percent	Area	Quota	Points	Percent
San Francisco	400	582	146	Detroit	350	440	126
Los Angeles	350	508	145	Cleveland	220	257	117
New York	440	609	138	Boston	190	205	108
Chicago	365	474	130	at-large	25	40	160
Berk./Oak.	460	582	127	**TOTAL**	2,800	3,697	132

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Rouge...

(continued from page 12)

in the UAW for the "Brass Knuckle Caucus" and the union must put an end to the activities of this cowardly hate group.

Fake Left Goes Into Inaction

The CMDUAW, which styles itself a militant opposition to the union leadership in the DAP, stood on the sidelines through the struggle. From the night of the KKK outrage until the transfer of McKulen and Beinke, the CMDUAW issued not one statement on the incident nor did it circulate the petition. While individual members of CMDUAW signed the petition, at the time they told petitioners that it was "superfluous," an opinion evidently not shared by the 1,043 workers who signed it, nor by Rinaldi & Co., who would have buried the issue had it not been for this show of mass indignation and the surrounding publicity.

Meanwhile, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at Rouge, such as Mae Warren, again demonstrated that they are no more than the left shadows of the bureaucracy. Although they grudgingly signed the petition, none helped circulate it, issued statements about the racist incident nor did anything to assist in driving the foremen out of the plant and out of the industry. Liz Ziers, a well-known SWP supporter at the plant, even told one petitioner that the press coverage had become "too" extensive. "They already fired these guys. Why don't they lay off," she reportedly said. And although this significant example of black and white workers uniting to smash racism made front-page news in Detroit, the *Militant* has yet to say a word about it. Perhaps the SWP, which has called for the "right" of free speech for fascists, thinks that 1,000 Rouge workers were wrong in demanding that Beinke and McKulen be fired.

Supporters of the Communist Party (CP) at the Rouge plant similarly did nothing to help circulate the petition. The *Daily World* coverage was limited to one short article, which falsely asserted that the foremen had been fired and falsely claimed the union bureaucrats had threatened to strike unless they were fired. The CP's refusal to mobilize the trade unions against the KKK and other fascist scum comes as no surprise, either. A year and a half ago

Worker outrage over KKK foremen made front page news in Detroit.

when a gang of Nazis opened their headquarters in Detroit, militants fought for a mass, labor-centered mobilization to smash the racist stormtroopers. At that time a CP supporter tabled a motion put forward in a DAP meeting which called for just such a mobilization. The CP relies instead on the government to ban the fascists—the same government whose cops guarded the Nazis in Detroit against the outrage of community residents, the same government whose troops guarded the "right" of Nazis to demonstrate in Chicago and of the Klan to march in Selma, Alabama.

But victories like the one at Rouge prove that it is the workers movement that has the power. The struggle of the militant auto workers in Detroit exemplifies the Spartacist League's Marxist program for combating fascism. Rejecting the reformist approach of relying on the capitalist courts and cops to restrain these reactionary vermin (or worse, defending their freedom of speech like the SWP), and also rejecting the suicidal adventurism of small groups of militants who substitute themselves for the working class and achieve only their own decimation, we call for militant, organized labor struggle. Rouge workers saw it that way, too. In the aftermath of the victory some 165 copies of the last issue of *WV*, containing the article entitled "Rouge Workers Demand: Fire KKK-Hooded Foremen!", were sold at the plant as well as a dozen subscriptions to *Workers Vanguard*.

Rouge workers proved that when they mobilize the strength of the union they can win. What UAW members need is a class-struggle leadership that will consistently fight to use that power not only to crush the fascists and their followers, but to defend the jobs and living standards of the working class. Rinaldi & Co. were quick to call the issue "closed" with the transfer of McKulen and Beinke, but the battle will not be closed until a workers government is established that will put an end to the racist capitalist system once and for all. ■

Anti-Nazi...

(continued from page 4)

individual demonstrators.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) along with a number of trade-union supporters mobilized a sizable contingent under the banner: "Labor: Drive the Nazis Out of the Bay Area!" Marching up to the police cordon the SL/SYL contingent halted. ILWU Local 6 General Executive Board member Bob Mandel, a Spartacist League supporter, then addressed the crowd that was waiting to pass through the cordon.

Noting that the capitalists are on a union-busting offensive in the Bay Area, actively organizing scabs against the BART workers and striking San Francisco teachers, Mandel stressed the urgent necessity for the workers movement to take militant action to "acquaint the fascists with the pavement." But he warned that the massive police presence in Heather Farm Park was a trap. This mobilization was a demonstration of the lengths to which the bourgeoisie would go to protect such racist and anti-labor terrorists. Warning that the labor movement must not attempt to do battle with fascists on the cops' terms, he urged militants to avoid the trap set up for them. Following Mandel's speech the SL/SYL contingent left the park.

While leaving, the CP's Ad Hoc Committee was seen about half a mile from the Nazi rally holding a small "peaceful legal picket." Carrying signs such as "Honk if you hate Nazis!" the CP marchers sported yellow armbands. It fit.

Noticeable on October 13 was the absence of any organized anti-Nazi union contingent. A good share of responsibility for this goes to the Communist Party whose supporters actively opposed efforts by the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 to get the union to mobilize such a contingent. The CP supporters instead proposed that unionists as individuals join its little popular-frontist demo which was endorsed by such bourgeois politicos as Alameda County supervisor John George and Berkeley mayor Eugene Newport. Not surprisingly, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) supporters in the ILWU blocked with the CP to oppose the efforts of the Militant Caucus to commit the union to organizing an independent anti-fascist contingent for October 13.

In fact the SWP is so craven that even this act was a betrayal of their real position, which is to the right of the CP's. While the CP beseeched the bourgeois Walnut Creek city council to ban the fascists, the SWP's position is that the Nazi scum have "the right to free speech." Meanwhile these fighters for "socialist democracy" exclude the communist Spartacist League from SWP forums and engage in racist provocations against black SL members. The class-struggle position of the SL/SYL stands in clear counterposition to both the craven reformism of the CP and SWP, and the impotent idiot adventurism of Stalinoid groups such as PL and the RCP. As a 9 October SL leaflet stated: "The *reformist* Communist Party relies on the Walnut Creek City Council to ban the fascists. The *adventurist* Progressive Labor Party substitutes its small numbers for the organized strength of the working class. Neither organization has confidence that the proletariat will fight. The best way to deal with fascist creeps is to mobilize mass militant union-centered labor actions to drive these organizers of racist terror and anti-Semitism out of the Bay Area. This is the *revolutionary* program of the SL/SYL." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory at River Rouge!

Auto Workers Drive Out KKK-Hooded Foremen

DETROIT—Auto workers at Ford's giant Rouge complex won a big victory when they succeeded in driving out of the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) two supervisors who had committed an outrageous racist provocation. They also forced the company to drop the threat of reprisals against workers who had protested the foremen's actions.

The incident, which received wide press coverage in Detroit, occurred on September 27 when the foremen, Tim McKulen and Fred Beinke, paraded around the DAP's trim line wearing cone-shaped hats bearing the letters KKK. Workers at Rouge—with its workforce of 30,000, 45 percent of whom are black—were outraged at this obscene spectacle. One black worker put it bluntly: "I'm from Birmingham and I know about those church bombings and cross burnings. The union should run their asses out of the plant." The following evening six workers in the trim department walked out, briefly shutting down the assembly line.

Subsequently, union militants—black and white, skilled trades and production workers—initiated a petition demanding that United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600 mobilize to ensure that McKulen and Beinke be fired and driven from the auto industry and that the threat of disciplines against the six workers who protested this racist insult be dropped. Dozens of petitions were circulated throughout the plant. In 48 hours over 1,000 signatures were collected and delivered to Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi. Finally, after militants had publicized the success of the petition drive, both to the plant workforce and to the Detroit press, the union announced on October 11 that "General Foreman Tim McKulen and Foreman Fred Beinke have been relieved from their positions in the Dearborn Assembly Plant." It added that the six workers who walked off the trim line would not be disciplined.

The victory electrified the plant. Frank Hicks, a white skilled tradesman who was one of the initiators of the petition and who along with black worker Richard Crutchfield had broken the story to the Detroit press, told *WV*: "The mood in the plant was, 'We did it and we can change things.' For the first time in a long while workers at Rouge had a sense of what the union could be like if it used its power. Day in and day out workers face racist harassments, speedup, overwork, layoffs, and the union leaders tell us that we can't do anything about it. But this victory changed that. People were angry that the union had backed down on the demand to fire the foremen and that the company agreed only that they be transferred out of the DAP. But the response to that was, 'I hope they transfer them to my department. They wouldn't last five minutes'."

"I didn't think we could do it, but we really have the power," one black worker told Hicks. He's right. When Rouge workers drove the two KKK-hooded foremen out of the DAP, they set an example of how to deal with the Klan, the Nazis and other racist vermin. It gives the lie to the union bureaucrats, the liberals and fake-lefts who preach impotent peaceful protests, reliance on the courts and cops and appeals to the companies to clean up their own house. Rouge demonstrates that the organized workers movement, when it mobilizes its considerable forces, can sweep away the fascist, racist, labor-hating scum.

No Thanks to the Bureaucrats

But the victory at Rouge was no thanks to the union bureaucrats at Local 600. Eager to maintain their cozy relationship with the company, particularly at a time when they were working hand-in-glove with Ford to ram through the sellout contract, the union hacks would rather have had these racist foremen keep their jobs than mobilize the ranks of the UAW in struggle. It took two *weeks* for the UAW to get rid of these foremen. Even after the petition had been submitted, McKulen was officially "on vacation," while Beinke continued to work in Trim. The company, while expressing "regret" over the incident, repeated the foremen's alibi that the incident had been a joke. Ford also continued to threaten that the six protesters might be disciplined. Only after the story of the petition drive was broken to the media with a front-page article in the *Detroit News* (10 October), kicking off a barrage of press, radio and TV coverage, did the backroom maneuvers to quietly bury this KKK provocation come to an end.

Detroit News

UAW militants Frank Hicks (left) and Richard Crutchfield petition to drive out Ford's Klan-hooded foremen.

Now claiming that the company had backed out of a deal to transfer the foremen out of the plant and drop the threat of reprisals against the six militants, Local 600 president Rinaldi demanded the firing of the foremen and threatened that the 4,500 workers in the DAP would strike if the six were disciplined. UAW vice president Ken Bannon, head of the union's Ford Department, endorsed the demand to fire the foremen. Rinaldi and Bannon knew they were sitting on a powder keg that threatened to touch off the accumulated rage of a workforce subjected over the past year to 58-hour, six-day workweeks, speedup and racist harassment. "There are jokes and there are jokes," Rinaldi told the press, "but you don't joke with people who are tied to the line on ten-hour shifts."

After the agreement was reached with Ford, Local 600 vice president Ernest Lofton alibied the failure to fire the foremen outright by claiming, "Our position has been that while we don't condone their [the foremen's] actions, it is up to the company to take care of their disciplinary matters" (*Detroit Free Press*, 13 October). If it had been left up to the company—and Rinaldi, Lofton & Co.—Beinke and McKulen would very likely still be working in the DAP, and the six protesters would have been disciplined. As a number of workers said, "They wouldn't have done anything if the people at the gate hadn't started the petition." It was the hold action of the union militants that led to the victory.

All along, Rinaldi had been trying to sell the contract with the line that "you can't strike during a recession." But when he was compelled to threaten a strike in defense of the six workers, he was forced to demonstrate in practice the real strength of the strike weapon. Nothing could have made clearer the fact that the union's power lies not in paper grievances, endless negotiations or deals with capitalist politicians, but in its strategic position in the economy and its ability to bring production to a standstill through strike action.

The union leadership has also failed to condemn the vile activities of the so-called "Brass Knuckles Caucus," a clandestine outfit that grinds out hate leaflets threatening violence to socialists. While they claim they are neither racists nor tied up with management, they called the foremen's racist provocation "hilarious antics." Operating under the cover of anonymity—like the anonymity provided by the Klan hood—these cowardly scum are afraid to reveal themselves to the Rouge workers whose interests they claim to represent. Thus far they have focused their threats of violence and "symbolic crucifixion" on one supporter of the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW), a small opposition grouping. However, their threats are an attack on every black worker, on every worker who demanded the firing of McKulen and Beinke, on every worker who would raise his voice against company harassment. There is no room

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USWA Rally Defends Anwar

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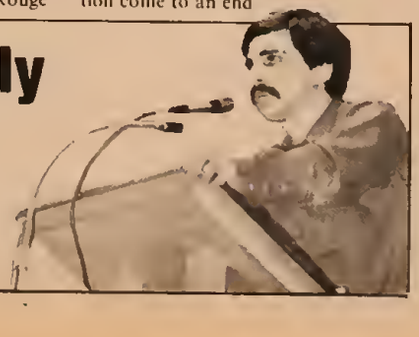

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 243

9 November 1979

For Labor/Black Mass Mobilizations

Smash KKK Killers!

GREENSBORO, North Carolina—On November 3, to the horror of more than 100 onlookers, the Ku Klux Klan stormed an anti-Klan rally here with guns blazing, murdering five demonstrators and wounding many others. The unprecedented broad-daylight murder raid upon the integrated crowd was shocking in its openness. This was no night-ride through town. No midnight cross burning. No hooded intimidation. This was murder, cold-blooded racist murder.

The killers dumped their hooded robes in favor of shotguns and semi-automatic rifles for this assassination attack outside the Morningside Homes, a black housing project in southeastern Greensboro. They knew what they were doing. There wasn't a cop in sight as they drove their cars into the middle of the peaceful demonstration on their mission of death. This was a declaration in blood to the enemies of the Klan—the blacks, the communists, the Jews and the labor movement—that the KKK is alive and deadly.

"They were super-organized," the wife of one of the slain demonstrators told *WV*. According to eyewitnesses, a caravan of Klan cars and pick-ups drove through the housing project, the assembly point for the intended rally. A passenger in the lead car fired a shot into the air, evidently a signal for the assault to begin. According to a reporter present at the scene, a gunman began screaming, "You wanted the Klan, here we are." Another observer described what followed:

> "Watching in sheer disbelief, I saw four or five men step from an old compact sedan and aim guns at the turbulent, scuffling crowd.
> "Directly behind them, six or seven men jumped from a yellow van.
> "A dozen or more Klansmen loosed a barrage directly into the center of the crowd not more than twenty feet away. They used pistols, shotguns.
> "The killers fired relentlessly, never pausing to reload or survey their work. Without hesitation, they poured bullets into the crowd, as panicking people raced pell-mell to find cover."
> —*Greensboro Daily News*, 4 November

Davis/Greensboro Daily News

Klan and Nazi gunmen ready their weapons just seconds before murderous assault on anti-fascist marchers.

For Massive Protest Against the Greensboro Massacre

The bourgeois media is treating one of the most vicious massacres in American history as though it were a blood feud between two competing Mafia "families." Busy ensuring the "free speech" of Nazis and Klansmen, the liberals deplore the "shootout" which erupted between two "violent" and armed extremist groups. "Tragedy on the Fringe" ran the *New York Times*

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Report From Greensboro

Greensboro Daily News/Wide World

Blood of Greensboro: we will not forget.

The following radio news report was played on several radio stations from coast to coast, many of them oriented toward black listener audiences. In the aftermath of the Greensboro murders, WV was the only left newspaper to provide on-the-scene coverage of this unprecedented racist bloodbath.

NOVEMBER 4—This is Mark Laughton reporting for *Workers Vanguard* in Greensboro, North Carolina. It's Sunday night and the black community here is still reeling in the wake of yesterday's bloody Ku Klux Klan attack which left four dead as an anti-fascist rally was assembling in a predominantly black housing project in southeast Greensboro. In addition to the dead, ten other demonstrators were gunned down and two of these are in critical condition.

Police and city politicians are stonewalling an explanation as to how that unprecedented daylight assault could have occurred. At a press conference today, held in Greensboro city council chambers, Chief William Swing explained that the Klan had in fact been under surveillance prior to the attack. I asked why the Klan was not stopped and Chief Swing responded: "Our police car was watching these cars. At that point in time there had been no law violated whatsoever. We had no right to stop any vehicle."

Although not one KKK assassin was wounded, official spokesmen as well as the local and national media are portraying yesterday's murders as a shootout between the Klan and leftists, involving "outsiders." Today, in fact, City Manager Tom Osborne issued a statement which blamed equally the victims and the perpetrators of this vicious crime.

Those actually present, however, tell a different story. Eyewitnesses told me that when the police remained several blocks away from the rally starting

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KKK Murders...

(continued from page 1)

editorial headline 6 November and continuing:

> "Some Klansmen and Nazis, members of the violent fringe, killed five people. The victims were from another fringe, the Marxist left. They were members of the Communist Workers Party U.S.A. and they believed that provoking violence from the Klan might promote socialist revolution."

Going beyond the fraud of journalistic "objectivity," much of the press coverage appeared sympathetic to the Klan for standing up to the communists' insults, and ominously implying the demonstrators "got what they deserved." According to the *New York Times*' southern "movement" specialist Wayne King (notorious for his 1976 articles labeling the victims of the "Wilmington 10" racist frame-up "terrorists"), the Klan was just retaliating for an earlier Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) "raid" on a July 8 KKK rally in which a Confederate flag was burned. And a 12 November *Newsweek* article gloated that WVO had "publically taunted" the Klan as "two-bit punks" and "invited" them to show up at the rally. "So they came," the magazine smugly concluded.

It was murder, and the bourgeoisie is defending it. As John Kissazk, a longtime organizer for the Textile Workers in the Carolinas, put it in a phone interview with *WV*: "...it's the old gimmick—if you're defending a murderer, the best way to defend him is to convince the jury that the person who got killed deserved to be killed." In the face of this criminal attitude, it is ever more urgent that all workers and socialist organizations, all black and other minority rights groups, and all those concerned with democratic rights come forward with a mighty outcry against this monstrous deed. It is a reflection of the present weakness of the black movement that not a single black organization has called for a protest. Likewise, although several of the victims were union militants, the trade-union bureaucracy has issued no response. It is in this climate that the fascist scum breed, protected by the cops, emboldened by the racist mobilizations that defeated busing in the streets of Boston and Louisville.

Every successful cross burning, every fascist parade through a Jewish or black neighborhood, every courtroom victory in the liberals' campaign for "free speech for facists" whets the murderers' appetite for more violence. Today, while the bodies of the Greensboro Five have not even been buried in their graves, the Ku Klux Klan is preparing for a "victory" march through the streets of downtown Detroit. This campaign of terror must be stopped. Socialists and militants in the labor movement must call on organized labor to mobilize its tremendous social power, in alliance with black and other minority organizations and the left to stop the Klan in its tracks. No more Greensboro massacres—For massive labor/black action to smash the Nazis and the Klan! No to gun control! Uphold the right to armed self-defense! Jail the killer Klansmen! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan protesters!

Racists in Blue

In Greensboro on November 5, twelve of the assassins were arraigned on multiple counts of murder and conspiracy to commit murder. Two more were charged only with conspiracy. With the exception of Ronald Wayne Wood and Rayford Caudle, members of a paramilitary Nazi stormtrooper group in Forsyth County, all are reportedly admitted members of one of North Carolina's five Klan organizations with an estimated total membership of 1,000. At least one—and possibly more—of the assailants is still at large. Individual criminal records of those arrested include convictions for breaking and entering, assault, assault on a female, larceny, forgery and drunkenness. Harold Covington, a Nazi from Raleigh, offered this "defense" of his fellow fascists: "They are guys who were trained in Vietnam to kill Reds. Their training just took over" (*Winston-Salem Journal*, 5 November). As they waited for their hearing to begin, the killers could be heard singing "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and "Onward Christian Soldiers.".

But it is not just the fascist triggermen who have blood on their hands. Why were the Greensboro police more than a block away from the demonstration rallying point? One *Greensboro Daily News* photographer (according to a 5 November *New York Times* account) said he overheard policemen in a patrol car radio say that they were leaving the area. As one veteran observer noted, "During the whole civil rights fight the Greensboro police were known to always be ten minutes late." Moreover, Greensboro police chief William Swing stated at the November 4 press conference that the Klan convoy was under surveillance all the way into the demonstration area "where by law they had every right to be." "We were not sure what was going to happen," he said. So the cops provided an escort to this small army through the black community, right into the demonstration. As Burley Mitchell, State Secretary of Crime Control, defended the cops:

> "They had no authority to stop the cars ...until some law was violated. Very tragically, in this case, the first law that had been violated involved the murder."
> —UPI dispatch, 4 November

Witnesses report that several vehicles escaped on Saturday. Only after the killings did police finally arrive at the shattered rally. At that point they arrested three of the survivors! Workers Viewpoint spokesman Nelson Johnson later told *WV*, "They charged us with instigating a riot in the middle of a war that had already started." At the Sunday press conference in city council chambers, local politicians claimed that "outside radical influences" were responsible for the bloodshed and Greensboro mayor Jim Melvin stated that the police acted "very responsibly." Questioned by the *WV* reporter as to how the victims were to blame for the Klan's murders, city manager Tom Osborne stonewalled, "I don't blame anyone for it, because we don't have all the facts available yet." This, however, did not prevent him from banning all parades and marches until further notice, thus effectively making a previously announced WVO funeral-demonstration illegal.

Currently, 20 FBI agents and the entire local office of the state undercover police, SBI, are investigating the "possibility" that the demonstrators' civil rights were violated! These investigations will undoubtedly be used to increase the harassment of left organizations. The state attorney general told the *Raleigh News and Observer* (5 November) that in light of stepped-up Klan activities, he would review plans for scrutiny of "radical" groups. "We may have to monitor them more closely," he said.

All over the country reformists like the Communist Party (CP) and the liberals are calling upon the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." Greensboro shows the dangerous stupidity of this demand. The capitalist state will side with the Nazis and any anti-Klan law will surely be used to attack the left. On the very day of the Greensboro massacre, some 300 cops in Dallas protected a gang of 50 KKK marchers in full regalia as they stomped provocatively through that city for the first time in 60 years. One can only guess what the response of the Greensboro cops would have been had they "carefully watched" carloads of blacks load up car trunks with automatic weapons and drive into a demonstration of Klansmen.

Workers Viewpoint (which recently changed its name to the Communist Workers Party U.S.A.) claims not only complicity by the local cops, but also

After Klan massacre, Greensboro cops arrest survivors' wounded leader Nelson Johnson for "inciting a riot"!

Wide World

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Greensboro Report...

(continued from page 1)

point, the convoy of a dozen or more cars and trucks suddenly drove into the crowd of a hundred, which included many children, and stopped. Carloads of Klansmen emptied into the street shouting racial epithets. Gunmen leisurely opened the trunk of a Ford sedan and emerged with pistols, shotguns, lead pipes, knives and at least one automatic rifle—an AR-15, the civilian version of the army's M-16.

They began firing and did not stop for two full minutes. One woman was first clubbed with a picket sign and then shot as she lay defenseless. Another Klansman was seen firing two pistols simultaneously and point blank at his prone victim. As the crowd, many screaming in terror, fled for cover the gunmen returned to their cars, replaced their weapons in the trunk and sped off. Twelve Klansmen were stopped and arrested 100 yards away but at least one carload escaped and remains at large.

This afternoon I spoke with the widows of two of the demonstrators and Nelson Johnson, a local leader of the Workers Viewpoint Organization, which organized the rally. Johnson's hands were heavily bandaged, both from a stab wound received at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan as well as the subsequent manhandling he received from the police. "There was a massacre," the demonstrators told me, which could only have occurred with the complicity of the police. They described how, when the police finally arrived, "they stood around with their guns trained on *us*." The women were dragged away from their husbands' bodies and Johnson was booked on the incredible charge of "inciting a riot." Currently, he is free on bail.

Yesterday's massacre in Greensboro, site of the first civil rights sit-ins during the early '60s, exposes the bloody reality behind Carter's "New South" where runaway conglomerates like J.P. Stevens can brandish right-to-work laws in order to keep wages down and union organizers out. It is certainly no accident that two of the Klan's victims had been officials of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and worked at two of Cone Mills' area plants. A third was organizing a union among Duke University workers and a fourth, a black woman, was a long-time civil rights activist.

In fact, this atrocity could only have occurred in a climate where hundreds of thousands of workers remain without union protection, due to the failure of the AFL-CIO national leaders to launch a mass organizing drive which would unionize the South. Elimination of the open shop along with these murderous KKK defenders remains a vital task of the labor movement—in fact, it is a question of life and death.

For *Workers Vanguard* this is Mark Laughton in Greensboro, North Carolina. ■

Although millions saw the cold-blooded Klan attack on their TV screens, the media alibied it as "a shootout."

that the federal government and FBI are deeply involved in the murders. They have not yet offered any hard evidence. But the case of the hooded FBI agent, Gary Thomas Rowe, the "best [FBI] agent" J. Edgar Hoover had ever seen, ought to be remembered. Paid by the FBI and lauded by his Klan cohorts, Rowe organized *and led* the Birmingham, Alabama Klan action squads. His blood trail of atrocities included the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church which killed four young black girls, the brutal 1961 "bloody Sunday" ambush of the Birmingham "freedom riders" and the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker shot to death on an Alabama highway. In return for his "information," Rowe's grateful FBI employers paid him over $22,000.

Uphold the Right of Armed Self-Defense!

Amidst all the illusions about cop protection, what stands out is the need for the right of armed self-defense against the murderous thugs. Although WVO spokesmen do not deny that some of the demonstrators were armed, it is self-evident that they were essentially defenseless against the Klan's onslaught. Police rulings stipulated that the demonstrators could not carry weapons and even picket-sign sticks could be no more than two feet in length. The capitalist state demands a monopoly on the means of violence and has been busy passing gun control legislation to ensure that the victims of the racist cops and Nazis are unarmed.

Particularly in the South, the defeatist tradition of liberal pacifism is strong. Ironically, the Greensboro lunch counters are among its principal shrines. But the lunch counters at Woolworth's are not North Carolina's sole memorial to the civil rights movement. In 1957, three years before the first black demonstrators stoically took the blows of racist cops for the "crime" of ordering coffee, a night-riding KKK crew set out to attack the home of Monroe, North Carolina black leader, Dr. A.A. Perry. They were met with a hail of gunfire. The Monroe branch of the NAACP, led by Robert F. Williams, "shot it out" with the Klan and drove off the racist vermin.

Robert Williams did not offer the black man's blood in exchange for the illusory promise of "protection" by the racist, capitalist state. He demanded the right to live. And so, in 1961, threatened with lynching, framed up on kidnap charges, he was forced to flee the country while the oh-so-respectable NAACP turned a cold shoulder to his defense. But the hooded cowards who sought an easy prey learned to fear black men with guns and they did not soon return.

In the Klan's Sights

Members of Workers Viewpoint are insisting that the murders were not committed at random, but were, in fact, executions carried out by "expert marksmen." It cannot be considered coincidental that out of a crowd of 100, all five dead were long-time prominent labor and civil rights activists. The wounds were to the face and chest, indicating careful aim.

The WVO as an organization is best known for its sectarianism and rabid anti-Trotskyism. But the five dead and ten injured were shot down because they sought to oppose the Klan's vicious vendetta against blacks, Jews, unionists and leftists. The victims included individuals with a long and honorable history in the Southern civil rights movement and as union militants in the textile and hospital unions. The dead are:

Sandra Smith, 29, the only black among the murdered. A long-time Southern civil rights activist, she moved to Greensboro in 1969 and was active in campus politics and the Greensboro Association of Poor People. As a production worker at a Cone Mills textile plant near Greensboro in 1977, she was a leader of an employee plant committee fighting for union organization of the 1,000 workers there.

James Waller, 37, an early member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). A physician, he was active in health worker groups both at Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx and organizing brown-lung screening clinics in the South. A member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 11132 at the Cone Mills Haw River plant near Burlington, in 1978 he led a wildcat strike of 200 workers against company cuts in piecework rates.

William Sampson, 31, a student activist at Duke University, a former member of the New American Movement (NAM) chapter there, and a shop steward at the Cone Mills White Oak plant in Greensboro.

Cesar Cauce, Cuban, active at Duke University organizing the campus workers AFSCME chapter. He was a hospital worker.

Michael Nathans, died of his wounds November 5 in the hospital, a physician. Before joining WVO, he was a member of Progressive Labor Party.

Still in critical condition is one of the rally organizers, Paul Bermanzohn, shot in the head. A former NAM member at Duke, he was active in the left since the early 1970s.

The long record of militancy by these martyred activists makes one immediately ask how they wound up in such a crazed and criminally sectarian outfit as WVO. Workers Viewpoint is perhaps one of the most hysterically disoriented of all the Stalinist/Maoist groups. Raving supporters of the deposed "Gang of Four," Jerry Tung's organization was originally based in New York's Chinatown and often acted as if they thought they were living in Hong Kong. After fusing with several dissident Maoist collectives, most importantly a North Carolina black nationalist group out of the African Liberation Support Committee, WVO looks more like the rest of the Mao-Stalinist milieu. But their specialty is still virulent thug violence, particularly directed against Trotskyists. If on Monday WVO is capable of holding a "Death to the Klan" rally, they are on Tuesday capable of holding a "Death to the Trots and Down with Russia" rally. Vicious sectarianism, the most stupid substitutionist adventurism and verbal insurrectionism characterize this bizarre sect.

Thus, a recent *Workers Viewpoint* (1 September) centerfold on Iran boasted that "Executing U.S.-Soviet Agents and Trots is Fine!" WVO also thinks it's fine to throw a trade unionist down a flight of stairs if they don't like what he says—which they did in New York last year when a militant from the National Maritime Union called for a transit strike to defend the workers instead of WVO's position of calling on the capitalist courts to "arbitrate" a union election.

Even now, after five of their comrades lie dead, Workers Viewpoint is determined to destroy united-front efforts of other black, left and labor groups against the murderous Klan. At press time it was reported that WVO has even taken to attacking SYL campus rallies protesting the massacre of their comrades! In Berkeley, October 6, a handful of WVOers showed up early at the SYL demonstration site at Sproul Plaza, and after virulent arguing began a brawl with SYL supporters. The WVO attempt to destroy the demonstration was unsuccessful, as over 200 people attended. After their attack was repelled the WVO retreated to another corner of the campus to hold their rally with 15 people. In Chicago, WVO speakers invited by the SYL to speak refused to give up the stage to other speakers from left, black and labor groups and finally had to be moved out to the perimeter of the demonstration by SYL marshals.

But that is not the reason the Klan gunned them down in the streets. For the Greensboro Klan, Workers Viewpoint was the "commie" organization in town. And, given the weakness of the left in America and the insular character of the South, even a tiny bizarre Maoist splinter group can occupy this position unchallenged, not only in the eyes of the local KKK, but in the eyes of local activists. It is not really so strange, given the particularism of the South, that activists looking for a party looked to Workers Viewpoint in Greensboro as militants in Harlan County looked to Nelson Peery's Communist Labor Party.

Those who saw the WVO cadre shot down knew well it could have been any of us. The Klan was gunning for the "commies," "nigger lovers" and "labor agitators." The Greensboro massacre was a spectacular show of force in the KKK's deadly race-hate war. Those Klan guns were—and *are*—aimed at every single black and minority-group family, every trade unionist and socialist, every social "deviant" in America.

Labor Must Smash the Klan

The Greensboro massacre is the next logical step in the increasing campaign of Klan terror. Protected by the cops, emboldened by racist mobilizations against busing, the Klan and the Nazis do their dirty work with their "rights" defended by myopic civil libertarians such as the ACLU and the Socialist Workers Party. Above all, it is the absence of a combative movement of blacks and labor to defend the democratic rights of the oppressed that most accounts for the Klan and Nazi resurgence.

It is not surprising that the Klan has re-emerged with such bloody force in the "New South" of Jimmy Carter. For that "New South" is built on the promise of a "union-free environment." No wonder that the Klan breathes so easily in such a bitterly anti-labor climate. Greenshoro is J.P. Stevens country, where union-busting by-any-means-necessary is a way of life.

The Klan and Nazis cannot be defeated by small adventurist demonstrations. As the most recent one in Greensboro tragically showed, implicit reliance on the cops to protect the anti-racist militants is a deadly strategy. In this fight to the finish with the Klan and the Nazis, blacks and labor must rely on their own power. No reliance on the capitalist state! Jail the Klan killers and throw away the key! No to gun control—Uphold the right of armed self-defense! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan protesters! For massive labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan and avenge the Greensboro massacre! ■

Hands Off Assata Shakur!

Former Black Panther and Black Liberation Army (BLA) leader Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) is out of prison—freed November 2 in a dramatic and well-executed escape. Three visitors signed in, got the drop on her guards at the Clinton women's prison, drove her out in a commandeered prison van with two guards as hostages, switched cars and got clean away from the New Jersey police. The FBI has begun a massive and deadly nationwide manhunt.

That Shakur is alive at all today, let alone out of prison, is something of a miracle. A whole generation of black radicals was wasted, some by murderous cop vendetta, some by the tragic political degeneration of the Panthers. The original cadre of the BLA derived from the old New York Panther leadership. They sought to keep alive the spirit of black rebellion through acts of individual terrorism which, while heroic, often bordered on lumpen criminality and were inevitably suicidal. One of the few survivors of the vicious FBI Cointelpro conspiracy to "get" the Panthers, Shakur spent over six years in prison. For over *four years* the state held her without a conviction, staging three successive frame-up trials on different charges. She was *acquitted* all three times. Finally, after nearly dying of wounds suffered during a New Jersey trooper attack on the car she was riding in, having her baby (born in prison) taken away from her, spending over a year in solitary confinement, Shakur was successfully framed up in 1977 by an all-white jury, for supposedly wounding one of the troopers with his own gun.

As *Workers Vanguard* wrote at the time, "Assata Shakur is a class-war prisoner.... It is the responsibility of labor and socialist militants and all those concerned with defense of democratic rights to rally to her cause.... Free Assata Shakur!" (*WV* No. 146, 25 February 1977). Having now escaped the clutches of the brutal, racist, vindictive bourgeois state, Shakur is quite literally running for her life—if the cops catch her, they'll do their best to make sure she never gets a second chance. Hands off Assata Shakur! ■

SWP Joins the Non-Aligned

In the past year the normally staid and flaccid Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has really gone batso for Castro. The kickoff came with a "Fidel-taught-me-everything-I-know-about-socialism" speech by SWP *lider máximo* Jack Barnes on the 20th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, in which he hailed the Castro team as "superior to the Bolshevik leadership" ("once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that"!). Now they've taken to reprinting Fidel's every hiccup, including three entire Castro speeches since July (and they are a lot more interesting than the garbage that usually appears in the *Militant*). And when the Cuban leader hit town for a speech at the UN, his local publicity agents published no less than *twelve* articles in the 26 October *Militant*, including (in addition to the complete text, of course) a full-page commentary by Gus Horowitz running under the Castro quote "I Speak for the Children Without a Piece of Bread."

In fact, the SWP's "socialist Newsweek" is beginning to look like the Cuban bureaucracy's *Granma* in more ways than one. *Militant* readers have lately been treated to the most vapid "human interest" pro-Castro pulp—for example, "They Call Me Fidel," in the 31 August issue which turns out to be the story of how a Puerto Rican worker from Schenectady saw the light and became a Castroite. Then there was the sappy travelogue of Cathy Sedwick and Matilde Zimmermann on their Cuban vacation last summer. Sedwick, head of the SWP's Young Pioneers, declared the country "an inspiration to youth" while the SWP's lightweight vice-presidential candidate Zimmermann gushed over every pearl which came out of Fidel's mouth. To top it off, we hear that plans are afoot to recruit a bigger-than-ever Venceremos Brigade under SWP auspices. Anytime now we expect to see the formation of a U.S.-Cuba Friendship Society—perhaps Linda Jenness will get the role of Anna Louise Strong publishing "Boy Meets Girl on Mechanical Cane Picker in the Isle of Pines"! Can the SWP really be naive enough to think it has a shot at the Cuban "franchise"?

The SWP and Castro go back a long ways, to the early '60s in fact, when the SWP—as part of its definitive rejection of Trotskyism—labeled Castro an "unconscious Marxist" and declared that an independent proletarian vanguard no longer was necessary to lead the socialist revolution. But with time the "Fair Play for Cuba" committees went the way of other SWP "progressive" front groups. By 1968, the "Year of the Heroic Guerrilla," the now-reformist SWP was locked into its antiwar coalitions with the Democratic Party doves and not about to cut cane with Maoist/Guevarist "ultralefts." When today they again pick up the cause of Castro's deformed workers state in the Caribbean, it's with an eye to becoming the gray-flannel *fidelistas* of the '80s, looking for a bloc with the Andrew Youngs and the rest of the "far-sighted" liberals who see Cuba as a "factor of stability" in Africa and elsewhere.

So when Castro started his current pro-détente, non-aligned diplomatic offensive last spring, it was grist for the SWP's mill. It started with Fidel's annual 26th of July speech in which Fidel praised the OAS (Organization of American States) for rejecting a U.S. proposal for an imperialist "peacekeeping force" for Nicaragua. According to Zimmermann (*Militant*, 10 August) Castro "rightly hailed" this vote as "a great victory for the people of our America." The OAS action was no more a victory for the masses of the Western Hemisphere than any other occasion on which Secretary of State Vance gets one up on "hard cop" Brzezinksi in Carter administration in-fighting. (And don't think the Latin American ministers cast their ballots without clearance from Foggy Bottom—even the U.S. voted against its own motion in the end.)

But for Fidel it was a "real act of insubordination on the part of the Latin American states" as a result of which "for the first time we can mention the name of the OAS without epithets." So for Castro this powerless body is no longer the "Yankee ministry of colonies" as he called it in his Second Declaration of Havana, the 1961 speech the SWP falsely hailed as evidence that Cuba was following the path of permanent revolution. Even former Guatemalan president Juan José Arévalo referred to the OAS' predecessor, the Pan American Union, as "a society to which the shark [the U.S.] can belong, temporarily impersonating a sardine." But no more such "epithets" for Cuba—they might insult the shark and alert the other sardines.

Then came Cuba's diplomatic triumph as the host and convener of the "non-aligned" nations summit in early September. According to the rules of protocol of this potpourri of "Third World" Stalinists, "anti-imperialist" colonels and out-and-out reactionaries, Castro was elected chairman of the non-aligned movement for the next three years. For its part, the SWP went all out: a 24 September *Intercontinental Press* article by Fred Feldman, entitled "Havana Conference Deals Stinging Setback to Washington," glowed that the summit "marks a mighty triumph for the Cuban revolution." Separating out Cuba from the rest of the deformed workers states, the SWP argues that Havana's foreign policy is counterposed to Moscow's:

> "The Castro leadership's class struggle stance is in striking contrast to the class-collaborationist approach of the bureaucratic castes in Moscow, Peking and Belgrade. Stalinist regimes view these gatherings as possible points of support for attaining economic and diplomatic deals with the imperialists on the basis of the international status quo. The Cubans have the opposite aims."

A "revolutionary triumph"? Hardly. Just take a look at the guest list. Among the assorted luminaries were such well-known "progressives" as Jordan's King Hussein, author of the Black September massacre of Palestinian refugees; Sadat's Egypt, of the U.S.-backed separate peace with Israel; and Ferdinand Marcos' Philippines, where thousands of leftist and Muslim rebels are butchered in one of the tightest police states of the capitalist world. Among the small-fry reactionaries were "independent" feudalists such as King Wangchuk of the Himalayan principality of Bhutan; a slew of black African countries whose regimes rest on the bayonets of French troops (Chad, Gabon, Djibouti), as well as other neo-colonialist subjects of French imperialism (Ivory Coast, Senegal); reactionary Near Eastern oil sheiks from Qatar, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Oman (which not long ago put down a Cuban-armed insurgency with the aid of the shah's troops); and even the South African client states of Botswana and Lesotho.

Prensa Latina

Tito pontificates, Castro yawns, at September "non-aligned" nations summit in Havana.

The notorious Central African Empire was represented, whose Emperor Bokassa was soon to be overthrown by his French sponsors, along with Equatorial Guinea, whose dictator, the record-holding mass murderer Macías (50,000 victims out of a population of 300,000) had just been ousted with the aid of Madrid. There was even a delegation from "non-aligned" Spain itself, an imperialist/colonialist power about to enter NATO, whose presence Castro praised in his speech as offering "a hope for friendly and useful relations with all the peoples of the world." Appropriately enough, chairing the session was Sri Lankan president J. R. Jayawardene, who recently imposed a state of emergency in the Tamil minority areas and drastic anti-working-class cuts of social services. Back home Jayawardene was known as "Yankee Dickie" because in the '50s he was John Foster Dulles' favorite Asian diplomat for his repeated attacks on the Soviet Union.

Yet according to the Socialist Workers Party, this gang struck a blow against imperialism. How is that possible? Feldman wrote:

> "But these countries *do* confront something 'universal.' All are semicolonies or former colonies of imperialism.... The coming together of these countries reflects the realities of the laws of the world capitalist market and the resulting economic and political conflicts with imperialism, even among the most overtly pro-imperialist member governments."

To claim that the "Third World" nationalist and neo-colonialist regimes are opposed to imperialism denies reality, expressed in the theory of permanent revolution. In the imperialist epoch, wrote Trotsky, the backward countries cannot achieve national emancipation short of carrying out a proletarian revolution. The weak native bourgeoisies are so fearful of a revolutionary mobilization of the worker/peasant masses that they cannot break from domestic feudalists and foreign imperialists. It is these agents of imperialism, not the spokesmen for the oppressed masses, who were represented at Havana. And what about the SWP assertion that Cuba's policy is counterposed to Moscow's? In his speech to the "non-aligned" conference Castro asserted emphatically: "We must demand peace, detente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament." "Thus, we must greet with satisfaction the SALT II agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States...." You couldn't ask for a more explicit denial of the SWP's claims—and straight from the horse's mouth.

It's not just that Barnes & Co. are trying to prettify Castro, making him out to be a revolutionary proletarian internationalist. The SWP actually *approves* of Cuban policies. So when Castro hails various Latin American bourgeois regimes for supposedly winning a "victory for the peoples of America," the *Militant* cheers, "right on!" Although the SWP was *neutral* when South Africa and CIA-led mercenaries attacked Angola in 1975-76, it subsequently hailed Castro's aid to the Neto regime (including training security forces which put down leftist agitation in the Luanda slums) as an act of "anti-imperialist solidarity." And when Cuba props up the butcher Mengistu in Ethiopia, who is trying to suppress a national liberation struggle by the Somali minority and waging a war of extermination against Eritrea, Jack Barnes labels the Derg (junta) "revolutionary" and pretends that Havana opposes the bloody suppression of the Eritreans.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when Castro declares the "non-aligned"

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Gorgoni/Contact

Cuban Stalinist "Lider" greets King Hussein (left) and Wangchuk of Bhutan (right).

Shut Down Ag Imp!

Victory to Caterpillar/IH Strike!

CHICAGO—Some 75,000 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) employed by two large agricultural implements manufacturers have hit the bricks to repulse takeaways and sellout contracts such as those imposed on auto workers earlier this fall. The key strike issues: full seniority rights and no forced overtime. Most important, the walkout at Caterpillar and Harvester goes directly counter to the UAW's defeatist policy of "pattern bargaining" and one-at-a-time strikes. Here is a chance to hit the ag imp bosses with a solid strike of the entire industry!

The strike was kicked off by the huge 25,000-member Local 794 at Caterpillar Tractor Co. in Peoria, Illinois. When union contracts with the farm machinery producers expired on October 1, the UAW International attempted to impose its disastrous one-at-a-time strategy by striking only John Deere & Co. But Local 794 walked out the same day. In the face of attempts by the UAW International to force them back to their jobs by denying them strike and insurance benefits, the strikers stuck to their guns and forced the union to sanction a companywide strike.

The UAW bureaucrats had similarly threatened International Harvester (IH) workers with loss of benefits if they walked out. Members of UAW Local 6 (at the Melrose Park IH plant outside Chicago) also reported that local officials had pressured the workforce into "voluntarily" putting in up to 68 hours a week as a means of "persuading" the company that institution of mandatory overtime was unnecessary. But this appeasement policy, which only permitted management to do extra stockpiling, proved futile. When the lid threatened to blow off at Harvester as well, the UAW tops were forced to call out 35,000 IH workers November 1. Contract talks with both companies have now broken down and are not expected to resume for some time.

At the heart of the contract battle are the bosses' efforts to impose on UAW members in agricultural implements the same rotten conditions that exist in the auto industry. Long the only UAW-organized company without some form of mandatory overtime, IH has tried to reverse this trade-union gain in the past and appears to be digging in for a showdown this time. Also at issue are a company proposal to limit seniority rights and the union's desire for "automatic recognition" at new IH plants. Caterpillar workers, meanwhile, are demanding improvement in their seniority rights and an end to the mandatory overtime provision in their last contract.

While the UAW settled last month with John Deere for a contract that accepted the same miserable annual 3 percent wage hike that auto workers got and retained the mandatory overtime provision, Harvester and Caterpillar workers are determined to defend and improve their union conditions. Strikers at both companies told *WV* that they are prepared to hold out for months if necessary to win voluntary overtime. At the IH plant in Melrose Park the entire shop committee reportedly threatened to resign if the International bargains away this provision.

UAW members in auto have long been subjected to grueling hours of overtime in the hot, filthy plants. At a time when 100,000 auto workers are already on the street and the industry is headed for even deeper crisis, many of those still in the plants are grinding away ten hours a day. This is the direct result of the traitorous policies pursued by UAW president Doug Fraser. Not only did he negotiate a desperately inadequate contract for GM and Ford workers, one that provided absolutely no protection against layoffs and forced overtime—and even committed the union to assist the companies in cracking down on absenteeism—but he accepted an even worse deal at Chrysler. For 40 years workers at the Big 3 have enjoyed contract parity. Now the Fraser leadership has thrown that away to embrace government bailout schemes financed out of the pockets of Chrysler workers. In return Fraser gets a seat on the Chrysler board of directors, where he will help bleed his own membership as the company closes plant after plant.

WV Photo

UAW picketer at Chicago IH plant.

These betrayals only emboldened the agricultural equipment bosses to hardline it. They want to knock out voluntary overtime and union seniority provisions so they, too, will have a free hand to lay off workers and speed up those who remain. No doubt the ag imp bosses figured that if they could ram through a settlement to their liking at Deere, they could then pick off Caterpillar and Harvester one by one. But the militant workers at Local 794 husted this u[illegible] when they downed tools in defiance of their own International.

Caterpillar and IH workers have delivered a powerful blow at the UAW bureaucracy's bankrupt strategy of "pattern bargaining," or one-at-a-time strikes under which the union sacrifices the power of a united membership mobilized solidly against the bosses. Clearly worried about the example a militant industrywide strike would set, just last week union officials were herding angry UAW members across picket lines set up by a striking machinists local at Deere's Moline, Illinois plant. It is imperative that John Deere be shut down companywide to junk last month's contract and that none of the striking locals return to work until a uniform contract is won that meets the needs of all!

This battle shapes up as a long and bitter one. A victory here in the fight to smash mandatory overtime could be the spark that sets off a militant struggle throughout the entire union. Auto workers must look to the example set by their brothers at IH and Caterpillar.

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Militant Strike Against Western Electric

We are reprinting below a leaflet by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the Communications Workers of America in Los Angeles. MAC is a class-struggle opposition in the CWA, presently based on West Coast locals.

On October 1st 5,000 Western Electric sales workers from five cities staged a militant strike against company implementation of the justly despised absence control plan. The response of the ranks to the plan was to stand up and fight—and fight they did. At Montebello (Yates Street location) a sit-down in front of scab trucks halted the movement of supplies. Scab drivers were "taught" the union rule: picket lines mean don't cross! The around-the-clock picket lines were massive, militant, and spirited. In only three days Western supplies dried up, debunking the myth that you can't strike the phone company.

WECO workers, who never previously suffered absence control, now faced a plan even more vicious than Telco's. It included a barbaric retroactive clause making workers liable for absences going back three years! This meant automatic termination for hundreds.

Strikers told Militant Action Caucus (MAC) members who joined the lines in solidarity the treacherous news of the National leadership's betrayal. On October 3, the [Communications Workers] National telegrammed an immediate back-to-work order, criminally withholding any support for the CWA fighters. Despite this despicable stab in the back 500 angry phone workers voted nearly unanimously to stay out and win. On critical issues the National almost never sanctions local strikes. We need the local right to strike!

Encouraged by the National's refusal to fight, the company threatened to count struck days against workers' attendance. Then under extreme pressure from the National the bulk of the local leadership completely collapsed. First, scab trucks were allowed through picket lines, and then the picket lines were taken down altogether. At no time did the rank and file vote to end their strike! But by October 8 the strike was over, and the absence control plan was implemented—for now without the primitive retroactive clause. Predictably the National will not fight the plan, but will try to "sweeten" it for the workers. The intensified harassment and company reprisals which have already begun must be met head-on by the union.

For a Solid Strike in 1980!

Strikers in the phone company are effective—they can win. *After only three days Western Electric supplies ran dry!* All the technology in the world cannot run without supplies and manpower. It is the leadership's refusal to fight that leads to defeat, not the power of the company. If the company didn't desperately need our labor they wouldn't impose absence control in the first place. In Cleveland last August, 350 angry service reps struck and *stopped* a company attempt to schedule breaks ten minutes after beginning their shift. They defied company threats and back-to-work orders from the local president... and won! The real lesson of the Western Electric and Cleveland strikes is that the ranks are strong, combative, and willing to wage an aggressive defense of working conditions. But we need a leadership willing to take on the company.

Absence control is a crucial issue of national importance. The WECO strike showed we don't have to accept it as a fact of life. We need a national strike in 1980 to bury absence control once and for all, and win full paid sick leave with no penalties for being sick. Phone workers need a big catch-up pay hike and a full 100 percent COLA. We demand: No forced overtime! No productivity quotas! No secret monitoring and other reform school work rules! We need a shorter work week at no loss in pay to provide jobs, eliminate unemployment, and undermine the company's speed-up drive. If we are to defend our members' jobs and working conditions the CWA must strike in 1980!

CWA President Watts says don't strike but rely on Jimmy Carter to defend us—7 percent Jimmy Carter, turn off the gas pumps Jimmy Carter. We say no reliance on Carter, Kennedy, or any anti-labor Democratic Party politician. Watts and his gang must go! We need a leadership committed to class struggle, not class collaboration—a leadership that doesn't flinch in the face of company attacks, that doesn't police the militancy of the ranks but organizes and leads it. The "Committee to Elect a Militant Delegation to the 1979 CWA Convention" began to construct that kind of leadership. This alternative leadership must be national in scope. For this reason we have linked up with the Militant Action Caucus of San Francisco to form the MAC of Los Angeles. JOIN US!

We reprint below the treacherous back-to-work telegram sent by CWA WECO sales director K.H. Bergstrom to CWA Local 11595.

PMS Chuck Gravette Presiden[illegible]
CWA Local 11595
195 19 Georgina Circle
Cerritos CA 90701

I am hereby directing you to return to work because you are in violation of Article 40, SD 79, and that you are to return all of your members to work immediately.

K H Bergstrom
National Director CWA Sales
241 Summit Ave.
Greensboro NC 27401

SPLIT IN THE UNITED SECRETARIAT

Ernest Mandel

Jack Barnes

Nahuel Moreno

Pierre Lambert

The United Secretariat has just become the "Untied Secretariat." Up until three months ago it was still balmy "unity" weather in the USec. The main factions had disbanded and Ernest Mandel was promising one and all an international that brought together "95 percent of the world's Trotskyists" (leaving aside only a few "sectarian grouplets" like the Spartacists). The "Fourth," he bragged, hadn't split in 16 years; in recent European elections "Trotskyist slates" had gotten close to a million votes. The USec was on the verge of becoming an "alternative pole of attraction" to the "3 to 4 million voters of the far left" on the old continent. Shining in its diadem would be a French section of 10,000 members. And with that, he said, echoing another centrist of the 1930s, "everything is possible!" No more. His grand schemes lying in tatters around him, Ernest Mandel looks today like a stock market speculator on the day after the Crash of '79.

Now it is the hour of split in the USec. On the eve of its "Eleventh World Congress" a provocation/expulsion/walkout has ripped out a quarter of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). The expellees were mainly supporters of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT), the USec friends of Pierre Lambert's Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). This means that the long-rumored marriage of the LCR with the OCI is definitely off, and Mandel is left with a French section not of 10,000 but 1,200. In Latin America more than two-thirds of the USec's supporters have gone with the Bolshevik Faction (BF) of Nahuel Moreno, temporarily and miscegenously allied with the OCI and certain to be expelled at the world congress (it exited along with the LTT in France). As the split spreads through the USec's crisis-ridden European sections, many would-be leftists will face the question of remaining loyal to this fake "Fourth International" or going with the Moreno/Lambert lash-up, likely to be one of the shorter-lived, rottener blocs of all time.

Le Monde (1 November) commented wryly that "the motive, or the occasion" of the split was a "difference in evaluating the Nicaraguan revolution." Occasion, sí; motive, no. In a document establishing a "parity committee" of the OCI/LTT/BF, the splitters argue that:

> "The danger of dispersing the forces of the Fourth International is much more serious than the one provoked starting in 1951 by Pabloism, since the attack on our principled positions is even more brutal than in 1951."

Certainly the provocations have been spectacular, beginning with the USec's support for (and alleged complicity in) the Sandinista Front (FSLN) expulsion of the Morenoite-led Simón Bolivar Brigade from Nicaragua last August (see *WV* No. 240, 28 September). True enough, where Pablo ordered the "deep entry" of sections of the FI into Stalinist CPs in the early '50s, today his epigones order their Nicaraguan followers to liquidate into the FSLN. But aren't Lambert/Moreno forgetting something? The USec was founded in 1963 on the basis of total support to Castroism. Where do they claim to have been for the last decade and a half?

The OCI/LTT/BF split will pick up a number of sincerely leftist elements aghast at the spectacle of their comrades being arrested at gunpoint and expelled by the Sandinista regime with the approval/aid of the USec tops. And if the issue was really that of maintaining an independent section in Nicaragua, genuine revolutionists would stand on the same side with those opposing liquidation into the petty-bourgeois FSLN. A split along these lines could open the way to a struggle for consistent proletarian independence and against those who would build a "Trotskyist" party in order to pressure the Sandinistas. But Moreno, while a charlatan of the first order whose policies at home are deeply reformist, is an inveterate maneuverist given to bursts of bravado and verbal leftism—as with the Bolivar Brigade and his Bolshevik Faction. Yet the BF presents itself in tandem with Lambert's hardened and not-very-left social-democratic OCI, whose pseudo-orthodox critiques of Mandel are a cover for virulent anti-Communist Stalinophobia. No real Trotskyist can join with those who sided with CIA-financed counterrevolution in Portugal!

The big loser in the present USec split will surely be Ernest Mandel, who bit off more than he could chew and now has lost the whole pie. Externally he has sought to broker a welter of opportunist fusions with anti-Trotskyist "far left" reformists, from the OCI and Pablo's AMR in France to Tony Cliff's SWP in Britain, all of which have fallen through. Meanwhile, within the USec he has allowed the hardened reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party to pick off and grind down centrist Mandelite oppositions in their own bailiwick (e.g., the demolished Internationalist Tendency in the U.S., the absorbed Canadian RMG). Up until now Mandel has had the votes to call the shots at the USec HQ in Brussels, but Barnes' SWP has the tremendous advantage of a consistent political line. With the departure of the LTT/BF and various leftists they drag along behind them, the USec will likely consolidate around a reformist axis with the SWP holding the whip hand.

The Hammer Goes Down at L'Hay-les-Roses

The pretext for the split in the United Secretariat was a deliberate provocation by the OCI/LTT/BF bloc. The weekend prior to the LCR conference scheduled to elect delegates for the USec world congress, the Lambertists and Morenoites met to form a coordinating committee for the stated purpose of fighting the SWP leadership's capitulation to the Nicaraguan FSLN. Barnes & Co. were accused in the founding document of the parity committee of "abandoning the terrain of Trotskyism and the Fourth International and going over to the terrain of Castroism" (true enough, but the discovery is about 18 years late). And the parity committee adopted a BF proposal for a "democratic conference open to all forces claiming to be Trotskyist"—i.e., a counter-world congress—for January 1980. This was the chance which the "historical leadership" of the LCR, Alain Krivine and Daniel Bensaid, had been waiting for. After dragging their feet for years at the Mandel- and SWP-backed proposals for a rapprochement with the OCI, they gleefully jumped at this provocation. That same evening they circulated to the cells a motion demanding condemnation of the OCI/LTT/BF meeting as a "split attempt." Not voting for the motion would mean instant "exclusion." "exclusion."

extraordinary LCR congress which began November 1 in the Paris suburb L'Hay-les-Roses. When the motion condemning the "parity committee" was raised, over a quarter of the delegates (37 LTTers and 4 Morenoites, out of 160 delegates at the conference) refused to vote and walked out, thereby consumating the split. In an article entitled "The French LCR Spits Out Its Seeds," *Libération* of 2 November notes the "satisfaction" and rapidity with which the LCR tops "seized the pretext thus offered by their adversaries." After all, six weeks beforehand it was simply a question of what pace for a fusion with the OCI which would have left Krivine/Bensaïd out in the cold. Now they're back in the saddle again, and with the most obstreperous oppositionists gone their "solid" 43 percent plurality on the CC should be enough to ensure a more-or-less stable "minority cabinet" in the hectic politicking at the LCR helm.

On the other side there is the momentum of an aggressive split, but with plenty of fraying on the edges. The Morenoites, of course, knew long before that their number was up and they were just carrying out rearguard actions as they pulled out of the United Secretariat. (Their factional rampaging has been so blatant that more than two years ago Mandel/Barnes threatened to "chuck them out at the next opportunity.) Lambert has nothing to lose at this point on the USec side, and presumably felt it better to start carving up the spoils of their raiding operation before Moreno starts making inroads north of the Pyrenees and the Alps. In France it is calculated that the take from the LCR will be roughly 350-400 militants, who after a period as a formally independent group will simply be swallowed by the OCI.

However, there are those who may balk at the prospect of life under Lambert. In France the parity committee gambit was decided at the top, leaving many rank-and-filers disoriented as the next day they were faced with peremptory demands for a loyalty oath. Meanwhile, across the Channel in Britain LTT leader John Strawson was talking of the "French split" and swearing fealty to the International Marxist Group (IMG) and the USec.

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IMG IN CRISIS

WV Photo

EXCERPTED FROM SPARTACIST BRITAIN, NO. 16 NOVEMBER 1979

The International Marxist Group is visibly in trouble. Its less and less frequent public events attract ever smaller and more dispirited attendances. Its grand initiatives to attract the children of '68, through such Menshevik "regroupment" manoeuvres as Socialist Unity and an ostensibly broad "non-party" incarnation of *Socialist Challenge*, have been clear failures. Plaintive pleas in the lifeless *Socialist Challenge* throughout the summer advertised serious financial problems and suggested a dramatic decline in sales. As the backdrop to it all is the increasing factional polarisation and looming split in the IMG's crisis-ridden International, the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), a polarisation from which the IMG itself has predictably not been immune.

The organisation exudes an air of decay. The student vanguardism and vicarious guerrillaism of the early IMG circa 1968-72 have not aged well. And the heady perspectives of a rapid emergence of dual power in Britain, which guided the organisation through its next few years of rapid growth, have long since gone flat. Membership since has remained stagnant; lately it has begun to fall. This September's Marxist Symposium—the annual fashion show for the IMG's latest intellectual fads—featured one cadre after another musing on the organisation's numerical weakness, and John Ross openly admitted a mood of pessimism inside the IMG. It is not primarily an organisational, but a political crisis which has brought the IMG to this impasse of despair and disaffection.

The Increasing Devotion to Dubious "Lefts"

Today hundreds of IMGers, having stored away their Che Guevara posters and the motorcycle helmets which used to be *de rigeur* on demonstrations, are ensconced in a mellow routine of parochial reformist campaigns—[social services] cuts committees, solidarity groups, the tired feminist milieu, the ANL [Anti-Nazi League], etc. For many, continued membership in the IMG is an act of nostalgia. It was not the opportunities which were lacking, but a revolutionary program with which to intersect them. Reformism has at least a consistency of purpose in its pursuit of influence within the bourgeois order. Centrism is by nature transitory and inconsistent, incapable of engaging in systematic political combat with the much larger reformist, state-capitalist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) [of Tony Cliff] or even with the execrable political flotsam and jetsam which left the SWP to the right three years ago. The only conceivable alternative for the IMG was to grovel before them.

The IMG formally approached Cliff & Co. last year with some centrist idea of discussion and conflict in mind in a ludicrous combination of appeal and attack. An IMG letter last November urging formal discussions enclosed a central committee resolution which hoped that the IMG and SWP could be "moving toward unity in the medium term" but began with the sentence, "The SWP's politics represent a syndicalist break from revolutionary Marxism, i.e., Trotskyism." It added that the SWP is "prone to being drawn behind alien class forces" (SWP/GB *Bulletin*, December 1978). The SWP was quick to pick up on the inconsistencies. Replying for the state capitalists, Chris Harman pretended to be hurt:

> "What disappointed and angered us in all this was not merely the tone and sectarian phraseology which seems to have been borrowed from some publication of the Spartacists or the [Healyite] WRP, but what it indicates about the majority of your leadership. They clearly do not take seriously the aim of unification of the forces of the revolutionary left."

The IMG response has been to discard more and more criticisms. Thus we have the spectacle of a "dialogue" at the final session of the recent Marxist Symposium. Amid an atmosphere reminiscent of a chummy Oxford Union debate, the old mates of the IMG led by Tariq Ali, and a few selected SWP cadre who pride themselves on dabbling in international affairs led by Harman, swapped stories of the bad old days when both groups snarled at each other and engaged in sly, witty digs all with the proper coy camaraderie. The IMG's theme was that as a "serious revolutionary organisation" the SWP should "join the Fourth International," which Ali explicitly stated did not involve international democratic-centralist discipline.

The Russian Question

But how about the Russian question which should be the key difference between the ostensibly Soviet-defencist IMG and the "Third Camp" SWP? The IMG used to correctly consider this a key programmatic difference, sharply insisting that "those who have deserted the revolutionary Marxist position by refusing to adopt the class line of unconditional defence of the workers states against imperialism have long since lost any claim to be considered as Marxists" (IMG introduction to "The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism" by Ernest Mandel [1969]). Now, however, the same IMG makes crystal clear that it considers defence of the USSR to be of no fundamental importance.

The IMG leaders feel obliged to wilfully distort the history of the Trotskyist movement for this, claiming in a recent reply to the SWP (authored by Ali, Ross and national secretary Brian Grogan) on international perspectives: "We do not believe that the state capitalist analysis of the SWP necessarily excludes it from the Fourth International. This was the position taken by Trotsky at the time of the foundation of the Fourth International and we see no reason to change it" (*International Socialism*, Autumn 1979). But Trotsky did object on principle to forming a common organisation with anyone who drew from a "state capitalist analysis" the programmatic conclusion of refusal to defend the Soviet Union:

> "The whole course of the world workers movement beginning with July 1914 demonstrates that defeatists and defensists cannot remain in the same party if the concept of the party has in general any sort of sense. The basic task of the present discussion consists in demonstrating the full political incompatibility of defeatism in relation to the USSR with membership in the revolutionary party."
>
> —"Defeatism vs. Defensism," *Writings [1937-38]*

That was the position taken by Trotsky at the time of the foundation of the Fourth International and it remains true today.

The SWP and its predecessors are and have been social-democratic renegades from Trotskyism since their definitive capitulation to imperialism in 1950 when they abandoned the military defence of the North Korean deformed workers state. In chasing this organisation so assiduously the IMG is only underlining how vastly removed from Trotskyism they themselves are. There is a potentially fatal organisational corollary to the IMG's politically liquidationist course, for if the far larger Cliffite organisation is "revolutionary," then the outstanding differences are unimportant. The appropriate conclusion for frustrated IMGers is to vote with their feet for the SWP. Indeed there are reports that this is already happening around the country as the IMG loses members to the larger and superficially more stable SWP.

In years past IMGers downcast by domestic reversals and worn by incessant inner-party strife could at least warm themselves in the reflected glow of "the FI," i.e., the pseudo-Trotskyist USec. If a thoughtful IMGer was only too aware that the "United" Secretariat was never united and daily demonstrated somewhere in the world that it could only betray the program on which the Fourth International was founded, still it was much the biggest group claiming the mantle of Trotskyism. Not for much longer will USec leader Ernest Mandel be able to boast that "for 15 years now the FI [sic] has not witnessed a single international split" (SWP/GB *International Discussion Bulletin* No. 9). If the decade-long factional war between the American-led minority and European-based majority led by Ernest Mandel has, of late, subsided into an SWP/U.S.-dominated truce, things are by no means quiet in the USec.

The left-posturing Bolshevik Faction (BF) led by chameleon-like reformist and charlatan Nahuel Moreno is clearly headed for an expulsion or split, taking with it most of the USec's Latin American presence. So, apparently, is the French-based Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT) which politically supports the OCI of Pierre Lambert. Add to this the extreme organisational difficulties and membership decline of the European USec star sections in France and Spain and you have a recipe for gloom. USec members desperately need to tell themselves that it is better somewhere else—but it isn't.

While the BF has as yet gained few adherents in Britain, there is now a sizable contingent of the LTT headed by a political quick-change artist named John Strawson whose main talent lies in borrowing a political line from elsewhere and building an opposition around it. Having led an "anti-Pabloite" split from the IMG to join the [ex-Healyite] WSL [Workers Socialist League] in 1976, Strawson turned around less than a year later to lead a Mandelite split from the WSL back to the IMG. A staunch opponent of the SWP/U.S. line while in the WSL, Strawson wasted no time in making a bloc with SWP/U.S. supporters once back in the IMG at the 1978 national conference, only to go on to his current stint with the LTT, with yet another vastly different program.

If Strawson's British followers, many of whom were doubtless attracted by the LTT's hard "orthodox" pose in contrast to the craven liquidationism of the Ali/Ross/Grogan ilk, were to exit from the USec along with the rest of the LTT they would find themselves in the uncomfortable position of having to unite with the wretched British OCI section—the

continued on page 11

At DSOC Conference

SYL Lambastes Democratic Party "Socialists"

After years of leading a shadowy existence even more marginal politically than several self-proclaimed "communist" groups, American social democracy is starting to come out of the closet. For decades the descendants of anti-Communist Sunday school socialist Norman Thomas have been content to act as powerless brokers and "influential advisors" for liberal sectors of the government bureaucracy and labor officialdom. But with the Kennedy-Carter rivalry in the Democratic Party they now feel the time is ripe to gain the popular backing they have always lacked.

The largest of the social-democratic groupings, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), is currently pushing for a broad liberal/populist regroupment with, among others, the pro-free enterprise Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) of Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden (which backs the middle-class "Tax Revolt" and serves as stalking horse for the presidential ambitions of California's weirdo governor Jerry Brown). To its "left," DSOC has also set its sights on merger with the puddinhead neo-New Leftists of the New American Movement (NAM). In early October the DSOC front Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition joined with the Hayden/Fonda CED, NAM and a slew of liberal union tops to sponsor "Stop Big Oil" rallies around the country.

At the same time, as the U.S. heads into a major economic slump, with a president who nearly every sector in bourgeois politics agrees is a disaster, the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy senses a need to engage in some militant huffing and puffing to create the impression that they are doing something about it. *Business Week* (24 September) commented: "Unions that used to bait 'commies' and 'kooks' now join forces with socialists." And in a *Chicago Sun-Times* (22 October) article, entitled "Labor and the New Radicalism," William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), a vice chairman of DSOC, said, "I tell them [IAM members] that their president is a Socialist over and over again."

DSOC's circle of friends also includes Lane Kirkland (slated to replace George Meany as head of the AFL-CIO later this month), who, according to the *Sun-Times*, even denounces the vicious "class war" of big business against the unions. Other labor fakers in this camp include long-time crypto-social democrats Doug Fraser of the UAW, and Jerry Wurf and Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME. To top it off, even leaders of the 17 building trades unions, traditionally among the most reactionary of union hierarchs, took out an ad in the September issue of *Democratic Left* hailing DSOC's "firm and militant support of the American labor movement."

What does it all mean? Actually, the only thing "democratic" about DSOC's ultra-reformist brand of "socialism" (in reality FDR New Dealism dressed in wolf's clothing) is its total subservience to the Democratic Party. Thus coming up this month is the DSOC-organized "Conference for a Democratic Agenda" in Washington, D.C. Its aim—to pressure the Democratic Party to implement its own 1976 campaign platform.

WV Photo

Aging social-democratic Wunderkind Michael Harrington spouts liberal mush...

DSOC's youth chapters on the campuses will provide the foot soldiers for "Students for Kennedy" in 1980, while the newly "socialist" trade-union tops will once again attempt to herd their members into the voting booths to pull the levers for Democratic Party politicians. Harrington explains it this way:

> "Teddy is the best liberal in America at a time when liberalism is not enough. We need an anti-corporate candidate, willing to stand up and say, 'We've got to attack the corporations.' Teddy doesn't do that. But [a Kennedy victory] would set in motion forces very beneficial to the formation of an anti-corporate left. At first, if he wins [we should] give him a chance, a honeymoon."
>
> —*Village Voice*, 29 October

Harrington has lately taken to jetting around the country to explain why socialists should support Kennedy's campaign to become capitalism's chief executive. But wherever he goes he comes up against the revolutionary communists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). In Berkeley an SL member asked Harrington, "Could you explain how your comrades in the German SPD funneled CIA money to your comrades in the Portuguese SP to crush the revolution there in 1975?" Harrington snapped, "I'm tired of questions like that." At a meeting in San Francisco an exasperated Harrington lamented that if he got on a spaceship and went to the moon, as he opened the door there would be a Spartacist shaking his finger and accusing him of betraying the working class. And in fact while pseudo-Trotskyists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) try to nudge Harrington in the direction of building a phony "third party" movement, the SL/SYL has exposed his long and sordid history, from supporting capitalist counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956 to refusing to call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam in the 1960s (see "Harrington's DSOC: Exhuming the Rotting Corpse of Social Democracy," *Young Spartacus*, October 1979).

At the New York City DSOC convention held October 20-21, Harrington & Co. demonstrated to the audience of 75 young bureaucrats and aging ex-Shachtmanites that they cannot answer the revolutionary critique of their "Democratic Party" socialism put forward by the Trotskyists of the SL/SYL. Even DSOC's selling point of being in tight with the big-time wheeler-dealers of the American labor movement backfired, as several of the labor lakers in attendance strove to distance themselves from even DSOC's milksop liberalism. At the workshop on "Politics and Social Change" a cynical Norm Adler, AFSCME District 37 political action director, boasted that he could make or break bourgeois politicians from Bay View to the Bronx; and as a "pragmatist" he made it clear that he has no use for the likes of DSOC. Although Ellen Polansky of the McGovernite liberal New Democratic Coalition (NDC) winced as Adler reeled off the names of the machine politicians he had helped put into office, state senator Olga Mendez from East Harlem couldn't see any difference between machine Democrats and reform Democrats. Mendez announced that she had just finished eating breakfast with New York City's racist labor-hater mayor, Ed Koch.

In the discussion that followed, the Spartacus Youth League counterposed the need to build a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government. "Name me one Democratic Party politician who stood with the coal miners against the bosses and the Taft-Hartley Act in 1978!" demanded an SYLer. Rather than answer this challenge, the chairman vainly attempted to silence the comrade. Due to vigorous protests by SYL members and others in attendance, the chair finally backed down and in a humiliating attempt to maintain bureaucratic control over the meeting, offered to alternate between Spartacist and non-Spartacist speakers. At the feminist caucus the chairman wept as she attempted to silence an SYLer who denounced the social-democratic murder of heroic German Communist Rosa Luxemburg. And the student caucus was simply disbanded after four of those in attendance (at a meeting of over 20 people) identified themselves as members of the SYL during the introductions.

WV Photo

...AFSCME's cynical Victor Gotbaum shrugs.

In the plenary session, keynote speaker Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District 37 and a prominent member of DSOC, as much as told his "comrades" to get lost. "I read your program," he said. "It's easy to embrace. But I don't know how the hell we carry it out!" This says a lot about the manifest bankruptcy of social democracy, particularly in the context of New York City where both DSOC and its even more openly right-wing CIA-linked kindred, Social Democrats USA (SDUSA), have connections to the city's labor leaders.

Gotbaum wasn't kidding. During the brutal 1975-77 NYC fiscal crisis, neither he nor the SDUSA's Albert Shanker (of the United Federation of Teachers) put up any kind of fight to defend union members' livelihoods against the rapacious onslaught of the financiers. As a result 60,000 jobs were lost, not to mention millions of dollars of union pension funds which went down the Big MAC rathole. DSOC spokesman Paul DuBrul suggested in retrospect that perhaps the unions should have "used their power" during the fiscal crisis. By calling a general strike against layoffs and cutbacks? No—by withdrawing union pension funds from the banks! DuBrul also called for public takeover of that hated symbol of monopoly price-gouging, Consolidated Edison...in order to ensure "the salvation of private enterprise"!

About 30 minutes before the conference was over, the building supervisor of the hospital workers union Local 1199 hall kicked the participants out of the facility, forcing the remaining DSOC loyalists out onto the sidewalk to listen to Michael Harrington. Speaking in the wake of the stock market nose dive, Harrington announced that the capitalist system is in a crisis. His idea of a fightback? Franklin Delano Roosevelt. "It took 'til 1935, seven years after the depression, until you got some legislation that really began to respond to it." What FDR was "responding" to, however, was not the suffering wrought by the Depression but the militant union struggles of the working class, reflected in the Toledo and San Francisco general strikes, and the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters strike.

DSOC has no program to lead such struggles—its aim is to keep them from happening in the first place, while maintaining intact the unions' ties to the dead end of Democratic Party politicking. Besides, the Democrats didn't lead American capitalism out of the Depression through the New Deal but through *World War II*. As an SYL leaflet distributed at the New York DSOC conference stated, "The Democrats are a party of strikebreakers, racists, imperialist butchers, a bosses' party which differs not one whit from the Republicans as an enemy of the workers of the world.... Break with the Democrats! Dump the Meanys, Millers and Gotbaums! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!" ■

NY Anti-Porn Demo:

Feminists in Alliance With Reaction

WV Photo

New York's cruddy Times Square pinball/porn/Kung Fu-killer fantasyland isn't the nicest place to while away a few idle hours—besides being downright dangerous during the almost nightly lumpen pack-assaults on passers-by. But if people actually have the guts to go there in search of whatever furtive pleasures the place affords, that's their own business. Unlike those 5,000 feminists who marched through Times Square October 20, chanting "Pornography is the Theory. Rape is the Practice," we understand that there is a qualitative difference between the violence bred of class society and erotic/pornographic fantasies. As Marxists we oppose attempts at puritanical censorship, whether launched by open reactionaries seeking to smash whatever (limited) civil liberties formally exist, or by this new feminist "Legion of Decency."

However, the "Women Against Pornography" demonstration, led by the old *Ms.* magazine-liberal literati New York feminist gang (Gloria Steinem, Susan Brownmiller, Robin Morgan, but of course Bella Abzug, etc.), was not just another display of feminist radical-chic self-righteousness. It was a disgusting political mobilization objectively serving the most reactionary interests. Ayatollah Khomeini—not to mention Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual "Save our Children" crowd and small town "dirty" book burners—would have loved it. The "sisters" did try to keep out the open reactionaries—ripping up one man's relevant anti-abortion, anti-homosexual poster. But like it or not, that is who they're in a bloc with on this issue, all their protestations of their deep love for the First Amendment aside.

And nobody should think it's just hard-core or sadistic stuff they're after, either. At the preparatory conference for this march, one of the main publications held up for condemnation was... *Playboy* magazine (many of whose readers would probably faint dead away if they ever took a look inside those plastic-sealed magazines at the back of Times Square shops)! It's no accident that "Women Against Pornography" has received heavy financial contributions and free office space from Times Square real estate and business interests, who have been pushing the cops for some time to "clean up Times Square" so they can make a few bucks.

Pornography is not the source of violence against women. The results of Denmark's legalization of the most far-out porn prove that! It is this capitalist society with its enforced poverty, rigid family structure and straitjacket morality which breeds the poisonous frustrations that explode in violence. But since the feminist leaders of this creepy "clean up America" campaign have all long since made their peace with the powers-that-be, it's not surprising that they end up in a political bloc with the most reactionary tendencies propping up this violent and hate-filled class society. ■

Demo Against Mutilation of Women

Under a banner declaring "Women Against Genital Mutilation of 30 Million Girls," about two dozen people demonstrated before the United Nations October 31. Called by "Women Against Mutilation," the rally protested the barbaric practice of female circumcision in many African and some Asian and South American nations. The demonstration had its post-New Left feminist eccentricities (ending, for example, with a chant to the "Great Mother"), and its organizers have plenty of illusions in the UN. However, unlike the fundamentally reactionary anti-porn mobilizations, this protest exposed a little-mentioned but horribly real and widespread atrocity.

Supporters of the Spartacist League (SL) joined the protest with signs reading "No to the Barbaric Practice of Clitorectomies/Infibulation," "Stop Brutal Mutilation of Women" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." No other socialist groups were to be seen. By and large the American left hails the "progressive" demagogy of "Third World" nationalist regimes. But even many tribalist politicians who talk of "African socialism" or sport the radical-sounding label "Marxist-Leninist" defend barbaric sexual mutilation of women. "Progressive" Kenyan nationalist Jomo Kenyatta, for example, was quite explicit: "The abolition of *irua* (circumcision) will destroy the tribal symbol which identifies the age groups, and prevent Gikuyu from perpetuating that spirit of collectivism and national solidarity which they have been able to maintain from time immemorial" (*Facing Mount Kenya*). Unlike such bourgeois nationalists, Marxists struggle not to return to the primitive solidarity of the tribe, but rather for an *internationalist* collectivism based on the highest level of social and economic development. And liberal prattle about "cultural relativism," supposedly an answer to missionary society ethnocentrism, simply serves to justify the worst aspects of barbarism.

It is estimated that more than ten million girls annually are subjected to infibulation and at least an equal number to clitorectomy. Clitorectomy is the removal of the entire clitoris and labia minora, i.e., to achieve marital fidelity through surgical frigidity. Infibulation is the sewing up of the vagina, with the exception of a small hole through which the woman is supposed to urinate and menstruate. Although this circumcision is often performed as a trihal puberty rite, in many places it is carried out on children of four to eight years and younger. The "surgeon" is generally a village matron; her implement, a razor blade, knife or glass splinter. The result is pain, humiliation, shock, infection, infertility, excruciating labor in childbirth and often death.

The rationale for this savage destruction is the stability of the polygamous tribal family structure: that is, to ensure a marketable young woman at the time of marriage and a faithful one afterwards. Genital mutilation, though immeasurably more brutal, is not unlike the chastity belt in theory. In advanced capitalist countries, the bourgeois revolutions legally and formally wiped out the more abhorrent aspects of female servitude. But the Western "democracies" did not bring these bourgeois-democratic reforms with them into the colonial countries. Indeed, the most noticeable "reform" in the practice of female circumcision in the past century is that it is now often performed in hospitals! Rather, the penetration of decaying imperialism into Africa has perpetuated the most reactionary aspects of degenerated tribalism.

It is not the indifferent, condescending imperialist thieves in the UN, but the mobilization of the proletariat for the destruction of class society in its economic foundations and ideological excrescences that will end the mutilation of millions upon millions of girls. ■

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Pitiful Labourites Scold Chairman Hua

Squarely in the tradition of the Great Helmsman, Chairman Mao, who clinked glasses with Nixon while American bombers were devastating Hanoi, Chinese Prime Minister Hua Guofeng last week praised British Tory boss Margaret Thatcher for "her warnings about a Soviet military buildup" (*New York Times*, 1 November). Having just come off a visit to West Germany where even his capitalist hosts were embarrassed by his anti-Russian sabre-rattling, Hua found Thatcher's creepy, long-time, obsessional, fulminating anti-Soviet Communism very much to his liking.

The following morning, as Hua was leaving London's Highgate Cemetery after laying a wreath of roses at Karl Marx's tomb, he was approached by a delegation from the Public Employees' Union who told him they disapproved of his support for the Tories. Said group spokesman Michael Thomas, "Karl Marx would turn in his grave if he saw how Chairman Hua is talking to a woman who is keeping workers' wages down."

So what else is new? Is support to Thatcher somehow worse than China's dirty deals with butchers like the former shah of Iran and Chile's Pinochet? China's 1975 military combination with South African/U.S. imperialism to combat Russian/Cuban influence in Angola and last year's provocative Chinese invasion of Vietnam cheered on by the Americans evidently escaped the notice of the Little Englanders who now expect Hua to come out for higher wages for British workers. What a laugh! Hua would joyfully depress British wages even further in the interests of strengthening anybody's anti-Russian regime.

The British labor bureaucrats are fitting descendants of the Fabian Socialists like George Bernard Shaw and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, proponents of "socialism" through gradual evolutionary reform of capitalism. While the Fabians of the second mobilization wait for "socialism" to evolve, they devote themselves to buttressing illusions in both Labourite economism and Stalinism, which give the decaying capitalist order an extended lease on life.

The British economy has gone to hell. A desperate capitalist class prepares for an all-out fight to screw up its resolve to try to restore itself to a competitive position on the world market or die

AP

Chairman Hua and the "Iron Lady."

trying. The brutal wage-slashing offensive which has run an uninterrupted course through successive Labour and Tory governments is merely a half-way measure. While the Labourite tops disorient and demoralize the workers with apologies for austerity and class collaboration, sinister racialist and fascistic movements are massing and no longer only on the fringe of society, awaiting the moment when their leading edge of blood and terror, now directed at immigrant workers, is to be thrown up against the organized labor movement itself. And the earnest reformists can find nothing better to do than to shake a reproachful finger at Hua as if this representative of nationalistic, peasant-based "socialism" were a militant workers' leader.

As Comrade Trotsky commented in 1925 regarding the ideological antecedents of today's British Labour "leadership":

> "These inflated authorities, pedants, conceited and pompous cowards are systematically poisoning the labor movement, obscuring the consciousness of the proletariat, paralyzing its will. Thanks only to them, Toryism, liberalism, the Church, the monarchy, the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, continue to maintain themselves and even to feel secure in the saddle....
>
> "In discrediting them, we are performing an immense service to historical progress. On the day when the English proletariat frees itself from the mental baseness of Fabianism, humanity, particularly in Europe, will increase in stature by at least a head."
>
> —*Where Is Britain Going?*

Where to now—European Maoists—toward invasion of Russia or toward the working class?■

USec...

(continued from page 6)

Evidently he would prefer his comfortable niche as house critic to the prospect of deep immersion in the Labour Party, which has certainly been the fate of British branch offices of the OCI. In Sweden and Germany, Bolshevik Faction forces appear to be playing for time in order to consolidate support. But sooner rather than later the logic of the international split will be felt, whether the individual actors like it or not.

SWP Calls the Shots

The split in the USec comes in a context where virtually all of the European sections (and many elsewhere) are in a state of permanent crisis. Most dramatic has been the French LCR, which ever since its last congress in January 1979 has been *without a majority* for any tendency. At that meeting the outgoing leadership Tendency 4 received 143 votes, while the semi-oppositional Tendency 3 (of H. Weber and J.-M. Vincent) got 142. (LCR superstar Alain Krivine was not part of any of the tendencies.) The hot issue was whether or not to "fuse" with the by-now substantially larger OCI, which claims to have over 5,000 members, with Tendency 3 being hard opponents of fusion. The Bolshevik Faction Declaration/Platform quotes a graphic description of the LCR Political Bureau functioning in this period which sounds more like a truce committee than a PB of an ostensibly Marxist organization: "The PB... is a sum of individuals (who) meet once a week to make sure that no major differences have arisen since the previous meeting" (cited in [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, No. 3, July 1979).

If the LCR has long been the "star" section of the Mandelite majority, the British IMG was the second most important of the European USec sections. Its internal situation was no better, and after the failure of various regroupment schemes the IMG leadership has been discussing for some months a proposal for fusion/liquidation into the Cliffite SWP (see "IMG in Crisis" elsewhere in this issue). At its congress to elect delegates to the world USec meeting, the IMG leadership under John Ross squeaked by with 52 percent, with three opposition tendencies receiving roughly 15 percent each (one of these centering around another "historic" USec honcho, Tariq Ali, most ardent for total immersion in the SWP). And in Germany last year the Political Bureau of the GIM became so inoperative due to clique/tendency squabbling among the leadership that a tie-breaking vote was given to the USec, in effect moving the PB to Brussels. Meanwhile, virtually every other Mandelite section is in more or less acute organizational/political crisis, including Spain, Germany, Mexico and others.

What the Morenoites do not explain is the political origin of the malaise in the Mandelite ex-majority of the USec. The BF document notes that after the "new mass vanguard" evaporated following the forced-draft cooling down of the pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal (November 1975), Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) had to find a new tactical orientation. This it did, in the form of becoming the loyal left critics of a series of popular fronts (France, Italy, Spain). But because Moreno & Co. have *the same policy or worse* toward the Stalinists' and social democrats' class-collaborationist blocs with the bourgeoisie, the Bolshevik Faction makes *no fundamental critique* of the IMT's post-1975 policies (other than accusations of lingering "ultraleftism"). Yet it is precisely the collapse of the French and Italian popular fronts which placed the Mandelites in their present dilemma. As *Le Monde* of 1 November put it:

> "...within the LCR, the policies outlined by the leadership of the movement over the course of the last years have been subjected to revision after the failure of the Union of the Left without another policy having been clearly defined."

Mandel's tendency is that of rapidly rightward-moving centrism, in the tow of "Eurocommunism" and lacking any current real opportunities to tail a mass movement. But while the Mandelites whirl around looking for a new vanguard in the ecology movement, a belated feminist upsurge, lost-cause nationalists (Corsicans, Bretons), the Saharan Polisario Front—*anything!*—the American SWP has the political advantage of knowing what it wants and a consistent reformist program to get it. On the prosaic day-to-day level this is seen in the USec's SWP-initiated "proletarian turn," a program to become advisors to dissident union bureaucrats. But reformism is not just doing donkey work for liberal and social-democratic labor fakers. At bottom, when the crunch comes, it means *counterrevolution*. It means supporting Mário Soares' CIA-financed Socialist Party in Portugal in 1975, or remaining pro-imperialist neutral in the face of the imperialist invasion of Angola in 1975-76.

It also means *betrayal*, if necessary of their own "comrades"—which is why the SWP *leapt* at the chance to back (or engineer?) the expulsion of the Simón Bolivar Brigade in Nicaragua. As a recent leaflet by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, put it:

> "The United Secretariat is nowhere large enough—and certainly not in Nicaragua—to exchange, as do the reformist parties, its influence in the working class for a ministerial portfolio in the government. The USec leaders therefore offered themselves up for the dirty little job they figured might win them a place in the Sandinista entourage: [to be] an international goon squad against left critics of the petty-bourgeois FSLN and the bourgeois Nicaraguan government."
>
> —Supplement to *Le Bolchévik*
> No. 13, 1 November 1979

And the SWP not only did the job itself, but it strong-armed the Mandelites into shamefacedly shuffling along behind. While the latest USec resolution on the subject has the mildest critique of the FSLN, in the final analysis it goes along with the SWP's policy of *redbaiting* and *framing up* BF and LTT supporters in Nicaragua.

Iran! Iran!

But in Nicaragua it is only a dissident faction in the USec that immediately pays the price. The even graver betrayal is the one that none of the competing Pabloist-liquidationist USec gangs dares to mention, for they are all deeply complicit: Iran. For it is there that the women, the Kurds, the Arabs, other ethnic and religious minorities, the oil workers, leftists, homosexuals and drinkers are now suffering murderous repression at the hands of Ayatollah Khomeini and his Islamic fundamentalist mullahs. The 12 members of the USec's HKS now sitting on death row are the least of the thousands of victims. For over a year we have exposed how the SWP, Mandelites, Morenoites and Lambertists all hailed Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" as "anti-imperialist," "one of the greatest revolutions of the century" (this from Moreno, of course, who does everything with bombast), "the beginning of the proletarian revolution," etc. The international Spartacist tendency *alone* said, "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs" and warned that Khomeini would put "women in veils, workers in jails." We, and only we, told what would come if the Iranian proletariat did not forge its own independent leadership.

But finally it was too much for even Iranian USccers, and following the HKS' shameful participation in Khomeini's plebiscitary "election" for an Islamic "Council of Experts" last August the "fused" (SWP/Mandelite/OCI) Iranian group has come apart at the seams. The HKS was patched together early this year as Iranian exiles returned from Europe (Mandelites) and the U.S. (SWP), with the SWP supporters arriving on the scene first and dominating the new organization and its political line. As the most rabid mullah lovers and legalists, the SWPers naturally wanted to participate in the rigged "vote," even though Khomeini was denouncing all Marxists as "Satanic elements" and had already arrested more than a dozen HKSers. But as the ranks began to get worried about what was in store for them, the Mandelites got a majority in favor of boycott and flew off to Europe to get USec backing. While they were away, however, Babak Zahrahi, leader of the pro-SWP forces, overturned the decision and publicly announced the HKS would participate in the voting. The result was an open split, now consolidated into essentially separate organizations, as Mandelite candidates withdrew at the last minute.

So the HKS split becomes part of the crisis in the USec, and in September the LTT issued a statement condemning the SWP for its "shameful policy of 'participating' in the...so-called 'election' to a supposed 'Constituent Assembly'...." But where did this policy come from? The LTT only denounces it for having "ruined the unity" of the HKS in the "initial moments of the Iranian revolution." That "unity," which included all of the competing USec factions, was based on the program of helping the butcher Khomeini to achieve power. The "disunity" comes when it is time to pay the piper—and it is not the SWP that flinches at the bloody sight. No, in fact the latest word from the SWP's Zahrahi was that, "As strange as it may seem, there has never been as much freedom in Iran as now" (quoted in *Le*

Matin, 3 October). The cynical leading the blind.

Those who know that Trotskyism does *not* mean telling the working people of Iran that they "never had it so good"—and that it does mean putting forward an independent communist program, against both the butcher shah and the bloody ayatollah—should investigate the record of the international Spartacist tendency. Those that agree with Zahrahi will find it more congenial with Barnes, Mandel, Lambert or Moreno... provided they aren't in Iran and don't have to live with the consequences of these betrayals.

In early 1977, the iSt proposed that if, under the pressure of revolutionary events in Portugal a section of the USec had polarized around opposition to popular frontism and in favor of dual power and a Leninist party, we would welcome the opportunity to join with them in common opposition to the Mandel/SWP USec leadership. As a model for such a principled Trotskyist program we put forward a draft platform of nine points, including: no political or electoral support to popular fronts; for proletarian leadership of the national/social struggle; for military, but no political, support to bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism—build Trotskyist parties in every country; for unconditional defense of the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism, and political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies; against violence in the workers movement; for communist fractions in the unions based on the Transitional Program; for the communist tactic of the united front from above, for revolutionary regroupment and intransigent exposure of centrism; rejection of the claims of the ostensibly Trotskyist internationals, for the reforging of the Fourth International through the political destruction of Pabloism ("Reforge the Fourth International!" *WV* No. 143, 4 February 1977). That is the program that stood the test of time. ■

Who Gets the Shah?

The American ruling class in all of its imperialist arrogance and bourgeois hypocrisy can never understand the explosive hatred that the now-deposed shah of Iran evokes among his former "subjects." Nor can it understand that the Islamic zealot who deposed the shah, Ayatollah Khomeini, is a man who says what he believes when he talks about restoring the moral codes of seventh-century Bedouin tribes to present-day Iran. They didn't anticipate that allowing the bloody torturer and mass murderer who once occupied the Peacock Throne to jet to New York for expensive medical treatment would unleash a storm of fury in Iran. And they did not anticipate that the theocratic despots who now rule Iran would not only back but help mobilize fanatic Islamic students demanding the extradition of the shah to occupy the U.S. embassy in Teheran and U.S. consulates in Tabriz and Shiraz, holding their staff (including Marines) as hostages, forcing the impotent Bazargan cabinet to resign and precipitating a major diplomatic crisis.

The U.S. government's immediate reaction has been to play down the traditional recourse of "sending in the Marines," but talk of a military "rescue operation" echoes throughout the federal catacombs in Washington. President Carter, his secretary of state Cyrus Vance and various senior-grade Dr. Strangelove foreign policy advisors have congregated in the White House's 24-hour Situation Room, brooding about how to save their imperialist diplomats, CIA/NSA agents and Marine guards held prisoner in a country where the U.S. embassy was once the second seat of government. Should the U.S. launch an invasion of Iran, revolutionaries would militantly oppose this imperialist adventure.

But Khomeini is at bottom no enemy of U.S. imperialism and the cooler heads in Washington know it, though they might prefer a more "modern" Third World tyrant to deal with, like Marcos of the Philippines or the terminated president Park in South Korea. They understand that the violently anti-communist and Persian chauvinist mullahs, even as they attempt to take Iran back to the middle ages, must sell oil on the imperialist marketplace and were originators along with the Kaiser of Carter's "Human Rights" crusade against godless Russia. This is why in the past few months Washington has resumed arms shipments to Iran—arms that have been used to drown in blood the courageous uprisings of the oppressed Kurdish minority, crush the strikes of Arab oil workers and smash demonstrations of women for emancipation from the chains of Koranic "justice." Khomeini enjoys spitting in the face of the "degenerate Christian-Jewish" U.S., but for lack of an alternative source of capitalist stability, the American ruling class will swallow it. Nevertheless, the present diplomatic crisis has the singular virtue of disrupting American military support for the Islamic clerical regime, thereby giving some respite to the oppressed of Iran, particularly the tenacious Kurdish rebels.

Khomeini did not come to power simply on the basis of religious fervor, but because the shah's regime was so barbaric that many falsely believed the rule of the mullahs could not possibly be as bad. But as the ayatollahs consolidate their clerical dictatorship over the dead bodies of workers, women and minorities, Khomeini must bolster his anti-shah credentials, to hide the fact that his theocratic dictatorship is reactionary as was the shah's. Proletarian revolutionaries demand, "No asylum for the butcher shah!" Of course, it would be fitting if this sadistic murderer is shipped back to Iran to experience the vengeance of a "justice" which equals his own in the lack of due process and the barbaric practices of torture. But it is Khomeini and not the sick and deposed "king of kings" who is now the oppressor of the Iranian toiling masses. And we demand that Khomeini be tried for *his* crimes by *his* victims, through proletarian revolution and fair trial! ■

Caterpillar...

(continued from page 5)

Rather than submitting to a substandard contract and more layoffs, Chrysler workers should strike to get full wages, benefits and conditions. If Iacocca and the rest of the Chrysler hosses plead bankruptcy and inability to pay, strikers should seize the company assets, sell them off and divide the money among themselves without a penny to the parasitic stockholders. UAW members need to dump the bankrupt Fraser bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership that will not only win voluntary overtime, but jobs for all through a strategy of sit-down strikes to combat layoffs and plant closings, and a powerful industrywide fight for a shorter workweek with a big pay boost and full cost-of-living protection. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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IMG...

(continued from page 7)

Socialist Labour Group. This gang of reformists has toiled for the past few years to build a geriatric base for [the Tony Benn/Michael Foot Labour "left"] *Tribune*.

The incessant unclear factionalism, cynical horse-trading manoeuvres and wild programmatic gyrations which are the stock-in-trade of Pabloite politics have over the years ground down or even destroyed scores of subjectively revolutionary IMGers who gravitated to its earlier impressionistic leftism in the absence of a genuine Trotskyist alternative. A Trotskyist party will not and cannot be built on the basis of tailing a mass movement for Islamic reaction in Iran; of uncritically hailing treacherous Stalinists like Castro and Ho Chi Minh; of lauding any and every petty-bourgeois radical movement which comes along as a short-cut substitute for the uniquely vanguard role of the conscious proletariat.

There is no substitute for the Trotskyist program. That is what is decisive in the struggle for a revolutionary party. Not numbers, not clever manoeuvres, not impressionistic organisational "turns." Break with the centrist swamp! For the reforging of the Fourth International! ■

Non-Aligned...

(continued from page 4)

movement has replaced guerrilla struggle as the wave of the future, the SWP is ready with an explanation of how these tin-pot dictators are really anti-imperialists despite themselves. As usual, however, the response of other wings of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) to Cuba's diplomatic offensive was all over the map. In a round-up of press reactions on the subject in *Intercontinental Press* (22 October), those groups associated with the American SWP couldn't contain their praise; the New Zealand *Socialist Action* proclaimed "Cuba Summit Victory for Workers." The Costa Rican *Què Hacer?*, on the other hand, asked in its headline, "Who Are the Non-aligned?" and answered, "Tyrants, dictators and...Cuba!" The Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency of the USec, with which the Costa Rican group is aligned, presented a recent motion complaining that the SWP position on the "non-aligned movement" led to "abandon-[ing] the most elementary class criteria" (*Minutes* of French LCR Central Committee Meeting, 6-7 October 1979).

Who are they to complain? The SWP's support to the Cuban bureaucracy has been a constant for the last two decades. And Castro's present foreign policy of seeking alliances with Latin American capitalist governments is a replay of its line in the early 1960s (see "Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente," *WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977). The only current which has consistently denounced the class-collaborationist policies of the rulers of the Cuban deformed workers state and called for political revolution has been the international Spartacist tendency.

For the reformist American SWP, the class struggle has become something fought out in the UN. Reactionary capitalist dictators are transmuted into "progressives" when they applaud the speeches of Stalinist bureaucrats and "stinging setbacks" are dealt the imperialists through diplomatic coups. This is the foreign policy of "socialism in one country" and stands flatly counterposed to the real defense of the Cuban Revolution through its extension internationally.

Meanwhile the SWP is flirting with everything except Trotskyism. Its argumentation claiming that Pol Pot's Cambodia was "capitalist" openly prepares the road to a "Third Camp" position claiming that the degenerated/deformed workers states are simply new kinds of exploitative class societies. In line with this position, arising from capitulation before bourgeois public opinion in the imperialist "democracies," Max Shachtman broke with the Fourth International in 1940 by refusing to defend the Soviet Union in the Second World War. Jack Barnes and his social-democratic friends may not yet be ready for their leap into the Shachtmanite "Third Camp." But they have certainly already joined the "non-aligned." ■

A Spartacist League Forum

U.S. Imperialism in Hot Water

Labor Must Fight Carter/Kennedy's Capitalist Austerity Plan

The Panic of '79

Speaker: **George Foster**
Spartacist League
Central Committee

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BERKELEY

Correction

4 November 1979

Editorial Board
Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades:

As the reporters responsible for the article, "Jeff Mackler: Racist" which appeared in *Workers Vanguard* No. 241, 12 October 1979, we would like to correct an extremely serious error in our reporting of the incident. The Socialist Workers Party member whom we identified as the author of the racist insults aimed at a black supporter of the Spartacist League was *not* Jeff Mackler. The SWPer who was in fact responsible for this barrage of racist epithets was Roland Sheppard, a long-time member of the San Francisco branch of the SWP and brother of SWP national leader Barry Sheppard. All the other facts regarding this incident are correctly reported.

Comradely,
Larry Cooper
Joan Haney

WV Replies: It is indeed necessary to be scrupulous in these matters. The provocative racist slurs of long-time SWP cadre Roland Sheppard speak volumes about the SWP. But not every individual member of this rotten race-baiting organization is equally a race-baiter.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Auto Workers :

Drive the Klan Out of Detroit!

The following leaflet was issued on Tuesday, November 6, by several members of United Auto Workers Local 600 at Ford Motor Co.'s River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Michigan.

Cold-blooded, pre-meditated murder was committed by the Ku Klux Klan in Greensboro, North Carolina. Last Saturday the Klan leveled a hail of semi-automatic weapon fire at a peaceful demonstration of black and white textile union organizers, community activists and anti-racist militants in the black community of Greensboro. In minutes 14 anti-Klan demonstrators lay in pools of their own blood. Five are now dead. Yesterday the blood-hungry Klan in Michigan announced its challenge to the population of Detroit—they said 1,000 or so Klansmen would march "with or without a permit" at 1 p.m. on Friday from the Renaissance Center to Kennedy Square for a rally. We warned that [Rouge foremen] McKulen and Beinke's actions [see "Auto Workers Drive Out KKK-Hooded Foremen," *WV* No. 242, 26 October] were not a joke. That horrible truth could not be clearer!

If this provocation is not met by decisive action on the part of organized labor and black organizations in particular then it will not be too long before the Greensboro massacre is repeated right here. Let us not forget the audacious, brutal razor slashing of a young girl's thigh that happened last year—right in front of a UAW-sponsored anti-Nazi rally. Our leadership must immediately announce a counter-demonstration for Friday at 1 p.m. on the same spot as the threatened Klan march. Failure to do so will be a crime of cowardice that will go unmatched for some time! Torn Out the Rouge, Wayne Assemhly, Wixom, Cadillac, Fleetwood and Laid-Off Auto Workers—Join with the NAACP, Urban League, etc. to Drive These Bigoted Scum from the Streets!

On Monday before the announcement of the KKK march, we met with Ernest Lofton, second v-p of Local 600 and other Local and unit officials calling on them to mobilize a mass labor-centered demonstration in response to the Greenshoro massacre. Now, plans to hold a Saturday demonstration must be scrapped and a massive counter-demonstration must be called for Friday. We must raise the slogans: For Mass Labor/Black Action Across America to Smash the Klan and Nazis! Defend the Right of Armed Self-Defense! Jail the Killer Klansmen! Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Protesters!

We must not flinch from the obvious. We must have a recognized right to defend ourselves, our families and homes against attack. We must defend the right of armed self-defense. Look at the black family in [the Detroit suburb of] Romulus—the Klan attacks, the police arrest him for protecting himself! This is what happened in Greensboro as well—the cops self-admittedly knew and allowed armed Klansmen to drive right up to the demonstration. Then, when demonstrators sought to prevent more deaths, they were arrested! Civil rights activists in the South learned this lesson—it took the heroic organization of armed self-defense by the black community to drive back the Klan. The cops, courts and FBI are not our friends. They have a job to do for Carter, or whatever resides in the White House. For years the FBI carried out a vendetta against Martin Luther King—Gary Rowe, the paid FBI informer, murdered Viola Liuzzo in 1965 for the Klan. Rows of [Detroit mayor] Coleman Young's cops, incidentally mostly black, guarded the Nazi headquarters in Detroit last year. Individuals must not be left isolated and defenseless. We must have organized, disciplined and effective self-defense. We in the organized labor movement must smash the Klan's terror with a mobilization of our thousands of ranks.

WV Photo

SL contingent at 1978 Detroit demonstration to close Nazi bookstore.

Rouge workers were victorious with our anti-Klan petition. Many believed it was not possible, only to experience jubilation when we got the union to force McKulen and Beinke out. They must be run out of their holes! Motions passed in the DAP unit meeting last week committing our unit to the fight for firing McKulen and Beinke and to action against a small right-wing hate group in the plant called the "Brass Knuckle Caucus." Once again the membership must make its powerful voice heard! Demand our Local 600 leaders call us together to demonstrate on Friday. Tell your committeeman to fight for this. Call Brother Lofton and express your determination that the Klan be stopped. We are thousands and we are strong! Once the labor movement has entered the battle with fierce determination the murdering Klan and Nazis days are numbered! ■

Rouge Workers Demand Anti-KKK Demo

ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH
4 NOVEMBER 1979

DEARBORN, Michigan, Nov. 4 (AP)—United Auto Workers union members at Ford Motor Co.'s Dearhorn Rouge Plant passed a resolotion this weekend demanding that two white foremen who wore Ku Klux Klan-type garb to the plant in September be fired for their actions.

The foremen, Tim McKulen and Fred Beinke, were transferred respectively to Ford's Wixom and Wayne Assembly plants in Michigan, according to Portia Maddox, a Rouge plant worker who organized support for these resolutions.

They were approved Saturday by [a union meeting representing] 4,500 members of the Dearhorn Assemhly Plant unit within the massive UAW Local 600, which collectively represents several smaller workers units at the Rouge plant.

"Myself and others organized the petition drive that drove the foremen out," Frank Hicks, a Rouge tradesman, said Sunday. "We foond out Friday they just were transferred to other plants. The workers thought that was just a slap on the wrist. Now (the demand for their firing) is an official union motion."

Miss Maddox, who has worked for two years on the Rouge production line, said Sunday [members of] the assembly unit also [are] asking Local 600 leaders to [hold] a "smash the Klan terror" demonstration in downtown Detroit. The rally would protest what she called growing Klan power and Satorday's death of four anti-Klan marchers in Greensboro, N.C.

Police arrested 14 persons, a dozen of whom they said claimed to be KKK members, after Saturday's violence. Two carloads of whites emptied automatic weapons into a "Death to the Klan" rally in Greensboro, killing three white men and a black woman.

"The (Dearhorn) workers are really mad," Hicks, a white worker, said. "We want the union to make a powerful statement in defense of the rights of blacks." The resolution itself read: "This unit calls on Local 600, UAW Local 36 [Wixom] and the International to take all necessary actions to insure the firing of these two supervisors for their outrageous KKK provocations."

Miss Maddox, who is black, said she personally learned ahout the Klan through the '60s turmoil in the South. "I went through it in Birmingham (Ala.) in 1963 and I know what they stand for," she said. "A lot of people here don't like what they stand for. I think the response of the white workers has been great." "We were happy in the plant because we thought the foremen had been gotten rid of, hut when we foond out that they were just transferred we were really angry," she continued. "The company didn't tell us anything, we just found oot ahout it Friday. We were under the impression they had been fired."

Asked why she thought there has been an apparent resorgence of KKK activity, Miss Maddox said, "I don't know what's sparking the Klan again but they are twice as large now as they were ten, fifteen years ago. I guess it has to do with jobs. With the economy so had, (mayhe they wonder) why woold blacks be working and they're not."

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 244 23 November 1979

Khomeini Fanatics Provoke Imperialist Threats

Iran Embassy Crisis

NOVEMBER 20—The seizure of the American embassy and staff in Teheran enters its third week with the most dangerous imperialist power in history locked in diplomatic/economic warfare with a priest caste of Shi'ite mullahs who want to return to the seventh-century puritanical desert "paradise" of the Koran. In Iran, the embassy occupation and taking of 62 hostages by well-organized Muslim "students" demanding the extradition of murderous ex-dictator Shah Reza Pahlavi from his New York City hospital bed has revitalized waning popular support for the theocratic regime of Ayatollah Khomeini. From the United States has come a backlash of "national unity." Reacting to a feeling of helplessness, right now many Americans would approve of nuking Qum, the religious capital of Khomeini's Persian-chauvinist Islamic sect. The Iran embassy crisis has even accomplished the feat of temporarily bolstering an image of the desperate Jimmy Carter as a "national leader."

The mullahs claim their action is directed against the U.S. government which granted the shah "medical asylum," and not against the "American people." But that is not the way the American people are viewing it. It is not just the right-wingers organizing flag-waving anti-Iranian demonstrations. The Teheran embassy is denounced not merely as a "nest of spies," which it certainly is, but also as a "den of corruption." Purging "corruption" in Khomeini's Iran includes banning popular music, movies, alcohol, mixed bathing, extra-marital sex, homosexuals and most other aspects of "decadent Judeo-Christian" Western culture... except dollars, marks, the pound sterling, etc. Hearing the fanatical ayatollah calling for a purge of all "America-loving rotten brains" (intellectuals), watching American tourists and American contractors working in Iran dragged out of hotels and offices and thrown in with the hostages, the U.S. population has responded with a wave of national chauvinism.

New York Times

AP

UPI

As U.S. flag burned over captured Teheran embassy, flag-wavers in Houston reacted with chauvinist frenzy.

The *New York Times* (20 November) reports: "Ayatollah Khomeini has leveled a general charge that the American Embassy was a 'nest of spies.' The White House and State Department have refused to comment directly on that accusation." And for good reason. Under the shah, the U.S. embassy was notorious as a branch office of the CIA, a coequal and sometimes predominant seat of power with the Niavaran Palace. High CIA officials were posted to Teheran as American ambassadors, including Richard Helms and William Sullivan. We shed no tears for the imperialist diplomats, NSA/CIA agents and Marine killers captured by the Islamic students. And even while the government was disclaiming any intention of military aggression against Iran and counseling "calm," the Pentagon has created a 110,000-man "Rapid Deployment Force" standing by for such emergencies. Revolutionaries and the American working class must militantly oppose military action by U.S. imperialism against Iran.

Having made this clear, we must point out that this was hardly the heroic Tet offensive of 1968, which besieged the U.S. embassy in Saigon, nor the 1958 rock-throwing attack on Vice-President Nixon in Caracas—both clearly blows by left-wing forces against U.S. imperialist strongpoints and rulers. The mullahs have not been waging a struggle against imperialism at all—on the contrary, Khomeini's government had most recently been negotiating with Washington for resumption of billions of dollars in military aid to be used against Kurdish rebels, Arab oil workers, Iranian leftists and the Soviet Union. The Teheran embassy seizure and hostage-taking was a *diversion*. It was fundamentally an attempt to refurbish Khomeini's anti-shah credentials in a period of growing disillusionment with, and opposition to, his clerical-reactionary rule.

Internationally, the Khomeinites' action has met with disfavor from governments of almost every stripe. The

continued on page 10

Ayatollah Nuttier Than Shah But:

Hands Off Iran!

NOVEMBER 20, 11:30 p.m.—U.S. President Jimmy Carter has now threatened military retaliation against Iran. Today the State Department announced that the aircraft carrier Midway and five other warships are standing by in the Arabian Sea, while the carrier Kitty Hawk is sailing from the Philippines. Is Washington getting ready to write off the hostages?

The Khomeini-led Muslim fanatics have violated diplomatic prerogatives in a way that not even the Nazis did. But Carter is invoking the felt outrage of the American people in order to get back into the White House over the bodies of tens of thousands of Iranians, whose just desire to take their own country back has been mobilized by a clerical-medievalist fanatic.

The essential thrust of American policy toward Iran for decades has not just been to plunder the country but an anti-Communist crusade against Russia. The U.S. imperialists started sending machine-gun bullets to the mad mullah Khomeini in order to *get the Soviet Union*. And as was demonstrated by John Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis, when it comes to taking the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust, the U.S. bourgeoisie is no more rational than the ayatollah of Qum.

Meanwhile Carter is giving this tin-pot "Imam" just the excuse he needs to justify the privation of the Iranian masses for a generation: blame it on the Americans.

The American working class must militantly oppose these war threats. In the event of actual U.S. armed intervention, workers and socialists must stand for military defense of Iran against imperialist attack, while opposing the reactionary mullah rulers, and stand ready to offer revolutionary defensism toward the Soviet degenerated workers state as well.

Fed Vendetta Against Brooklyn Docks Leader

Who Got Tony Scotto—and Why

After a sensational nine-week trial, Brooklyn dock union leader Anthony Scotto was convicted by an NYC jury of accepting some $225,000 in illegal payoffs, as well as the ubiquitous charge of income tax evasion. The highly polished general organizer of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) since 1963 and president of the powerful Brooklyn Local 1814 now faces up to 20 years in prison. He also faces being forced out of his elected union posts and being cleaned out by the IRS. Convicted together with Scotto on charges of "labor racketeering" was Anthony Anastasio, executive vice president of Local 1814.

One thing was not in question. Somebody had gotten Tony Scotto and gotten him good. Not without effort. The government hounded him for 20 years, at least since the day in 1957 when he married the daughter of "Tough Tony" Anastasio (previous head of the ILA). Robert B. Fiske, Jr., U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York who prosecuted the case himself, had high praise for this tireless FBI project. And why shouldn't he? According to the *New York Times* (18 January), the FBI admits to having over *100* full-time personnel as waterfront "investigators," many of them devoted exclusively to the Scotto vendetta. During the last two years, for instance, the 25-man FBI Squad 54 has been holed up in the firehouse on Pier A at the foot of Whitehall Street in Lower Manhattan, headquarters for their spying operation on the building across the pier which houses the union offices of Anthony Scotto. "This was only part of what Quentin Ertil, an FBI spokesman, called 'one of the most extensive investigations in the bureau's history'."

So after all the investigations, after bugging everything huggable, after the secret wiretaps, the miles of taped whispers, the years of computerized confidences (not to mention the millions in taxpayers' money spent for the FBI teams, the Justice Department investigators, the high-grade legal staff)—after all this, what do they claim to have on this man? They claim he took about five grand a month in payola. What? No "On the Waterfront" murders? No victims in the East River with concrete boots? Nobody baked to a crisp in a pizza oven? Not even a conspiracy to break a thumb? It is not that Mafia mobsters do not exist—a story popular mainly at Columbus Day Parades—but that this man in his elegantly tailored and perfectly-pressed dark suits is not one of them. Tony Scotto is no violent mobster. So *why* did the feds get him?

Pescatore/NY Daily News

Tony Scotto, wife Marion and son.

A Question of Character

It is in this sense that the Scotto trial indicted the government and acquitted the union leader in the eyes of millions of observers. The prosecution did not prove the substantive corruption of Scotto, but the deep corruption of the federal government's own long and bitter vendetta against him. Immediately before the public were placed questions of character: Scotto's, and the government's. The contrast was there in the trial week after week. In cross-examination it was Robert Fiske, G-man on the make vs. Scotto the union leader. The government had set upon him and his family with its surveillance and tricks, its pressure and prejudice. Finally, the prosecution trapped one of Scotto's weaker friends, forcing a confession and a betrayal of friendship. They strapped a concealed tape recorder to the thigh of William "Sonny" Montella to get evidence against Scotto. Montella—"friend," federal informer, government fink—is the "hero" of this "On the Waterfront" drama, the guy who "coulda been a contender, Charlie." He didn't seem like much of a contender for character in the Scotto trial.

It was the tapes that convinced the jury, carefully schooled to judge the narrowest legal issue. Murray Kempton, who has written about the Scotto trial with compassion and intelligence, saw the tapes too within the modern morality drama being played out in Foley Square:

> "And yet, curiously, to read the transcript of those tapes was to have the mind haunted not so much by what they may or may not have confessed as by the crying out of the wounds that Anthony Scotto has sustained from this government's harrying of him that began on his wedding day almost 20 years ago."
>
> —*New York Post*, 13 November

The fascination of the media with this third-generation dock worker from Brooklyn's rundown Red Hook district who scrapped his way up in a rough union to be its 45-year-old soft-spoken leader is deserved. The man who married the niece of Albert Anastasia—the "enforcer" of "Murder, Inc."—and went on to lecture at Harvard and become a trustee for the Brooklyn Academy of Music has a lot of friends. The witnesses to Scotto's character included New York State governor Hugh Carey and two former NYC mayors, John Lindsay and Robert Wagner.

But Scotto was not a mobster collecting "protection" money, nor a Tammany Hall machine boss issuing orders to mayors and governors. He tried hard to be a respectable Democratic Party power broker, and in the main he succeeded. Tony Scotto was not a small man; if he didn't have a good reason not to, he was always ready to do someone a favor. He was popular on the docks, and obviously he held a lot of IOU's from the Democratic Party pols as well.

Politically Tony Scotto is a liberal: a "civil rights activist" in the early '60s, later a prominent labor "dove" on the Vietnam War. As a liberal he has taken up such causes as boycotting Rhodesian chrome, and also calling for a reactionary boycott of grain shipments to Russia during the 1973 Arab-Israel War. He is credited with winning the Guaranteed Annual Wage. At the same time this was obtained by agreeing to the elimination of thousands of longshore jobs through "modernization" contracts.

Scotto wanted social status, political clout, and plenty of money. Like many others these days, he found it hard to live in New York on less than $100,000 a year. But these are not crimes. He claims he shuffled some money from the stevedoring bosses to the campaigns of liberal Democratic friends; the prosecution claimed he used it for himself. He didn't live particularly high on the hog, but who knows? Or particularly cares? A man who cultivated such fast friends at the top of the political ladder was bound to turn over a few poisonous enemies. Just who they are may never be known. Or, are there more sinister forces, perhaps in the union, who want Scotto out of the way?

Feds Out of the Unions

One thing is clear. The 20-year vendetta against Anthony Scotto was relentlessly carried out not because he was suspected of taking some extra money. All told, the FBI claims Scotto

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French Trotskyists Reply to Thug Attacks

OCI/LCR in Frenzy

We reprint below a column written by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), originally scheduled to appear in the 23 November issue of Rouge, *newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). LCR leaders Alain Krivine and Laurfan had promised to print the column, but changed their minds when they saw it contained "political characterizations"—i.e., criticisms of the LCR.*

In the most recent issues of *Rouge* and *Informations Ouvrières*, one finds the LCR[1] and the OCI[2] denouncing each other for violating the democratic rights of the Ligue Trotskyste de France[3]. Of course, their reciprocal accusations are well-founded. At the November 13 meeting called by the OCI to defend [illegible] democratic rights of Trotskyists in Nicaragua against repression by the Sandinista/bourgeois government, the OCI gave a concrete example of its own conception of workers democracy: as soon as a group of 14 LTF supporters started to distribute leaflets and sell our press, about 50 members of the OCI goon squad immediately intervened to violently drive off the militants, hitting several comrades and tearing up leaflets and newspapers. All those who rose to our defense were also harassed. (These facts from the LTF press release of 13 November rectify the incorrect version of events printed in *Rouge*.)

If the LCR now suddenly finds itself concerned with our democratic rights it is not out of respect for workers democracy, but because the LCR seeks to exploit this incident in its factional confrontations with the OCI and LCI[4]. The sanctimonious protestations in *Rouge* ring hollow since only one month ago a Krivine goon squad forcibly expelled a spokesman for the LTF from an LCR meeting on Nicaragua when he attempted to take the floor to criticize the USec's craven capitulation before the Sandinistas. The USec leaders have offered themselves for the sordid little job they think will warrant them a place in the Sandinista entourage: international goon squad against left critics of the petty-bourgeois FSLN and the Nicaraguan government.

Why the LTF and Why Now?

All the factions now competing with each other were unified at one point: together they bowed before the mullahs in Iran while the international Spartacist tendency called from the beginning for "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs!" Now, however, in pursuit of his wrecking operation against the rapidly rightward moving centrists Mandel and Krivine, the reformist Lambert (and his lackeys Nemo, Ulysses et al.,[5] along with the reformist-adventurer Moreno) has launched a carefully orchestrated programmatic attack against the USec's total capitulation and liquidation in Nicaragua. The result so far has been splits in the USec and the formation in France of the LCI.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 244 23 November 1979

The Threat Behind Imperialist Tears for Cambodia

ADAPTED FROM
AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST
NOVEMBER 1979

Cambodian refugees head for camps in Thailand, staging areas for imperialist-backed reaction. Berges/Sygma

For the past month it has been impossible to pick up a paper or turn on the TV without confronting the agonizing spectacle of skeletal and dying Cambodian refugees struggling over the border to "sanctuary" in Thailand. The starvation is real, but the message—that if only it weren't for obstruction by the bloodthirsty Vietnamese, "free world" leaders like Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter and his tag-along "statesman" [Australian prime minister] Malcolm Fraser would have been able to rush in massive aid long ago—is a vicious lie of genocidal proportions.

Oh, Cambodia used to be such a "lush, gentle land," they cry. And Phnom Penh used to be so "elegant and luxurious," so "civilized" a watering hole—at least for the suave diplomats and mass murderers of imperialism. All this sudden imperialist "humanitarianism" comes from people whose hands are soaked with the blood of the Indochinese peoples. Coming from Rosalynn Carter and her husband (who as governor of Georgia declared a day of celebration for "our boys" in Vietnam, protesting the conviction of My Lai mass murderer Lt. William Calley), this "concern" is cruelly hypocritical. The U.S. didn't care too much about "the survival of the Khmer people" when it rained more bombs on the Cambodians even than it did on the Japanese during World War II.

Although most bourgeois pundits trace the cause of the present starvation back to the murderous horrors of the Pol Pot regime which overthrew the U.S. puppet Lon Nol in 1975, the real beginning is in early 1969, when the U.S. began four years of the most devastating carpet bombing of the Vietnam War. Between 1970 and 1973, the U.S. rained down an average of more than *100 tons* of bombs for every man, woman and child in Cambodia, turning heavily populated areas into fields of craters and destroying agricultural dikes and waterworks. Probably a million died in Cambodia during the civil war against Lon Nol, and famine already existed when the U.S. brutally cut off all aid following the fall of its henchman in 1975.

Certainly there's plenty of horror to go around. The Pol Pot regime, ousted by Vietnamese forces this spring, while it overthrew capitalism, was undoubtedly the most brutal, primitive and bizarre Stalinist dictatorship ever to rule a deformed workers state. While it's necessary to critically examine atrocity stories from obviously self-interested sources, the total mass of evidence is convincing. The Vietnamese "boat people" do not claim they've left a land of mass murder and rampant starvation, as do the thousands of Cambodian refugees. Nor do those mainland Chinese fleeing to Hong Kong claim they were forcibly marched hundreds of miles from their homelands, made to work at gunpoint and live in sexually segregated compounds.

Now that they've been thrown out and are looking for allies, even Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge are engaging in a little self-criticism. Former foreign minister Ieng Sary admits that some cadres "did not give medicine to the sick people though there were medicines, some people were made to work hard though they were not in a position to do so.... Some cadres even forbade people to grow maize or sugar cane around their houses as it was considered a sign of individualism. Those who had grown them were not even allowed to eat them" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 22 June). In *Le Monde* (2 June) Sary admits that when the present Heng Samrin government was installed in January, there were "people who went toward...the Vietnamese, attracted by their program."

There is no doubt that the plight of the Cambodian people today is desperate. But the sudden announcement of "concern" by the United States and its anti-communist allies of the ASEAN alliance (Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia) is nothing but the thinnest cover for a renewed imperialist drive to "save" Cambodia for capitalism—and, they hope, to strike a blow against the Vietnamese deformed workers state. For months now the U.S. and its new ally China have maneuvered to isolate the Hanoi-backed Heng Samrin government, upholding the universally despised Pol Pot regime as the "legitimate" representative of the Cambodians in the United Nations.

Thus it's no accident that UN special sessions on providing food to Cambodia took place only a week before the General Assembly passed a motion November 14, sponsored by the ASEAN nations and heavily lobbied for by Peking, calling on Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. And at an "emergency conference" on Cambodia held at the Riverside Church in New York City on November 17, the main speakers unanimously called for a Geneva-style international conference to restore Cambodia's "national integrity" and "neutrality." Keynote speaker In Tam, former prime minister in a pre-Lon Nol government, pushed for a "third force" under Prince Norodom Sihanouk. This, of course, is simply a call for capitalist restoration.

Food Is "Not Political"?

Meanwhile, the Pol Pot forces are increasingly desperate and isolated. Rapidly reduced to a small band and driven into the mountainous regions near the Thai border, the remnants of the Khmer Rouge have been kept alive with food and sanctuary in Thailand, including permission to escape Vietnamese forces through Thai territory and re-enter Cambodia at safer points. They have also been allowed to receive arms from their Stalinist Chinese backers across Thai territory (*Financial Review*, [Sydney], 26 October). In February, after promising the U.S. to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson," China launched a "punitive" invasion, thus solidifying the U.S./China alliance aimed against the Soviet Union and putting additional military pressure on Vietnam.

Three months ago, the Heng Samrin government of Cambodia urgently appealed to the Red Cross and UN relief agencies for food and vital medical supplies, only to be met with a string of hypocritical "guarantees" and "conditions." Any aid to Phnom Penh had to

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Heng Samrin Lower/Contact

Pol Pot Gamma-Liaison

Lon Nol Burnett/Contact

Prince Norodom Sihanouk Gamma-Liaison

"No Strike" Reformists Vie for Power

NY Transit Workers Need a Fighting Leadership

After five disastrous years of New York City "austerity"—60,000 municipal jobs lost, real wages slashed and extraordinary suffering for the whole population—the ranks of NYC labor are seething. With the big city union contracts coming up this spring, even Victor Gotbaum, chief milksop of the 1974-76 Big MAC assault on the municipal unions, now says the 100,000 members of his AFSCME District Council 37 are "in pain" over rising inflation. Sanitation workers leaders hope to get more "clout" by joint bargaining of the "uniformed services" (i.e., "uniting" with the strikebreaking cops). And meanwhile a four-way fight is underway for leadership of the powerful Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, representing the city's 35,000 bus and subway workers.

The labor-hating dailies have taken particular note of the Local 100 elections, with mail ballots for local and divisional officers and a new executive board due to be counted on December 5. They fear that "there will certainly be a strike" (*New York Times*, 28 October) when the current contract expires March 31 if TWU Local president John Lawe is defeated. NYC rulers well remember the lesson transit workers taught wonder-boy mayor John Lindsay in 1966, when Local 100 singlehandedly defied court injunctions and arrests, shutting down the financial capital of the United States for 12 days. They have reason to fear—for transit workers have been taking it on the chin and as a *Post* columnist put it: "The troops are restless."

At issue is the need to recover the staggering cuts in real wages lost during the last five years. Traditionally the TWU leadership has had a "go it alone" mentality, but this time they went down along with everybody else. After an 18 percent drop in real wages from 1974 to 1978, during the last contract it was made even worse with an insulting 6 percent raise in the face of double-digit inflation. Once the second-highest-paid in the U.S., New York bus drivers have now dropped to *sixteenth* place in the country. So with union negotiations approaching, the Metropolitan Transit Authority is threatening a further 20 percent cutback in service (supposedly to save the 50-cent fare) despite the half-billion dollar transportation bond issue just extorted from taxpayers.

At the same time the Emergency Financial Control Board (a state-created panel of bankers with veto power over union contracts) is once again "predicting" layoffs. And since he had such a ball with the last "fiscal crunch," Mayor Ed Koch has already slated a new financial crisis for 1982! What the poor and working people of New York City urgently need is a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, capable of waging a fight to smash the whole EFCB/Carey/Koch austerity program. However, none of the opposition groups in the TWU puts forward such a program to mobilize this key sector of the city workforce, through industrial action and politically, nor even to adequately defend the members' livelihoods from the new capitalist onslaught.

TWU Can Lead the Way

Born during the great unionization drives of the 1930s, the Transport Workers Union was first organized out of the same building as the Communist Party's Trade Union Unity League. It used militant strikes and a historic 1937 power plant occupation to win union recognition from the Rockefeller- and Morgan-owned subway and bus lines. TWU head Mike Quill was one of NYC labor's most colorful leaders: in response to red-baiting in the '30s he replied, "I'd rather be called a red by a rat, than a rat by a red." In 1937 he was first elected to the New York city council on the American Labor Party slate, which endorsed ex-Republican La Guardia for mayor. (The ALP was a bogus "labor party" cooked up by Rooseveltian union tops and the Stalinists to win workers' votes for "progressive" capitalist politicians like FDR.)

Transit workers demonstrate against '78 sellout contract. WV Photo

Despite its militancy, Quill's TWU never transcended CP-brand reformism. And with the onset of the Cold War, Quill broke with the Communist Party, conducting a vicious red purge in the union. While routinely breaking wildcat strikes in the '50s, he kept a toughness unknown to the smooth AFL-CIO brand of "labor statesmen." Dragged off to jail during the 1966 strike for ripping up anti-strike court injunctions, Quill declared: "The judge can drop dead in his black robes!" The

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Steel Workers Demand: Get Keith a Union Lawyer!

USWA Chiefs Threaten to Scuttle Anwar Defense

CHICAGO — Steel workers in the Chicago/northern Indiana area are rallying to stop their International and district union leaders from sabotaging the fight to save the job of Keith Anwar. A member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1010, Anwar was fired by Inland Steel last May for respecting the picket lines of another USWA local at the East Chicago mill. In the last week over 1,500 steel workers have signed petitions demanding that Anwar's grievance not be dropped, that the union immediately provide him with a lawyer and aggressively take all measures necessary to get his job back.

The petition was prompted because USWA International president Lloyd McBride and District 31 director Jim Balanoff have made the case into a factional football, threatening to drop the case through inaction. Although an arbitration date has been set for November 29, both District 31 and International tops have balked at providing Anwar with representation at the hearing. According to Anwar, the International earlier withdrew an attorney assigned to the case, then sent Jim Balanoff a letter informing him that it was his responsibility either to handle the case himself or obtain outside counsel. Balanoff's response was "no lawyer." Meanwhile Ted Rogus, the union's staff representative formally in charge of the case, has threatened to drop the grievance if no lawyer is secured.

A leaflet dated November 14 issued by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee asks: "What's all the crap about? McBride and Balanoff seem to think that their factional squabbling and maneuvering before the 1981 [USWA] elections is more important than the defense of the principle that no union member should be forced by the company to cross a picket line. Keith Anwar lost his job fighting for that principle and the union needs a victory in this case so that our strikes don't have picket lines that are like swiss cheese... if this grievance is allowed to die it will be a slap in the face to the entire District membership."

Balanoff's posture is particularly outrageous given the tremendous amount of support Anwar has received from District 31 steel workers. According to Anwar, "Balanoff could break this logjam in five minutes. The International even agreed in writing to pay the legal expenses of any attorney that Balanoff obtained." The Anwar defense case has been endorsed by Locals 1010 and 65 and by some 400 individual union members. Five hundred District 31 USWA members signed post cards addressed to the union urging a vigorous defense of Anwar, and last month his own Local 1010 sponsored a rally in support of the right to honor picket lines with Anwar as a featured speaker.

The rally was approved by the Rank and File Caucus, which has overwhelming control in Local 1010 and which is closely tied to the "progressive" Balanoff District leadership. Moreover, prosecuting this grievance with "all available resources" is *official District policy*. Last June the District 31 conference unanimously adopted a resolution which went on record to defend all union members victimized by the companies for respecting picket lines and demanded in particular that Keith Anwar be reinstated with full back pay and seniority.

The leaflet issued by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee emphasized that during Balanoff's election campaign, "...he talked a lot about 'the right to strike,' but today all we're getting is a lot of hot air. If Balanoff doesn't get behind this case he's going to prove to the District membership that he is a phony. Phonies don't get votes and the Rank and File Caucus should think twice about where their leadership is taking them." Now is the time for steel workers to mobilize to save the Anwar grievance and the right to honor picket lines. Implement the District 31 policy! Get Anwar's job back! ■

Funds and support are needed more than ever. The Keith Anwar Defense Committee can be reached at Box 7914, Chicago, Illinois 60680. Phone: (312) 768-2233.

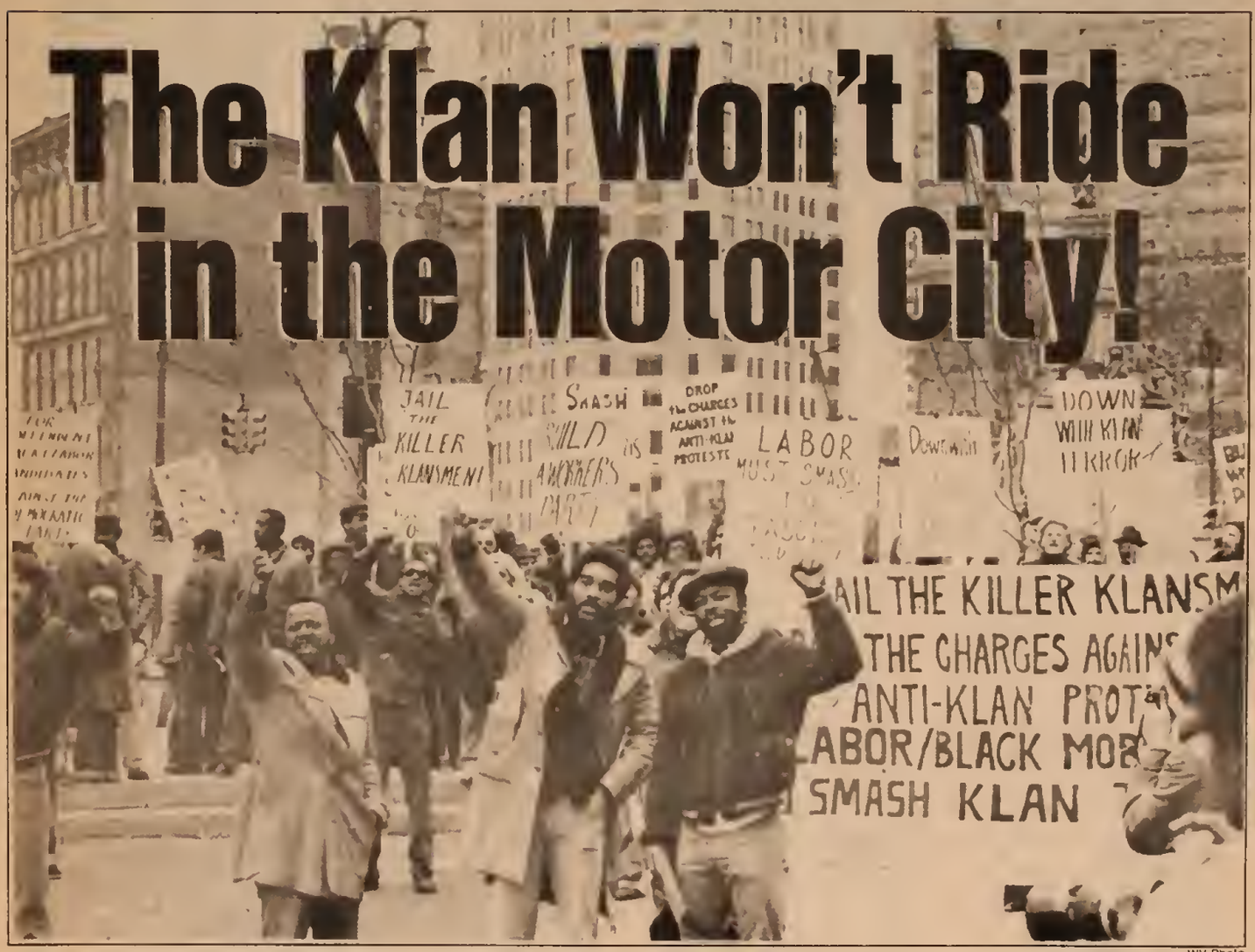
WORKERS VANGUARD

16 November 1979

Special Supplement

500 at Detroit Labor/Black Rally Say:

The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!



WV Photo

On Saturday, November 10, in Detroit's Kennedy Square, five hundred trade unionists, ghetto youth, students and socialist militants protested against Ku Klux Klan terror. The demonstration's initial endorsers included two dozen area unionists and black spokesmen, and it was heavily built by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. This was no ordinary middle-class liberal protest but something not seen in years: a labor/black rally to stop the Klan. The crowd was overwhelmingly (two-thirds) black; a hundred or more came, individually and in groups, from Detroit factories, particularly the huge auto plants. Their message: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

One week ago, five anti-Klan demonstrators had been murdered in cold blood, gunned down by the KKK in Greensboro, North Carolina. The killers didn't hide behind white hoods as in their nighttime cross burnings. In broad daylight 30 of them drove in a caravan to a black housing project, followed (escorted) by local police, pulled out their shotguns and rifles and in full view of television cameras began pumping lead into a peaceful march. The victims were long-time civil rights activists and union organizers, and they called themselves communists. The capitalist press and capitalist politicians unanimously termed it a "Klan-leftist shootout," even though not a single KKKer was even scratched. Now they claim that the anti-Klan demonstrators fired first, which—as the millions who saw the news footage on TV know—is a lie.

It was an outrage—spectacular and bloody evidence of the growth of the Klan and other fascistic terrorist organizations in recent years. The Greensboro massacre demanded an immediate, powerful response: a mobilization by left, labor and black groups to stop the KKK killers in their tracks. But the official union and black leaders refused to move and even joined in the slanderous chorus against "extremists," equating the murderers with their victims, while most "socialist" groups sat on their hands. A protest was needed, a labor/black mobilization against the Klan.

There was such a demonstration, on November 10 in Kennedy Square in downtown Detroit. The organizers of the protest had to overcome opposition from the union and black misleaders; they had to face down a ban on anti-Klan marches imposed by the city government. It was a *victory* for all those who deeply want to smash the KKK that this 500-strong labor and black rally took place in the industrial powerhouse of the country. This was a long way from the tens of thousands that were urgently needed. But November 10 showed that *it can be done*. It was a demonstration with a powerful program, which pointed the way forward to an America free from organized race-hate murder and mass unemployment.

After the Greensboro massacre: Anti-Klan protester leans over body of fallen comrade.

River Rouge Workers Move Against Klan

While the Klan has been staging provocative marches across the South, it also reared its head in Detroit. Racist harassment in suburban Romulus and then an incident at Ford Motor Company's giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn in late September. When two foremen in the trim department donned Klan hoods and paraded through the area, six workers put down their tools and walked off in protest. The line stopped. When the six were threatened with disciplinary action a petition drive was launched, gathering over 1,000 signatures, demanding the firing of the foremen (Beinke and McKulen) and no victimization of the workers. As a result of this massive show of support and press publicity, the union (United Auto Workers Local 600) leadership finally took up the issue and management promised the offenders would be out of Rouge.

But on Friday, November 2, union militants at Rouge discover that the foremen who committed the racist provocation were merely transferred to Ford's Wixom and Wayne Assembly plants. The next day a meeting of the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) unit of Local 600 is held. There is anger over the company's trick and the union's failure to block it. A motion is passed fire the foremen! As the workers leave the meeting they learn over TV and radio of the vicious Klan murder in Greensboro.

On Sunday, Associated Press reports the DAP resolution. The dispatch quotes Frank Hicks, a Rouge skilled tradesman who helped organize the petition drive, calling on the UAW to hold an anti-Klan demonstration: "The workers are really mad. We want

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WV Photo

Klan Won't Ride...

(continued from page 5)

the union to make a powerful statement in defense of the rights of blacks." On Monday a Michigan Klan spokesman threatens to parade in the streets of Detroit—a predominantly black city and union stronghold, with 300,000 auto workers. Mayor Coleman Young makes light of it, saying he'll watch the Klan parade on television. Later, on Tuesday, Young announces that both pro- and anti-Klan marches will be prohibited.

Finally, on Wednesday morning the Local 600 executive board meets and rejects the demand for a Saturday demonstration. Instead the bureaucracy under President Mike Rinaldi says it will write to Jimmy Carter and the U.S. attorney general with an "even-handed" protest against all violence against Americans of any creed or color! This abdication is virtually an invitation for the KKK to stage its race-hate march, on Friday or some time in the future. If the union tops won't do something, somebody else had better.

Blackout and Fear

By 1 a.m. Thursday morning, some two dozen people, seven of them Rouge workers, have endorsed a leaflet for an anti-Klan demonstration. The pictures tell the story: "This... or this." Rouge workers drive out KKK-hooded foremen in Detroit... or Klan murders and cop beatings in Greenshoro. "Mayor Coleman Young," the leaflet reads, "said we who oppose the Klan have no more rights than the KKK killers, that we should not show our faces on fear of arrest. We say no to Coleman Young... and Coleman Young better think about it." The demands: Down with Klan Terror! For the Right of Southern Black Armed Self-Defense! For Factory Seizures Against Layoffs! Oust the Bosses' Tools in the Labor Movement! For Independent Black and Labor Candidates Against the Democratic Party! Build a Workers Party! RALLY AT KENNEDY SQUARE! BE THERE!

The leaflet is rolling off the presses by noon, with an initial press run of 35,000.

But we need to reach hundreds of thousands by newspaper, TV and radio. A press conference is called for 5 p.m. but the local press boycotts it. Paid ads are refused by the conservative *Detroit News* and the "liberal" *Free Press*. The *News* says the issue is too inflammatory; the *Free Press* says the ad is too inflammatory. Blackout. On Thursday evening reports coming in from leafleting of the day shift at the auto plants indicate Young's threat has gotten around. Workers are sympathetic to a demonstration against the Klan, but they don't want to get arrested.

Showdown

As the flyers go out across the city the outrage over Greensboro, opposition to the KKK marching in Detroit and anger at Mayor Young are apparent. Bus drivers are placing bundles at their coin boxes for their passengers, newspaper vendors hand them out with the evening paper, and auto workers are taking them into the plants, reams at a time, to paste them up by lockers and water coolers.

We confront the mayor on his turf. A press conference is scheduled for Young's office at 1 p.m. There the rally organizers are met by mayoral aide James Graham who says the ban stands: any demonstrators will be arrested. Hicks answers for the protesters: "You arrest hundreds of black and white workers in Kennedy Square for demonstrating against KKK murders and your political career is finished in this city." As we walk out, under the TV lights of all the Detroit media, we make our response: "We Will March!" WWJ News reports at 3 p.m. that a "Saturday showdown is shaping up" between Mayor Young and anti-Klan protesters. We have beaten the press blackout: the major channels carry reports on the confrontation on their 6 o'clock news. But can we beat the mayor's ban?

At 4 p.m. a press release goes out, the second today: "The protesters announced they are urgently requesting federal observers at their demonstration.... They are also seeking a preliminary injunction from federal court to restrain city officials from denying them their right to peacefully assemble." Meanwhile the mayor passes the buck to the city council; we arrive five minutes before adjournment. After a weaselly speech by phony radical Ken Cockrel the council throws the hot potato into the police department's lap.

At the same time the organizers are meeting with federal judge John Feikens, the city's corporation counsel and a representative of the deputy police commissioner. The mayor's lawyer says that although the ban stands, and no permit will be issued, no arrests will be made. The judge asks, what is the point of a permit? No answer. Well, do the demonstrators have a de facto permit? A pause, and the police spokesman answers, "yes." The mayor has backed down. But he has still managed to scare many hundreds, perhaps thousands away from the rally. With only a few hours left, it will be impossible to let most people know that the ban has been lifted. Evening and morning newspapers refuse to take an ad. One 11 o'clock late news reports the developments, but now it's "...a communist organization is going to hold an anti-KKK rally..." First blackout, now red-baiting.

Telegrams Protesting Demonstration Ban Sent to Mayor Young By:

David Scribner, Attorney, NY
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Drs. Roy and Miriam John, NY
James Brown, Entertainer
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Malek Towghi anti-shah, anti-Khomeini fighter from Baluchistan, Teaching Assistant, Michigan State University

Labor, Blacks and Communists Rally Against the Klan

Despite all the "dirty tricks" thrown in their path by a liberal black Democratic city administration, the protesters have managed to reach Detroit-area workers and blacks. Altogether 85,000 leaflets have been passed out at plant gates, bus stops, supermarkets, black neighborhoods; 20,000 were taken into River Rouge alone. And on Saturday several hundred responded. In the crowd were a couple dozen Rouge workers, a group from Cadillac, others from Chrysler's Lynch Road, Mack Avenue Stamping, Dodge Truck and Dodge Main. Steel workers from Great Lakes and Jones and Laughlin. A forge worker told a TV videotape interviewer he came because the Klan had slashed his tires in the company parking lot, an older black worker told how the Klan had drawn and quartered his uncle.

The militant black auto workers and youth who gathered in Kennedy Square kept up spirited chanting throughout the 90-minute rally. This was a hard-core demonstration of people who were not stopped by the mayor's threats, and the 367 copies of *Workers Vanguard* sold are an indication of the seriousness of the participants. The presence of a contingent from Bob Avakian's sectarian Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, who stood at the edge with a misspelled banner, testifies to the rally's impact on the Detroit left.

One speaker, Mark Laughton, a UE repurter, gives an on-the-spot report from Greensboro. It was not the foolish attempt by the Workers Viewpoint Organization there to take on the Klan directly with a small group that got them killed, he points out. The reason they were shot is because they said they were communists, labor organizers and for the rights of blacks. And that includes just about everyone at this rally.

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Don Alexander...

(continued from page 8)

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So America is going down the tubes. You can't live in Detroit and not figure out that the workers had better take over. It's an international question. The capitalists tell us to go and fight against our class brothers all over the world. American blood. American wealth were pissed away in Vietnam fighting against a legitimate struggle for freedom. Dow Chemical got rich off it. But whose blood was spilled? Mainly the Vietnamese and ours. And at least the Vietnamese won. We in the Spartacist League worked energetically for this. We fought for the military victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the criminal U.S. ruling class.

The U.S. bosses have supported every racist strikebreaking regime they could find from Teheran to South Korea to South Africa. Then they spend what's left over of the taxpayer's dollar on what? On this "Hate Russia" campaign—this "Human Rights, Hate Russia" crusade. What did Jimmy Carter ever do for your human rights? We tried to get the federal observers down here to this rally. We talked to the get-lost division of the we-don't-know-nothing government department. You can be sure they won't guarantee our rights. So who else signed the Helsinki Accords? Maybe we should have gotten some Russian observers.

Then you get these so-called socialists who say the capitalists and the government should "ban the Klan." Who do they think they're kidding? The bosses' state will come down on the side of the Klan, and when it comes time for the banning, they'll do their banning against the left, not the right—against worker militants, communists, not the fascists.

So I am with the Spartacist League. We are America's last, best chance. There isn't much choice. It's either fight along with us, along the lines that made the Russian Revolution, or sink with the capitalists.

That is the inescapable conclusion from the blood of Greensboro to the sweat of the auto plants. The road for blacks, the road for workers is the socialist revolution. So let's roll up our sleeves and get to work on this. Join the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League, because we're the organization that is attempting to mobilize the workers to take power in this country and put an end to the criminal, anarchic system of capitalism! Thank you very much. ■

WV Photos

"Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan, Only Workers Defense Guards Can!"

Initial Endorsers:

Frank Hicks UAW Local 600 Ford Rouge
Edith Fox UAW Local 3
Pete Camarata Teamsters Local 299
Marvin Martin UAW Local 600
Charles Dubois UAW Local 600
Jackie Jordan Executive Board member, CWA Local 4050
Charles Parker Teamsters Local 299
Bill Hampton brother of murdered Chicago Black Panther leader
Kenneth Granquist: UAW Local 600
William Graham, UAW Local 600
Robert F. Williams author of *Negroes With Guns*, Association for Human Rights of Lake County
Patrick Martin UAW Local 600
Portia Maddox UAW Local 600
Reverend Marjorie Lyda Lyda/Hunt Institute
Matt Prince UAW Local 600
Black Student Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Herb Boyd Instructor at the Center for Creative Studies, Detroit
Pat Quinlan Teamsters Local 247
Reverend Tom Tinsley St. Paul United Methodist Church, Detroit
Mary Anne Courtney co-founder, Women's Justice Center, Detroit
Don Alexander Detroit Executive Committee, Spartacist League
Topaz Dubois National Committee, Spartacus Youth League
Norman Kozinski UAW Local 235
Malek Towghi anti-shah, anti-Khomeini fighter from Baluchistan, Teaching Assistant, Michigan State University

Labor, Blacks and Communists Rally Against the Klan

Despite all the "dirty tricks" thrown in their path by a liberal black Democratic city administration, the protesters have managed to reach Detroit-area workers and blacks. Altogether 85,000 leaflets have been passed out at plant gates, bus stops, supermarkets, black neighborhoods; 20,000 were taken into River Rouge alone. And on Saturday several hundred responded. In the crowd were a couple dozen Rouge workers, a group from Cadillac, others from Chrysler's Lynch Road, Mack Avenue Stamping, Dodge Truck and Dodge Main. Steel workers from Great Lakes and Jones and Laughlin. A forge worker told a TV videotape interviewer he came because the Klan had slashed his tires in the company parking lot; an older black worker told how the Klan had drawn and quartered his uncle.

The militant black auto workers and youth who gathered in Kennedy Square kept up spirited chanting throughout the 90-minute rally. This was a hard-core demonstration of people who were not stopped by the mayor's threats, and the 367 copies of *Workers Vanguard* sold are an indication of the seriousness of the participants. The presence of a contingent from Bob Avakian's sectarian Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, who stood at the edge with a misspelled banner, testifies to the rally's impact on the Detroit left.

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(continued from page 8)

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WV Photos

"Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan, Only Workers Defense Guards Can!"

Excerpts from Detroit Rally

WV Photos
Charles Dubois, UAW Local 600

We did it at the Rouge. [Ford foremen] McKulen and Beinke—they came out with KKK hoods in the trim line of the assembly plant. The company said it's a joke. The press said it's a joke. And Rinaldi [president of UAW Local 600] said, "Well, it was a **bad** joke." Well, we don't think it was a joke. Now, I'll tell you what we did at the assembly plant and around the Rouge. We organized a petition campaign to get these guys not only out of the Rouge, but get them out of the entire auto industry.

The Klan ain't no joke. Don't forget, the Klan murdered Malcolm's father in Lansing. You dig it? That ain't in the South. You ask that family in [Detroit suburb] Romulus. Was it a joke? Those people at the assembly plant and at the Rouge, we don't think it's a joke. And I know, those widowers and those widows down in Greensboro, they know it ain't no joke. So these guys, these Klansmen, what they stand for is race hatred. And that ain't no ideas. That's terror and genocide against black people.

Jane Margolis, Executive Board CWA Local 9410

I'm an executive board member of the CWA, which is the union of the workers of the phone company. And I came from California last night to join you in protest.

We cannot let the government characterize us who protest Klan murders as extremists. It was this government, particularly Carter's Secret Service, that labeled me as an extremist because I wanted to give a speech at my union convention against the racist anti-labor policies of Jimmy Carter. And for that I was handcuffed, dragged off the floor of my own union convention, because I wanted to speak in defense of the workers against the racist anti-working class policies of the Democratic Party.

So I want to say, we must exercise our rights to protest, we must not be silent. We must form a workers party and we must begin now for mass labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan.

Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Panther leader

We cannot let the Klan come here and take over our gains which we have made. Because the more we sleep—toward the Klan—the more we will weep. We must remember that. We cannot let the Klan come here in broad open day in Detroit—which is a predominantly, totally black city—and just ignore 'em.

How can you tell the Klan that they can come in the black community and give them freedom of speech? In the '60s they didn't give our black leaders freedom of speech. So how can we say we're going to give it to the Ku Klux Klan, who are against us all, who ride in the night, who do the same things these days only in a more sophisticated way?

Topaz Knight, National Committee Spartacus Youth League

Jimmy Carter says there's something wrong with Americans. He says we don't believe in the future anymore. He worries that Americans don't have money in their savings accounts. Well, black youth don't have savings. Black youth don't have jobs. Black youth don't have a future under this system. So there's nothing wrong with **us**. Jimmy Carter is wrong. It is easy to believe in a future without Jimmy Carter, a future without the capitalist class. And we stand for that future.

The Spartacus Youth League has been building demonstrations on the campuses against the Klan. But we know that the labor movement must mobilize against the Klan. We called on the labor movement to build this demonstration; yet students have a role to play, and have played that role in building for this demonstration. So students, workers, those out there, make a choice. Do you want to settle for unemployment? Do you want to settle for massive layoffs in this city? Do you want to settle for Klan terror? Or do you want to make a decisive step in this country, so that we will have a future?

Brian Mendis, laid-off Chrysler worker

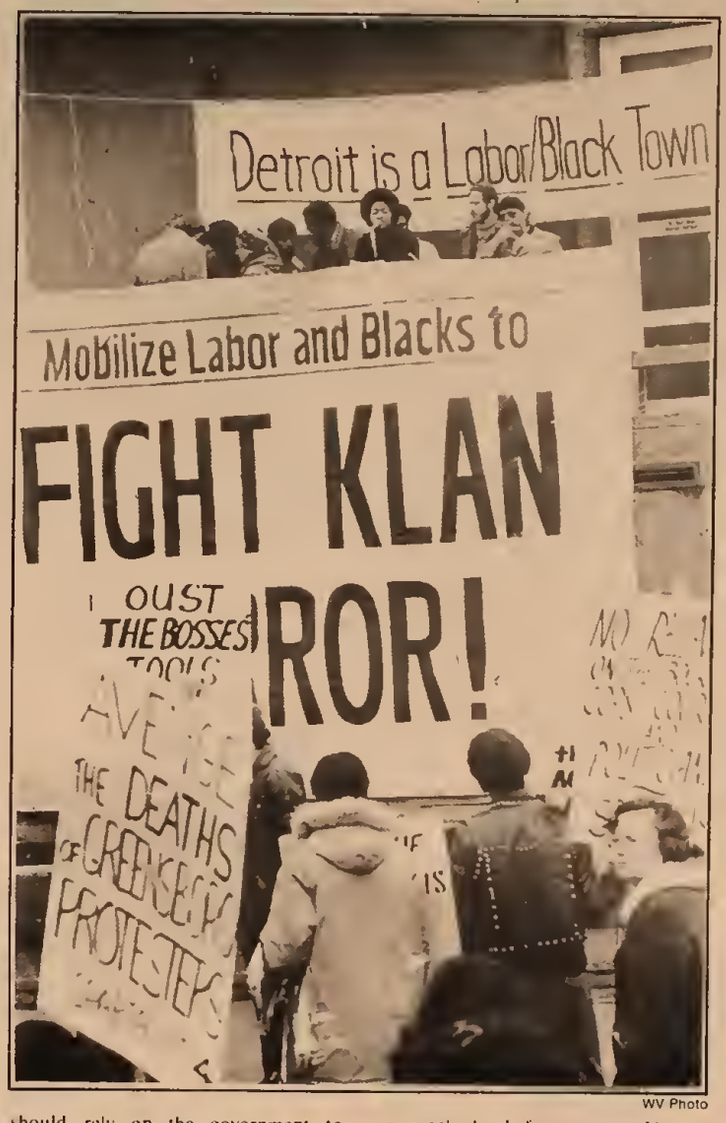
I'm from UAW Local 140. I'm a laid-off Chrysler worker. That's Dodge Truck. I bet there's a few more laid-off Chrysler workers out here in the crowd. But I'll tell you. There's a lot of layoffs in Detroit. Lots. There's a hundred thousand auto workers on layoff right now.

And they tell us it's our fault. They tell us we're not productive. Well that's a lie. We work hard. We break our backs in those plants. They tell us it's because of cheap foreign labor that we're laid off. Well that's a lie too. German auto workers make a lot more than American auto workers do. And the Klan tells white workers it's because of black workers. They tell white workers that black workers are the enemy. That's a lie too. It's Chrysler and the Klan and the Nazis who are the enemies of all workers. So this stuff affects both black workers and white workers.

I'll tell you what we need at Chrysler. We fought for sit-down strikes against the layoffs, just like Flint in 1937. That's how the union was formed and that's how it's going to be saved. If Chrysler's going broke, we should take it—take it over and sell it and divide the money. Because it's ours. The stockholders want to take the money and run. Well I say, let's not beg. Let's take it. It's ours.

"Smash the Klan, this is the hour, Labor and blacks have got the power!"

We present here excerpted speeches given at the Labor/Black Rally on November 10 in Detroit's Kennedy Square.



WV Photo

Frank Hicks
UAW Local 600

I'm a member of UAW Local 600, Ford Rouge, the largest local in the UAW. It's good to see people turned out here today, especially with weather like this. We want to show the whole country that **the Klan won't ride in the Motor City.** I want to especially thank some of the brothers and sisters I can see here from Ford River Rouge that fought with us to drive out the two Klan-hooded foremen three weeks ago. We ran them the hell out of that plant. We want to run the Klan the hell out of Detroit and the hell out of the country.

The Klan murdered people in Greensboro, North Carolina and then they say they're coming here to Detroit. That's a damned provocation. And we wanted to protest. Mayor Coleman Young said "no." But brothers and sisters, yesterday we backed the mayor down and that's why we're out here today. We won.

The mayor said we would be arrested if we demonstrated here today, and we said if you do that, you're going to pay. We're auto workers. We're phone workers. We're Teamsters. We're militants in unions throughout this city. We're the working people who make this town run. We told the mayor that if he arrested five hundred, two hundred, a thousand who wanted to rally against the Klan in this city, then go ahead. But he could kiss off ever being elected again in this city.

Why aren't there 20,000, 30,000 auto workers, phone workers, Teamsters out at this rally? How come these racist scum in the Klan can even think about showing up in a town that's a black and labor city? A town that belongs to us? I'll tell you why. It's the union officials who sat on their ass rather than mobilize against the Klan terror in Detroit. They're not labor leaders. They're bureaucrats. Lots of guys out here from the plant have other names for them too. The only thing Local 600 did was send a letter to Washington, to Lester Maddox's running mate.

Some liberals have told me, "Well, the fascists, they have under the constitution the right to free speech." This is a giant lie. They're not a discussion club—they're terrorists out to murder us. Klansmen don't speak, they act in the night. These same liberals—the ones who think these killers have free speech—will also tell you that you should rely on the government to protect your rights. But that's where the run-around starts. It's like the police in Greensboro, who told the demonstrators they couldn't interfere with the Klansmen's so-called rights, because the Klan hadn't broken any laws. The Klan hadn't broken any laws until five brothers and sisters lay dead in the street. After you're murdered the government will defend your civil rights. Thanks a lot, we don't need it.

Frank Hicks WV Photo

It's important that people in Detroit speak out in the defense of people in the South who arm themselves against Klan terror. **They have the right to arm themselves against Klan terror.** Ted Kennedy says gun control will stop crime. We don't want gun control. Some say that if guns are outlawed only outlaws will have guns. That's not true. What happens is that the Klan will still have guns. **Down with gun controls, that leave guns in the hands of the KKK killers!**

Then there are some people in the left and labor movement who think that a handful of individuals can substitute themselves for the labor movement. That a handful of people can take the place of militant struggles against the fascists on the part of auto workers and others. They usually end up in some type of confrontation where the leftists are outnumbered by the police, and not a blow is struck against the fascists. We must organize workers in this country against this kind of racist terror. There is no substitute for the labor movement mobilizing by the tens of thousands to stop the Klan.

Why hasn't the official labor leadership done it? Because they've been in bed with the bosses for so long. Who told us to vote for Coleman Young, who wanted to stop this rally? Everybody here hates Carter. Everybody here hates the oil bosses. But who was the first person to back Jimmy Carter? It was Leonard Woodcock, our so-called leader. He got his. He's an ambassador in China. We want ours.

So who's going to be next? Ted Kennedy? Is Kennedy going to give us jobs? Is Kennedy going to make Ford and GM take the losses? Hell no! He's going to give us more of the same we've been getting from Carter, from that racist millionaire peanut boss. Even Kennedy says he agrees with Carter on nine out of ten issues.

Brothers and sisters, it's up to us. What happened at Rouge, what happened today is just a taste of what we can do. We need a class-struggle leadership that will use the power we have as workers, the power we used to drive 'em out of Rouge, the power we will use to drive 'em out of Detroit. Not only to crush the Klan and the Nazis, but to forge a workers party, to build a workers government that'll do away with the bosses' racist system once and for all. Thanks for coming out, brothers. ■

Don Alexander
Spartacist League

I'm Don Alexander, and I'm on the executive committee of the Spartacist League here in Detroit. The Spartacist League has worked to build this rally because we know, like the brothers from Rouge and Chrysler said, it takes the power of labor to smash the KKK killers once and for all. Maybe you know the Spartacist League. We're Marxists, Trotskyists. That means we are for working-class revolution. It seems pretty simple to us. The Klan shoots down black and labor organizers in the South, and we respond here in Detroit the way any Marxists would—like they did in the '30s, when they got 50,000 people to Madison Square Garden to deal with the fascists. It seems pretty simple. But who else does it?

It's like Topaz said about Iran. You don't have to be a socialist to see what Khomeini is all about. All you have to do is to be a woman—or a drinker. But the Spartacist League was **alone** when we said, "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" All the other leftists were chasing after that religious fanatic. So it ought to be ABC. We say the bosses' political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, can't defend the working people. We need a **workers** party. Pretty simple, but it sounds like heresy in this town where people tell us to vote for "progressive" Democrats like Coleman Young, Ken Cockrel and the rest.

You know what Coleman Young is—the awful example of what selling your black political soul to the Democratic Party means. You sort of go morally and politically blind. After a while you can't tell the difference between the guys in white sheets and the guys on the other side. Of course, Coleman Young, he'll tell you that he's on the workers' side. **Do not believe this. It is a lie.** Coleman Young broke the sanitation workers strike right here in Detroit two years ago. So we're sick of this crap.

There ought to be candidates coming out of the ghettos of this city, out of Livernois, out of Dequindre, the Near Eastside—candidates who run against the Democratic Party. There ought to be candidates for whom black people and working people can vote for a change. A slate of labor/black candidates who say what's in the interests of working people, of black people, who

continued on page 7

Don Alexander WV Photo

TWU...

(continued from page 4)

TWU's founder had a heart attack in prison and died two weeks later, but lived long enough to see the transit workers victorious in that strike.

The union's leadership has always been tightly controlled by an Irish clique. At one time this reflected the TWU's ethnic composition. While the huge subway tunnels had been built by an earlier wave of Italian immigrants, by the Depression years subway workers were mostly Irish, and many of their leaders former combatants in the Irish Republican Army. As late as 1965 less than a third of NYC transit workers were black. But with the 1966 strike victory and the 20-year-service pension won in the following contract (lost in 1973), thousands of old-timers left the industry. Today almost half of Local 100's members are black and Latin, together constituting a strong majority in the key motormen's division.

After Quill's death, his lieutenants tried to hold on. They still hold occasional city hall labor rallies, rambling on about the old days in the IRA, while setting themselves up in comfortable sinecures. Atop what remains essentially a one-city base, TWU leaders have erected a bureaucratic superstructure worthy of a genuine national union. When Matthew Guinan retired as International president this year, Lawe became an International vice president, insurance against losing the Local election.

Out-Bureaucrats Rely on Capitalist State

Balanced precariously on a narrow base, the TWU bureaucracy is brittle and isolated from the membership. In particular, its ethnic exclusiveness and loss of some 5,000 TWU jobs over the past five years have not helped its popularity. Yet none of the three different opposition slates running in the current elections presents a program to mobilize the TWU in militant class struggle against the capitalists and their politicians. None so much as calls for a strike to win an adequate contract. And all of these fake-oppositionists are united in the treacherous policy of dragging the union into the bosses' courts.

The most active opposition to Guinan/Lawe over the past several years has been the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, headed by Henry Lewis. Concerned Transit harks back to the Transit Rank and File group of black nationalist Joe Carnegie. Rank and File was allied with Jim Haughton's Harlem Fightback, a group then active in recruiting black workers to go along with Nixon's "Philadelphia Plan" to break the white construction unions' hiring halls. Carnegie also popularized the poisonous policy of appealing to capitalist courts, even calling in 1972 for the union's decertification on the basis of the New York state Taylor Law forbidding the TWU (and all government employees) to strike!

While his speeches are full of demagogy and tough talk, Lewis' real program is reliance on the capitalist state, as demonstrated in the case of the 1978 contract. At one critical juncture, speaking before a 1,000-strong rally against the contract outside union headquarters on April 11, Lewis declared emphatically, "We are not in any way, shape or form calling for a strike." When Lawe tried to intimidate wavering members into voting up the rotten settlement by printing ballots labeled "I accept" or "I reject and vote to strike," Lewis joined with George McDonald to bring the union into court...on the grounds it was trying to force the membership into a strike. When the court realized that the TWU ranks, despite intimidation tactics, had gone ahead and voted to strike, the judge had the ballots destroyed and the vote thrown out. (TWU leaders made sure the next balloting went their way by adding MABSTOA and private-line bus drivers' votes to the election count.)

Another opposition is the McDonald slate. With his base in the Cars and Shops department at the sprawling Coney Island subway yards, George McDonald appeals mainly to conservative craftsmen and white workers. Big on suing the union, he is presently campaigning to raise money for bullet-proof vests for transit police—the same cops who may be escorting scabs through TWU picket lines come April. McDonald brags of his government "top secret" clearance, while a candidate for vice president on his slate lists as a qualification that he was "an agent of the U.S. government for ten years." TWU militants should demand to know which government agencies McDonald and his cronies are tied to. The CIA? FBI? Informers and "government agents" do not belong in labor organizations and should be driven out. While McDonald demands bullet-proof vests for transit cops, class-struggle militants demand cops out of the unions!

The sentiment for a unified opposition slate has been skillfully manipulated by Arnold Cherry, a black shop steward at the 207th Street subway yards. Cherry has fused seven parochial, craft-centered opposition groups into one big (equally parochial) Unity Slate. Among them are revenue collectors who in 1978 brought a decertification suit against the union. His shopping list of "progressive" demands—more union democracy, a pay raise—earned Cherry the endorsement of the Communist Party, for which he has been hysterically red-baited by Lawe. Unity also claims the support of executive board member Ed Winn, from surface maintenance, who is 100 percent endorsed by the provocateur Workers League. Seeing the isolation of Guinan/Lawe, the Unity Slate has pulled together a well-integrated coalition of whites, blacks and Latins. But what *program* did these people offer in 1974-76 when the city labor bureaucrats tied the union movement to the tracks in front of the Big MAC express? As we go to press, the Unity Slate has again gone to court against the union, this time to hold up the balloting.

A Fighting TWU Program to Lead New York Labor

The union must first and foremost prepare now for a big strike in April to recoup wages lost over the past half decade. Not just the 30 percent increase, which each of the opposition slates and Lawe himself promise but which none has a strategy to win, TWU members also need a 100 percent cost-of-living allowance to protect against inflation. Instead of slashing jobs (and adding cops), there must be a massive employment program to make up for the crippling attrition rate. As a result of the FA's vicious speed-up and productivity drive, coupled with virtual elimination of basic maintenance programs, the system has fallen into phenomenal decay, endangering the lives of both workers and passengers.

Transit workers must build public support for their struggle by using their muscle to stop the MTA's outrageous proposals for new service cuts. The TWU should simply announce that if any attempt is made to implement these cuts it will shut the system down; likewise if any of the capitalist politicians or the MTA so much as mentions the words "75 cent fare." TWU has been on record for years for a free fare—so let's see some action! In opposing a strike last time around, the TWU leadership said the union could not stand alone. There is a grain of truth in this (although as every NYC mayor knows, transit workers have the power to shut the city down tight). The answer is not to do nothing, but to demand that other city unions join with the TWU in an offensive against the "austerity" program that lines the bankers' pockets while robbing workers' paychecks.

It could have been done in 1974-76, when everyone—city workers facing layoffs and wage cuts, CUNY students who had seen tuition imposed, middle-class residents of Co-op City facing astronomical rent hikes, ghetto residents watching fire stations and hospitals close down—was itching to fight the monstrous cuts. They needed above all a militant leadership, but the Lawes, Shankers and Gotbaums saw their role as propping up the Democratic Party while the mayor went begging to Washington.

The offensive must be waged not only through strike action but politically. Arrogant "Mayatollah" Koch (when he's not on radio broadcasting the names of "johns" picked up with prostitutes on Minnesota Strip, or declaring "fascism has arrived" after demonstrators hit him with raw eggs) still has to go to the polls. The TWU should lead the way by fighting for a union candidate against the Democrats and Republicans. There must be a fight within the union to oust the pro-Democratic Party bureaucracy and build a workers party, to lead the struggle for a workers government. ■

Cambodia...

(continued from page 3)

he distributed to people under Pol Pot's control as well, despite the civil war conditions and obvious predominance of the Hanoi-backed regime. According to one report, UN troops would be required to distribute the aid, and Australia volunteered to be part of the "peacekeeping force" (*Asiaweek*, 26 October). Naturally, Phnom Penh rejected this blackmail. No red tape has held up aid going into Thailand, however. Food supplies available across the border have turned a refugee trickle—little more than a few Chinese advisors of Pol Pot turned up in Thailand in the few months immediately after the Vietnamese takeover—into a flood.

Recent U.S. actions clearly serve to bolster Pol Pot, who controls enough of the distribution to funnel aid into Cambodia, where his guerrilla fighters get preference. But food is only the beginning. More than half a dozen rightist groups led by former officials and generals of the Sihanouk and Lon Nol regimes, and probably supplied and backed by the CIA via Thailand, are now operating alongside the Khmer Rouge inside Cambodia against their common enemy. One of these, the "Khmer Serika," is called the "paras" by Vietnamese, apparently because of their crisp new camouflage uniforms. Thailand itself is getting rush shipments and top priority on U.S. military aid, including latest model M48 tanks and sophisticated TOW anti-tank missile systems, with plenty of American advisors for training.

Against this background, Jimmy Carter's call for prayers for the Cambodians, and statements that the "aid" issue is "beyond politics...a matter of simple and humanitarian concern" coming from White House officials ring hollow indeed. Although more aid is now being flown into Phnom Penh by Western agencies for appearances' sake, the latest U.S. ploy is to demand the Heng Samrin government's approval for a "land bridge" of aid from Thailand, which would only strengthen the already existing links to the various rightist bands operating in border areas.

The Threat Behind Imperialist Tears for Cambodia

But what is it all for? Surely the U.S. has no desire to restore the former Pol Pot regime, despite the latter's valiant effort to heat the U.S.' own record for brutality in Southeast Asia. The Khmer Rouge gang, however, is now out of power and former president Khieu Samphan called in September for a "front of national unity" against Vietnam, stating "the past is no obstacle" (*New York Times*, 3 September). If this program could be realized, it would lead to a *social counterrevolution* in Cambodia—and, not incidentally, to the slaughter of the weak Khmer Rouge forces after "victory," since only imperialist-armed forces could defeat the powerful Vietnamese army, and their program for exploiting the Cambodian population does not have room in it for Pol Pot's xenophobic peasant collectivism.

With a reported 180,000 Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, neither the Pol Pot nor the Sihanouk "options" appear to have much chance. But none of them would exist at all were it not for the Thai/imperialist aid and comfort. Vietnam is hungry and devastated by war, pressed militarily in the north by China and internationally isolated except for its alliance with the Soviet Union. But the counterrevolutionary Brezhnev bureaucracy refused to honor its treaty with Vietnam during the Chinese invasion in February, opting instead for the illusion of "détente" with imperialism. And the longer the imperialists and their Thai and Chinese allies can keep an anti-Vietnamese option open in Cambodia, thus forcing the Vietnamese army to remain, the greater chance they have of making the national question work against the Vietnamese Stalinists.

When the Heng Samrin puppet regime was installed by the Vietnamese army, after a lengthy and vicious border war, the international Spartacist tendency refused to support either side in what was then essentially a war between qualitatively equivalent Stalinist regimes. We warned that the continuing occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese army would ultimately "increase the poison of national chauvinism among both peoples..." (*WV* No. 223, 19 January). We did not, however, call for withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, pointing out that "history will decide" whether the Cambodian people might not actually prefer the Hanoi-installed regime to the unspeakable atrocities and starvation under Pol Pot. Today, almost a year later, it appears that Heng Samrin's government is, at least for now, preferred by the Cambodian people. And it is increasingly obvious that the active alternative to the Vietnamese army is capitalist counterrevolution.

Should an imperialist-backed alliance launch a military assault against the Phnom Penh regime, Marxists would be duty-bound to call for military victory to the Vietnamese army. Not because of any political confidence in the Hanoi Stalinists, who would like to make Cambodia into an economic satellite and free basket in order to build up Vietnamese industry. The destruction of the Cambodian economy, first by imperialist bombing and then by peasant Stalinism run amok, points to the crying need for an *international* socialist order. Those who are moved by the sight of starving children in Cambodia must not be taken in by Carter's "humanitarian" plots. Reformist schemes which rely on imperialist handouts and "aid" as the solution for every backward country—the current gimmick of the Socialist Workers Party from "Nicargagua" to Cambodia, are ultimately reactionary traps.

The answer to famine and misery in Asia is working-class revolution throughout the capitalist world, and particularly in the imperialist centers, in order to rationally redistribute the productive resources of mankind; and political revolution by the Indochinese workers (together with the proletariat of all the degenerated/deformed workers states) against their Stalinist misrulers, to undercut the poisonous nationalisms which still wrack the area. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

USSR (which no doubt figures *its* Teheran embassy could be next) voted in the United Nations Security Council to condemn the seizure. Even radical-bonapartist "Third World" regimes—which are usually eager to thumb their noses at Yankee imperialism, and whose "socialist" rhetoric is proportional to the savage tyranny generated by an aspiring capitalist class struggling to consolidate itself under conditions of extreme economic backwardness—have been noticeably reticent. Diplomatic immunity and territorial sovereignty of embassies are seldom violated even by nations at war, though every diplomatic office conducts its share of spying and intelligence gathering. These diplomatic rules of the game are necessary to maintain international relations between nation-states, until the nation-state itself has disappeared in a socialist world.

In order to undercut the international disapproval which greeted the Teheran embassy occupation, Khomeini has agreed to release women and black hostages who are not suspected of being spies. This he explains as an expression of Islam's "regard" for women and the oppression of racial minorities in the U.S. Nonsense! Islam's "regard" for women is expressed in the *chador*, the head-to-toe veil which is the symbol of their enslavement and imprisonment within the home. Islam has also given institutional support to the slave trade, and to this day black chattel slavery exists in Islamic countries on the Arabian peninsula. And Khomeini's "regard" for Iran's ethnic, national and religious minorities is demonstrated by his savage persecution of the Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis, Turkish-speaking nationalities and minor religions (notably the Ba'hai).

Chauvinist Backlash in the U.S.

The thousands demonstrating daily in front of the occupied American embassy in Teheran in support of the ayatollah were echoed by Iranian students in the U.S. But marchers carrying Khomeini icons in the streets of Washington, D.C. and Houston, Texas soon discovered that they were not in Teheran or Ahadan under the mullahs' rule. In Houston a November 7 Iranian student march calling for extradition of the shah was followed the next day by 1,500 angry demonstrators at the Iranian consulate, chanting "Take Your Oil and Shove It," burning Iranian flags, waving Old Glory and signs reading, "Camel Jockeys Go Home." Outside Reno, Nevada the owner of Mustang Ranch, a local brothel, posted a sign announcing that no more Iranian students would be admitted until the hostages are released. He was fed up, he said, with the hypocrisy of the students who support Khomeini's puritanical policies yet patronize his establishment.

Carter answered the demands of the protesters on November 10 by ordering the attorney general to begin a chauvinist round-up and reregistration of Iranian students, in order to deport those who do not meet stringent visa requirements. Unprecedented immigration regulations were directed against the estimated 50,000-100,000 Iranian students in the U.S., the largest body of foreign students in the country. While students who hailed the ayatollah should have no complaints about returning to join the "Islamic Revolution," such expulsion orders would also be applied against those who opposed *both* the shah and Khomeini. If deported they would face "revolutionary tribunals" no less sinister than the shah's vicious SAVAK. On the other hand, one can be sure that the papers of the more than 270 Iranians studying in U.S. military academies will be found to be in order.

We oppose these draconian reregistration/deportation orders above all because of the history of such acts of victimization and the precedent it would set. The American heritage of using discriminatory immigration/citizenship laws against radicals goes back to the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798. In this century we have seen the 1919-20 Palmer Raids in which thousands of foreign-born communists, socialists and anarchists were expelled from the country in response to the Bolshevik Revolution; and the McCarran-Walter Act (sponsored by liberals such as Hubert Humphrey) passed at the height of the Cold War setting up concentration camps to intern communists in times of "national emergency." Carter's measure recalls in particular the rounding-up of Japanese-Americans and Japanese nationals during World War II when 160,000 were held in West Coast prison camps. Such racist measures as Carter's decree lay the basis, for example, for an internal passport system, and must be opposed by all those concerned to defend democratic rights.

Carter also upstaged the Khomeini regime's threat to cut off petroleum exports to the U.S. by ordering a ban on November 12 on Iranian oil (which supplies about 4 percent of American consumption). The order was hailed by the oil monopolies, who see it as another excuse to raise gasoline prices. However, Carter's next measure of economic warfare against the Persian "Islamic Republic" was not so well received in the business world. When the Iranian government threatened to withdraw its investments and deposits from U.S. banks—currently estimated at $8 billion—Carter on November 14 froze these assets. The idea that not only banks in New York but also their branches in Europe and Iran should answer only to American law is certainly an expression of imperialist arrogance. And since most payments on the international oil market are made in dollars and to U.S.-owned banks, the move threatened to disrupt the petroleum market and fuel the move out of dollars. As the already battered dollar plunged relative to other currencies and gold rose, the capitalist press began making comparisons with Paul Erdman's fictionalized account of an Iranian-sparked crisis which plunges the capitalist world into economic ruin, aptly titled *The Crash of '79*.

The Shah's "Friend at Chase Manhattan"

One of the reasons given by the Iranian government for threatening to withdraw its funds from American-owned banks was the role of the Rockefeller family, and their "in-house intellectual," former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, in pressuring the U.S. to permit the shah to enter the country. The shah certainly has a "friend at Chase Manhattan," namely its chairman David Rockefeller, who together with Kissinger has consistently enunciated the position that America must stand by its despots through thick and thin. Rockefeller also has some financial interests involved, as the banker for a large chunk of the shah's estimated $15-20 billion fortune. For eight months the Carter administration resisted the Rockefeller entreaties because they knew admitting the shah to the U.S. would set off another explosion in Iran, where the U.S. was attempting to re-establish its sphere of influence. But in late October Secretary of State Vance finally gave in and acceded on the grounds of "human rights."

In threatening show trials of the American embassy staff for spy activities, the Khomeini regime points to another of the shah's long-time friends: the CIA. It was the Central Intelligence Agency which saved the Peacock Throne for Reza Pahlavi after he had been displaced by the bourgeois nationalist Mohammad Mossadeq in 1953. A swashbuckling account of that exploit by the central CIA operative involved, Kermit Roosevelt (grandson of President Teddy), was recently published and then precipitously withdrawn from the market and destroyed by the publisher (McGraw-Hill). *Workers Vanguard* managed to obtain a copy of the book, entitled *Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran*, before it was recalled, allegedly for "production mistakes." The press is now floating the story that the book was pulled because of objections from the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, whose name is used as a cover for MI-6. More likely, however, it was deemed impolitic at this point to print such a braggart account of how the CIA made and unmade Iranian governments:

> "The meeting in [CIA director Allen] Dulles' office, which was attended by other leaders of the American government, ended with the firm decision. The author was given the go-ahead to mastermind the overthrow of Mossadegh and return the Shah to the Peacock Throne."

The U.S. backed shah Reza Pahlavi for the same reason the British had backed his father: as the best hope to create a strong, centralized Persian anti-communist regime on the Soviet Union's southern flank. This same concern led the Carter administration to seek an understanding with Khomeini, despite Washington's earlier unconditional backing of the shah. After the embassy takeover, the *New York Times* (9 November) editorially complained about Khomeini's ingratitude:

> "He knows that Washington tried to appease him by discouraging the Shah from settling here in the first place. The Ayatollah also knows that the Carter Administration gave him military aid to crush various rebels and encouraged American business to help rebuild his economy."

But what the *Times* finds so hard to understand is that Jimmy Carter, who talks as if his every act is ordained by god, is a "born again" phony, while the ayatollah actually believes in what he says, and acts on it.

By granting the shah "medical asylum," Carter gave Khomeini the pretext to channel the mounting discontent with his clerical tyranny into fury against the distant ex-dictator. It is U.S. imperialism which created Khomeini, by helping the shah crush the labor movement and the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party and thereby leaving the mullahs an open field as the main organized opposition to the bloody autocrat. The shah's attempts at modernization alienated all sections of society from him, especially the clergy who opposed his half-hearted reforms for *going too far*. As for the deposed monarch, we are in favor of the shah getting his just deserts, with as unfair a trial as possible, and oppose any attempt to grant him asylum in the U.S. or elsewhere. But the tyrant-in-power is no less guilty of crimes against the Iranian working people and oppressed than his predecessor.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is an 80-year-old religious fanatic convinced that he will soon be greeted by a special delegation from allah, and ready to take everyone with him in a fiery twilight of the gods. He is determined to impose a theocratic "Islamic Republic" which is closer to Jonestown, Guyana than Calvin's Geneva; and if the Iranians are not ready, they deserve to perish. To Carter's threats he responds: "We are a nation of 35 million and many of these people are looking forward to martyrdom.... After they have all been martyred, then they can do what they want with Iran." This apocalyptic vision and program offers no future to the Iranian masses. It is only through proletarian revolution, led by an Iranian Trotskyist party, that the oppressed can break the chains of imperialism and Islamic obscurantism and emancipate themselves from the shahs and ayatollahs forever. ■

Who Got Tony Scotto...

(continued from page 2)

got $200,000. But at the barest minimum the government had to have spent well over *twenty* times that amount *every year* to nail Tony. The government big boys can hardly slide around on the amount of palm grease they are talking about in the Scotto case. No, they have gone after Scotto for what he has that is decent. And they have targeted him as the head of a union the government has been gunning for now for 30 years.

Using the mob as an excuse, the government invaded the union in an attempt to break it. In the early 1950s, the East Coast dock workers fought the attempt by the government and Meany to replace their union with an AFL affiliate. They staged massive strikes and work stoppages. And they were not taken in by the lie that all the government wanted to do was fight corruption on the docks.

Since 1975, the federal government has launched a massive new probe of "waterfront corruption." Some two dozen ILA officials have been indicted on racketeering charges, while more than 350 subpoenas for union and shipping company officials and their records have been issued. Three more ILA locals are scheduled to go on trial soon. "The goal isn't just to get a couple of convictions," said one Justice Department official in 1978. "The goal is the clean up the union and to change the way business is done on the docks" (*New York Times*, 9 June).

The government is now trying to remove Tony Scotto as part of its campaign "to keep tainted labor leaders off the docks" (*New York Times*, 20 November). In this drive the government has at its disposal a rather complete arsenal of legal weapons forged in the 1950s to fight other "tainted" leaders—the "reds" and militants in the unions. These laws, like the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts, are aimed at weakening the entire union movement.

Liberals and their left hangers-on have pushed for the government to enter on the "progressive" side of union affairs. What dangerous betrayal! The government always casts itself as some shining knight crusading against brass-knuckle justice, "mob rule" or racism.

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But as with their vendetta against Teamsters' leader Jimmy Hoffa, it was really the union they were going for. Behind the government's attack on Hoffa was its appetite to weaken the IBT's master freight contract. Even its move against the Mine Workers' murderous leader, Tony Boyle, was an attempt to control the explosive UMWA. Indeed, a clear attempt to use the Scotto case to bust the union was seen today when the waterfront commission announced that if Tony Scotto does not resign his union post, they will disallow the dues checkoff for the ILA (*New York Times*, 20 November).

Labor militants would oppose Scotto's reformist policies within the union, fighting in particular against his loyal political link to the Democratic Party. But we demand: Let the union take care of its own. In the National Maritime Union (NMU), for example, the Curran/Wall bureaucracy is surely as personally venal as they come; but the class-struggle Militant-Solidarity Caucus has correctly and steadfastly defended the union against the numerous court suits brought by liberal opportunists. Tony Scotto was elected to his ILA posts and the union members ought to militantly defend him against the *government's* attempt to drive him out.

Between the government and Scotto we stand against the government in principle. For Murray Kempton the question is a fairly simple moral matter. "At bottom," he writes, "he is a good man." For us the matter is more political, more complex. It is doubtless true that Tony Scotto has been a lot of things besides a family man and a concerned citizen. Tony Scotto is a pro-capitalist labor bureaucrat, better than many, and a Democratic Party bigwig. He is no thug in a cashmere suit. What class-struggle militants have against Scotto is what we have against the Reuthers, the Gotbaums and the rest.

Meanwhile, as far as we're concerned, Tony Scotto doesn't belong in jail on this bum rap. ■

OCI/LCR in Frenzy...

(continued from page 2)

As the weeks go by, the LCI becomes increasingly heterogeneous. Some militants now in the LCI split with the USec over Nicaragua and could, under the pressure of events, seek to generalize their leftist impulses into a consistent program. This would present a problem for Lambert and Nemo, for in that direction lies the Trotskyist program of the LTF, which has over the years systematically demonstrated a coherent revolutionary programmatic alternative to both the USec and the OCRFI.

But political struggle is anathema to Lambert. So he seeks to cover his left flank in the only way he knows how—physical intimidation, violence and vicious slander. Lambert should watch out, for ours is a revolutionary program which has already found partial and contradictory echoes among leftish members of the LCI. The attack against the LTF is also a message to leftists in the LCI: in Lambert's organization there is no room for political oppositionists. Lambert himself brags that there hasn't been a faction fight in the OCI since 1953 (*Rouge*, 25 May 1979)! The way they dealt with the bureaucrat [Charles] Berg[6] and the dubious [Michel] Varga[7] is the concrete proof of this.

Do you hate Mandel, do you hate Lambert, do you want to fight on the basis of the Transitional Program against the union bureaucrats and the reformist leaders of the mass workers parties, fight for the workers to take power? Do you agree with the iSt program on Nicaragua and Iran? THEN YOU BETTER THINK TWICE, AND THEN THINK AGAIN before making the decision to stay with these bands of cynical and worn-out revisionists, either in the LCR or, by joining the LCI, ending up in the OCI.

For the rebirth of the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloism! Join the Ligue Trotskyste de France!

19 November 1979

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[1]Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire of Alain Krivine, French section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec).
[2]Organisation Communiste Internationaliste of Pierre Lambert, the core of the Lambertist OCRFI (Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International).
[3]LTF—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt).
[4]Ligue Communiste Internationaliste—the organization set up by French supporters of the pro-OCI Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency and Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction after their expulsion/walkout from the LCR congress on November 1.
[5]French leaders of the LTF.
[6]OCI ex-youth leader purged earlier this year.
[7]Hungarian OCI leader who in the late 1950s appealed to the U.S. State Department for funds. Purged in 1972 for political differences with Lambert, Varga was suddenly discovered by the OCI to be a longtime "CIA agent" (and later "KGB agent" as well).

Margolis...

(continued from page 12)

lican parties, and why we need a workers party."

But in attacking Jane Margolis and seeking to intimidate, isolate and gag her, Carter's agents were attacking the CWA and the entire trade-union movement. The methods the government employed against her are the same methods which it employs against labor generally. Of course, the top layer of the trade-union bureaucracy, which collaborates with the capitalist politicians in quashing labor militancy, will seek to deny this. But as the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the class-struggle opposition to which Margolis belongs, explained in a leaflet issued at the CWA convention: "If this year they can handcuff and detain the only delegate who spoke against Carter at last year's convention, then it's clear what kind of union-busting attacks Carter has in store for the whole union in our 1980 contract fight."

When Jane Margolis was dragged off the floor of the CWA convention, this incident received wide publicity. Some 100 members of her local responded immediately with telegrams demanding a public apology by Carter to Margolis and the CWA, and later 600 local members signed petitions of protest. A Los Angeles CWA local passed a motion condemning the Secret Service attack. And from as far away as Australia telegrams were sent by the South Coast Labor Council and the Newcastle branch of the Waterside Workers Federation protesting the illegal seizure of union official Jane Margolis by the U.S. Secret Service.

The announcement of Margolis' suit was covered by all three major Bay Area dailies, local radio and TV as well as the *Detroit News*. A Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment, composed of CWA members who intend to seek publicity and support for the lawsuit, has already been formed. All those who seek to preserve democratic rights, and especially the rights of labor, should rally to the support of the Committee. ■

Send donations in support of this campaign to:

Union Committee Against
Secret Service Harassment
P.O. Box 12324
San Francisco, CA 94112

Lawsuit...

(continued from page 12)

can people, especially working people. President Carter and his aides used the platform of the CWA convention in an attempt to demonstrate labor support for these anti-labor policies at the precise time when his popularity had plunged to its lowest ebb in nationwide polls. Although the Minneapolis Labor Trial was vastly greater in scale and consequence than the present case, the government's actions against the Minneapolis labor militants and socialists did not differ in essence from the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service: both occurrences involved wielding the power of the state to identify, isolate, defame, damage, and suppress sources of militant political opposition within the trade unions. The Carter administration had generated an atmosphere of pre-election crisis and desperation in which a verbal expression of political opposition to the President at the CWA convention could not be tolerated.

Historically, civil liberties and the rights of labor have been thrown to the winds of expediency by the United States government in its drive to control and pacify the labor movement. Groups perceived as threatening immediate or long-range government policies have come under repeated and concerted assault by the state. The Smith Act prosecutions of 1941, for instance, were used as the legal precedent for the sweeping prosecutions of the Communist Party in the late 1940's and early 1950's. From the mass trials of the Industrial Workers of the World during the First World War to the "non-Communist" affidavit requirements of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, the government has swept aside the rights of labor in the interests of the employing class. But the rights of labor are the cornerstone of democratic rights generally, as the hideous experience of fascism has demonstrated most dramatically.

Today, many in and out of government claim that the air has been cleared of the stench of witchhunting and political secret police operations against political opponents and dissidents. The Smith Act sedition law, it is claimed, has been rendered "moot" and the "non-Communist" affidavits effectively discarded. Even Francis Biddle, who, as Acting Attorney General prosecuted the original Smith Act trial, regrets his actions upon reflection in what he calls "the cooler breath of the passing years":

> "I doubted whether any speech or writing should be made criminal. I thought that this provision might be declared unconstitutional under the First Amendment of the Constitution, which protected freedom of utterance. And, with some reluctance, I authorized a prosecution so that the law would be tested at the threshhold, and taken to the Supreme Court, where it would I hoped and believed, be knocked out.... but to my surprise the Supreme Court refused to review it. The Victory for the government became a defeat for me.... I have since come to regret that I authorized the prosecution."
>
> —F. Biddle, *In Brief Authority* (1962), p. 151-52

With the Watergate exposure and consequent Congressional investigations, there have been repeated claims that no longer are the government's police agencies used as weapons for the political advantage of the president or governing party. Further, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has proposed an end to the "widespread abuses of the past." Even Vice-President Mondale has promised prohibitions against covert harassment of individuals and groups "privately regarded by law enforcement officers as improper, such as the past COINTELPRO effort of the FBI" (*New York Times*, August 9, 1977). The government assures the public that this program of illegal government harassment and disruption of leftist, civil rights and anti-war organizations has ceased. But the harassment of Jane Margolis and the disruption of the legitimate activities of the CWA point clearly to the fact that the government has not given up its methods. To head off a future upsurge of workers, the government could launch a new COINTELPRO, this time aimed straight at the heart of the labor movement.

Thus the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service challenges *in principle* the government's interference with, and attempt to politically control, the trade-union movement. Her "crime" in the eyes of the Secret Service is the defense of her union against the policies of Jimmy Carter. But Jane Margolis belonged at the CWA convention and she had a right and a duty to those who elected her to express before her union brothers and sisters her views that, "This man Jimmy Carter does not belong at our union meeting." Jane Margolis does not deny her political opposition to the policies of the present government; she does deny the government's right to gag her. ■

Spartacist League Forum

Stop Government Harassment of Union Militant!

Guest Speaker **Jane Margolis**
Executive Board
CWA Local 9410

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Militant Sues Over Criminal Assault

Jane Margolis vs. Carter's Secret Service

SAN FRANCISCO—Jane Margolis, an executive board member of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, announced in a press conference on November 14—held at the offices of her attorney, Charles Garry—the filing of an unprecedented lawsuit against the U.S. Secret Service. As her complaint asserts, the case "challenges *in principle* the government's interference with, and attempt to politically control, the trade-union movement."

Addressing reporters from the *Oakland Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, local radio and press services, and *Workers Vanguard*, Margolis declared that she was suing Secret Service agents for damages in excess of one million dollars. At the CWA convention held in Detroit last July federal agents invaded the union proceedings to prevent her from speaking against the anti-labor policies of President Jimmy Carter, who was scheduled to address that body. Carter's personal police dragged Jane from the convention floor, manhandled and handcuffed her, deprived her of legal counsel and threatened to arrest and imprison her.

"The Secret Service was not acting to protect the life of the president but rather they were acting as political agents of Jimmy Carter," Margolis told reporters. "This is government intervention in the labor movement, an attack on freedom of speech and it is an attempt to make it look like the labor movement was 100 percent behind Jimmy Carter."

Despite constant reassurances by successive administrations that "excessive" state repression is a thing of the past, the stench of Watergate and COINTELPRO continues to hang in the air. Responding to the question of a reporter who asked if Jane was charging the Carter administration with "dirty tricks," Charles Garry emphasized that the attack on Margolis was hardly an aberration: "You see, the Carter administration is not the only one that resorts to this kind of conduct. Carter is just following suit of the kind of things that other administrations have done over a period of years...."

But the importance of the Margolis case rests in the fact that the agencies of state repression directed their blows at the labor movement. While the government had admitted that "in the past" it harassed and infiltrated socialist organizations and civil rights groups, it has always asserted that the trade unions were out of bounds for its dirty tricks. As the preface to the complaint establishes, however, the history of the labor movement is replete with one attempt after another by the government to suppress workers' militancy.

Only a few weeks after the CWA convention, the Secret Service mobilized to prevent members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) from confronting Jimmy Carter over his energy policies. Subsequently the union filed a complaint with the Secret Service, which claims to be conducting an investigation of the matter. The Margolis suit strikes directly at the need to repel such continued attempts by the government to manipulate and subvert the trade unions.

The federal police directed their brazen and criminal acts at Jane Margolis precisely because she is a well-known union militant with a long record of opposing the subordination of her union to the dictates of the government and the capitalist parties. As she explained to reporters, her intentions to speak against Carter's policies at the convention were "known and expected, since at last year's convention I had spoken against his use of the Taft-Hartley law in an attempt to break the miners strike and about his threats to use Taft-Hartley against a national phone strike. In my campaign literature ... I had talked about how we must smash Carter's wage freeze and that the workers should not have any confidence in what I consider to be the anti-labor, strikebreaking Democratic and Repub-

continued on page 11

Jon P. Fishback

CWA convention, July 1979: Secret Service thugs drag Jane Margolis off convention floor as fellow union members protest.

"No Ordinary Lawsuit"

Reprinted below is the preliminary statement to the Jane Margolis legal complaint.

This is no ordinary lawsuit. At its heart, the case of Jane Margolis versus the Secret Service poses a significant question concerning the independence of the labor movement from coercive state control: do trade-union members have the right to hold views and advocate programs within the trade unions which are perceived by the executive government and its police agencies as opposing government policy or as politically embarrassing to high government officials?

The facts of this case are without precedent in the history of the organized labor movement in America. Never before have federal police agents disrupted a national convention of a major trade union to forcibly remove an elected delegate by dragging her from her legitimate post on the convention floor and manhandling her before her fellow delegates as if she were a dangerous common criminal. Deprived of counsel, which she repeatedly requested, Jane Margolis was detained, manacled, interrogated, and threatened with arrest and imprisonment during the proceedings of a national union convention to which she had been elected to represent thousands of local members of the Communications Workers of America [hereinafter "CWA"]. All of this was done in preparation for President Carter's speech at the CWA convention, where it was announced that he would respond to delegates' questions and statements.

Although the particular events are unprecedented, Jane Margolis' case has shaping historical antecedents in which the immediate political aims of the executive government have been imposed upon labor by force. Governmental invasion into the union movement on behalf of employers has become routine; the spectacular intervention of the state at moments of sharp labor struggle through the use of troops, police, court injunctions and imprisonment is well documented. But this case concerns a special form of governmental intervention, intended to control the political climate of the trade unions in order to achieve specific ends. This case concerns governmental intervention designed to influence and predetermine the outcome of deliberations of the unions, to secure political advantage for particular government programs, and to stage a show of political support for government officials, in the present case for the President.

The most far-reaching case in modern United States history exemplifying this type of governmental intervention into the labor movement was the Minneapolis Labor Trial prosecutions of 1941. The Minneapolis Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO was a successfully organized stronghold of militant, independent trade unionism, and it stood virtually alone in the labor movement in its left-wing opposition to the war. On the eve of World War II, President Roosevelt was anxious to quell the resistance among the ranks of the workers to entry into a "foreign war." As a result the government charged 29 people with "seditious conspiracy" under the Smith Act of 1940, sentencing 18 and imprisoning 17 leaders of Local 544-CIO and national and local leaders of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party for their socialist opposition to the war.

While the Jane Margolis case does not occur in the context of a president attempting to mobilize the unions for world war, it does occur in the context of a president attempting to mobilize support for policies which will impose hardship and austerity on the Ameri-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 245 7 December 1979

Despite Khomeini's Death Wish for Iran

No to Carter's War Threats!

It can't go on much longer without a head-on crash between the world's most dangerous imperialist power and the world's most powerful medievalist religious fanatic. Not for much longer can Khomeini threaten to hold trials and execute the hostages at the U.S. embassy in Teheran while he calls forth Islamic wrath against the "American Satan," and taunts Carter for having "no guts." It cannot go on indefinitely, this gathering of U.S. warships and aircraft off the coast of the Arabian peninsula and these storm clouds of war sentiment on the streets of America and Iran.

In the bizarre events of the last month there is a fearful symmetry in the lunatic pronouncements of the 79-year-old nut with state power in Qum who says that all Iranians would welcome martyrdom, and the coldly genocidal calculations of the Dr. Strangeloves in the war/crisis room buried deep below the Pentagon. There is indeed a dreadful correspondence between the Iranians who display themselves in their funeral shrouds ready to die for the "imam" and the Americans who have made a fashion of "Nuke the Ayatollah" T-shirts.

The U.S. media counts off the days for a frustrated, angry and humiliated population, while a group of congressmen have organized a campaign to "set the date" for military retaliation. ABC-TV runs a near-nightly news special entitled, "America Held Hostage," and *Time* magazine's flag-and-eagle cover demands to know: "Has America Lost Its Clout?"

No, it can't go on much longer. Despite the efforts to "play it cool," Carter's war threats are real, and the consequences terrible—for the masses of Iran and the international proletariat. For the ultimate target in the war room of U.S. imperialism is not Iran but Russia. It is because the shah was part of American imperialism's global anti-Soviet strategy that U.S. embassies have now become the targets of enraged mobs from the halls of Islamabad to the shores of Tripoli. And it is this same anti-Soviet strategy which continues to condition its every move in this dangerous contest of nerves, diplomacy and perhaps war. Surely the ayatollah is prepared to sacrifice a few million Iranians to the cause of popular mullah rule. But without giving the slightest amount of political support to the reactionary mullah regime of Iran, in a military conflict between the most

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AP

Kitty Hawk: Carter's "other remedy."

Embassies Ablaze, Shootout in Mecca's Mosque...What Next?

Behind Mullah Madness

American embassies ablaze from Tripoli to Islamabad, marine guards dead in the fiery ruins, diplomats in Teheran still hostage to huge crowds of fervent Khomeinites, gunbattles in Mecca's Grand Mosque, a tide of Islamic religious frenzy reaching an orgiastic crescendo of bloody self-flagellation—has the Sword of Islam been raised to crush the "infidel" once and for all?

On November 20, 200 to 300 well-armed Bedouin tribesmen led by their 22-year-old Mahdi, or self-proclaimed Messiah, seized Mecca's Grand Mosque, holiest shrine of Islam, during the height of Islamic New Year religious pilgrimages. Though it was the work of a small Islamic sect, Khomeini instantly called on the faithful to rise up and defend Islam against supposed American complicity, letting loose a storm of assaults on American embassies, consulates and businesses throughout the East, in Kuwait, Lebanon, Bangladesh, India, Turkey, Pakistan and Libya.

In Islamabad, capital of Pakistan, 20,000 demonstrators chanting "Down with the Dog Carter" and "Down with Imperialism" stormed and burned the 32-acre American embassy complex. In a country where troops are swift and ruthless in suppressing any opposition to General Zia's military dictatorship, it took them over two hours to reach the smoldering ruins where two marines lay dead. In Libya, where Islamic colonel Qaddafi rules with an iron hand, 2,000 demonstrators hailing Khomeini sacked the U.S. embassy unhindered, while Qaddafi sent apologies to Washington.

Meanwhile the Shi'ite holy month of Muharram was reaching its climax in the holy day of Ashura when huge processions of flagellants whipping their backs bloody, some even cracking their skulls with scimitars, poured through the streets while women in black chadors wailed and shrieked from rooftops and doorways. Ashura commemorates the martyrdom of Mohammad's grandson Hussein by the Caliphate of Yazid, and it was out of last year's Ashura processions that the mullahs emerged victorious over the

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UPI

Islamic students burn U.S. embassy in Pakistan on November 21.

See No Evil, Speak No Truth

SWP Bows Ever Lower to Khomeini

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been the "best builder" in the U.S. of Khomeini's reactionary Islamic movement. In the mullahs' moment of triumph over the shah last year, the 23 February *Militant* trumpeted: "Iranian Masses Show the Way." Today, at a time when much of the left has become increasingly queasy about their former enthusiastic support to the Islamic mullah regime, the oh-so-respectable reformists of the SWP are wildly cheering the Khomeinite seizure of the U.S. embassy, proof positive that Khomeini is the "progressive" they always said he was. "Iranian workers in lead of deepening revolution," the *Militant* (30 November) insists, exhorting the American public to "draw inspiration from the heroic example of the Iranian masses,...who are now mobilizing by the millions to defend their revolution."

You'd never know from the *Militant* that the Ayatollah Khomeini—whose quotations are carefully selected and sanitized for SWP publication—is using the crisis to divert the Iranian masses' attention from the shattered condition of the Iranian economy and state. Nor would you know that his theocratic regime had been exposed as an enemy of the exploited and oppressed. For its part, the SWP desperately needs to divert attention from the overwhelming evidence of Khomeini's reactionary repression—his firing squads' slaughter of homosexuals and leftists, forcing women back into veils, strikebreaking and bloody suppression of the Kurds.

The symptoms of a growing and dangerous patriotic war fever in the U.S. are all around us. But if you had to rely on the *Militant*, you'd never know it. The SWP has a problem—the American public has developed a deep hatred for ayatollahs. So these would-be spokesmen for the "vast majority" simply lie. "Protests say, 'No War Against Iran'," reads the *Militant*'s headline, while the article goes on to claim:

> "Defying the wishes of the vast majority of the American people, Carter is taking new steps toward war against Iran. ... The American people are not buying it."

Not buying it? A recent Associated Press/NBC News poll revealed that some 66 percent of Americans would support a military strike against Iran if the hostages were harmed or even put on trial. Most bourgeois commentators have remarked in amazement at Carter's restraint thus far in the face of massive sentiment to "Nuke the Ayatollah."

Another *Militant* article (7 December), began under the absurd front-page headline "Carter steps up war threats. Defies growing antiwar sentiment." (Doubtless the run on Iranian flags—which Americans *are* buying in record numbers for purposes of immolation, is a sign of the "growing" or perhaps "burning" sentiment against war.) The story rushes to defend Idaho Republican congressman George Hansen who the SWP says was the object of a "frenzied campaign to discredit him" upon his recent return from Teheran, though "Hansen has so far refused to retreat." Hansen, however, is already discredited. A convicted tax evader and on the extreme right wing of Capitol Hill, Hansen has championed causes from the fight vs. abortion to opposing the "giveaway" of the Panama Canal. His last diplomatic mission took him to the banker of General Somoza where he encouraged the shah of Nicaragua to hang on.

What is the SWP up to with this cloud-cuckoo-land fantasy of mass protests against Carter's war threats? Quite simply, these reformists are seeking a way to make their consistent pro-Khomeini position palatable at a time when the ayatollah's effigy is being burned from coast to coast. And while they may be the most craven, the SWP are by no means the only left apologists for the "imam." At a December 1 New York "anti-shah" [read pro-Khomeini] demo attended by much of the left, a Spartacist leafleting team was excluded for being "anti-Khomeini."

Sometimes it's hard to be a reformist. Having decided to stand by their man, Khomeini, the SWP has got to convince at least its own membership that it's doing the right (i.e., the *popular*) thing. In order to pull off this impossible feat of simultaneously tailing mass sentiment in Teheran and the U.S., the SWP is cynically using the Vietnam antiwar movement as a model, when it relied on liberal pacifism and bourgeois defeatism to get the masses into the streets. "Why die for the shah?" the SWP asks, but what it really means is "Why die for anything?"

It may come as a shock to the SWP, but the American population is not inherently pacifist. Carter's imperialist war drive against Iran must be fought hard, and genuine socialists know how to do it. Big Oil's ripoffs, the torture-chic shah, Rockefeller's and Kissinger's sinister plots, the "nest of spies" in the U.S. embassy—the American working class can be mobilized against these imperialist machinations, but not in solidarity with the ayatollahs and their program for "liberation": no whiskey, no rock and roll, and no unveiled women.

The way to win the American proletariat to the fight against imperialism is not the SWP's way, the way of cringing pacifism in America, nothing but a cover for political support to the religious fanatic of Qum. We are absolutely opposed to any American imperialist military adventures in Iran. We raised the demand "Down with the shah!" along with Iranian militants, when the SWP was saying this was an "ultra-left" call. But we tell the truth: the working class must organize itself independently of the shahs, the ayatollahs and the imperialists in the battle for world socialist revolution, the only way to win human dignity and freedom for the world's oppressed masses. ■

Carter's War Threats...

(continued from page 1)

powerful imperialist country on earth and backward, semi-colonial Iran, socialists stand even with crazy mullahs against U.S. imperialism. Hands off Iran!

Target Moscow

Iran is not some Latin American "banana republic," where Washington can "send in the marines" without risk of world war. It is a strategically important country on the southern border of the Soviet Union. U.S. imperialism's policy toward Iran since World War II has been motivated by capitalism/imperialism's implacable hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state. For instance, it was to prevent the rise of another Iraqi-style Soviet-linked left nationalist regime that the CIA engineered the restoration of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi back in 1953, and through him assured a loyal bulwark against the USSR for more than 20 years.

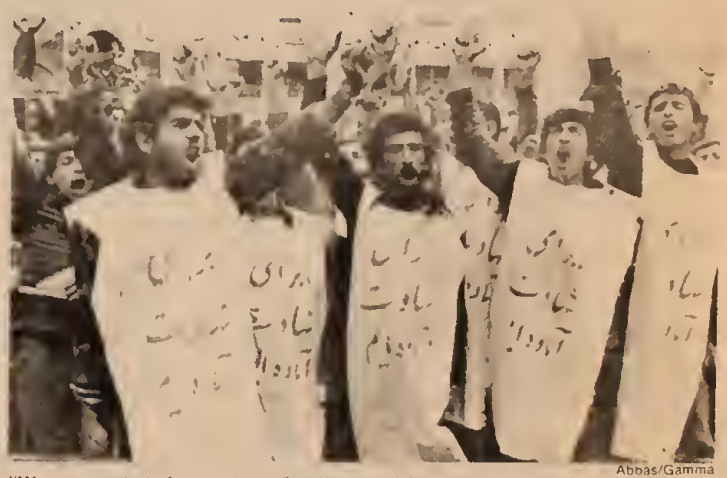
Having created the monster, the U.S. is now stuck with him. Mexico, which briefly sheltered him, refuses to take back the Yankees' deposed king of kings. Of all the countries on earth, only Anwar Sadat's Egypt seems to want the shah.

Carter's response to the seizure of the American embassy has been characterized as one of great restraint. (Not so that of his mother. The irrepressible "Miz Lillian" has publicly suggested that someone offer $1 million to assassinate Khomeini.) But Carter's carefully calculated "moderation" masks a seething fury fired by humiliation and impotence. In point of fact, Carter is every bit as capable of ruthlessly sacrificing thousands of lives over this incident as is the madman Khomeini, especially if he thinks it will get him another term in the White House. Carter's "moderation" is motivated *not* so much by concern for the hostages as by anti-Soviet strategic calculations. The fact is that the U.S. desperately wants an anti-Soviet Iran.

Thus, the latest *Business Week* (10 December) urges Carter not to heed the cries for Iranian blood and to do nothing to weaken the Iranian state, lest the Kremlin step into the power vacuum:

> "It would be catastrophic—not only for Iran but also for long-term U.S. interests. ... Any U.S. action to splinter what is left of the Iranian state could cause its disintegration. And it is unlikely that anyone could pick up the pieces—except the Russians who live next door ..."

An attack on Iran would surely provoke a violent wave of anti-American nationalism, not only in Iran, but throughout the Near East, which could sweep away Washington's few unstable friends in the region like Egypt's Sadat and the Saudi monarchy.



Abbas/Gamma

"We are ready to be martyred": Khomeini is ready to put all Iran in burial shrouds.

U.S. imperialism has anti-Russian designs even for a shah-less Iran. In this regard it is significant that, although Washington and Teheran are practically in a state of war, 270 Iranians continue to receive training as pilots in the U.S. Air Force and Navy. Although congressional pressure forced Defense Secretary Harold Brown to suspend their flight training last week, these Iranian military cadres remain under the aegis of the Pentagon.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union has remained aloof (although formally speaking out for the release of the hostages) to watch the U.S. agonize over its difficulties in Iran. Recently the Soviet ambassador to Canada, Aleksandr N. Yakolev, noted that Khomeini was not the first fanatic to seize hostages this year. Jimmy Carter beat him to it when he kidnapped a planeload of Aeroflot passengers last August in an attempt to force Bolshoi ballerina Lyudmila Vlasova to defect. "We understand the American feeling very well," Yakolev said in a masterful understatement. "Recently, the Americans captured our plane at Kennedy Airport with 60 innocent people, children" (*New York Times*, 3 December).

Lonely at the Top

Carter, for now, can seemingly do nothing but grit his oversized teeth and strike the pose of a cool-headed crisis manager. Itchy trigger fingers in the Pentagon are being restrained not only by the considerations of anti-Soviet strategy, but also by the inability of the U.S. to control its Japanese and German imperialist allies, for whom one barrel of Khomeini's crude is worth more than an embassyful of CIA spies and Foreign Service desk jockeys. The U.S. has had no luck even in getting its allies to take economic or even tough diplomatic measures against Khomeini. The other imperialist powers have refused to withdraw their embassy staffs from Teheran and certainly have no interest in jeopardizing their Iranian and Near Eastern holdings by joining a

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CP Steward Fired at British Leyland

All Out!

LONDON, December 3—Britain was on the edge of a major industrial showdown late last month when the chronically failing nationalised car manufacturer British Leyland (BL) sacked Derek Robinson, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) official and long-time Communist Party member. Robinson is the convenor of the giant BL Longbridge factory outside Birmingham and, as head of the Leyland Combine Committee, the leader of over 800 Leyland shop stewards. The sacking of Robinson, the most prominent trade unionist in the British motor industry, was an open, outrageous provocation against the entire working class. On both sides of the class line the country girded for the most important confrontation under Margaret Thatcher's Tory government. Indeed, it was potentially the most important class battle since the miners took on Edward Heath in the winter of 1973-74.

Spartacist Britain

British CP trade-union leader Derek Robinson. His sacking was an act of class war.

Within hours of Robinson's dismissal on November 19, Longbridge was shut down tight by mass pickets. The strike spread rapidly through the industrial Midlands area and by the next day over 25,000 BL workers had downed tools, shutting down production at four other BL factories. By Thursday, November 22, half of BL's 90,000 car workers had been idled. The Combine Committee issued a call for a "day of action" and mass trade-union protest rally in Birmingham the following Monday. Robinson himself raised threats of a general strike call, to which the tabloid dailies responded with headlines ranting against "Red Rohbo." In general Robinson's sacking has been greeted with a chorus of red-baiting by the bourgeois press. And while BL chairman Sir Michael Edwardes warned, "It's me or Robinson," the entire BL management threatened to resign if Robinson were reinstated.

Robinson's sacking came only two weeks after BL chairman Edwardes had extorted a seven-to-one "yes" vote from the demoralised BL workforce in a postal ballot for his scheme to "save" BL through savage redundancies and plant closures. It was a warning, if any were needed, that within the framework of decrepit British capitalism, "saving" BL means breaking the back of even a semblance of militant unionism in the industry. Moreover, the dismissal was explicitly justified by BL management as an attempt to suppress any efforts to defend jobs and working conditions against Edwardes' job-slashing, union-busting juggernaut. Robinson was sacked for co-authoring a pamphlet opposing the Edwardes plan.

The conservative London *Economist* (24 November) explained why Edwardes took the risk of sacking "the most powerful man among the 90,000 workers":

> "BL management is determined to clobber the unofficial shop steward's organisation while the tide is running its way and while the company's future is still in the balance."

In this crucial class battle, all the ingredients but a militant leadership ready to carry the struggle forward were there: an unprecedented and provocative victimisation; the prospect of sackings hanging over the heads of upwards of 40,000 BL car workers; mass unofficial walkouts throughout the Midlands motor industry; outstanding wage claims and threatened strikes from other industrial sectors including the militant and strategically placed miners. What was urgently needed was an immediate shutdown of every BL factory throughout the country, combined with immediate preparations to *deepen and extend* the strike as necessary throughout the motor industry and the rest of the trade-union movement. For mass labour actions up to and including a general strike to bring down the Tory government and actually place the working class in power!

Certainly there was a will to struggle. One of the 6,000 workers who turned out for the spirited November 26 Birmingham march heatedly denounced the scabs who went to work at Longbridge that day, "crawling in like rats through the hole in the fence." Workers from the Rovers factory at Solihull demanded the union take disciplinary action against the scabs who had kept the factory going through the "day of action." Demonstrators marching through Birmingham militantly chanted, "Edwardes Out—Robinson In!" There were march contingents from Ford and Rolls Royce, as well as seamen, metal workers, chemical workers and others.

The Birmingham "day of action" set back the rising line of struggle against Robinson's victimisation. The union bureaucrats could have mobilised for the action by shutting down every shop in the Birmingham area through roving picket squads and extending the strike nationwide. That would have brought out hundreds of thousands of workers and provided a staging area from which to deepen and extend the strike.

Instead, the bureaucrats did everything possible to defuse the workers' militancy. The very day after the sacking, top AUEW officials voted to reject an all-out strike in favour of "whatever support was possible." And Robinson's fellow CPer, Rovers convenor Joe Harris, saw to it that the only resolution brought before a mass meeting of Rover workers was a call to ...take the rest of that day off! Finally, only two days after the march, stabbed in the back by their own leaders, the workforce returned to the plants. There could be no more striking evidence of the need for a revolutionary leadership of the labour movement to replace these labour fakers on the proletariat's road to the revolutionary expropriation of the capitalist class!

The result of all the bureaucratic foot-dragging and back-stabbing could be a major defeat for the British labour movement. Derek Robinson may become the victim of the same kind of sellout policies he has advocated for years. (But from the standpoint of the British ruling class, Robinson made one sellout too few.) It is the reformist policies of the Stalinists and social democrats which have paved the way to the disastrous situation confronting Leyland workers and all British workers today, policies allowing the Tories to implement and step up their vicious attacks on the working class and the oppressed.

But Derek Robinson wasn't sacked for scab-herding on the unofficial toolmakers' strikes of 1977 and 1979 or for playing a key role in pushing through every rotten agreement that car workers have been stuck with in recent years—all of which he did. No, this sacking was a blatant attack on the union. And despite the betrayals of the AUEW bureaucrats, it still can and must be reversed! Stop the sellout! For an immediate, all-out strike! ■

U.S.-sponsored boycott of Iran. The West German government, for example, hit the roof when Morgan Guaranty Trust took legal steps to guarantee repayment of its Iranian loans by seizing the 25 percent Iranian share of Krupp steel. U.S. attempts to use the U.N. Security Council to pressure Khomeini have been frustrated by the same inter-imperialist rivalries. Spokesmen for every country from Panama to China have certainly been willing to denounce the seizure of the hostages—they all have a stake in the sanctity of diplomatic immunity—but the "outrage of the international community" remains purely verbal.

In the "good old days" when the U.S., as undisputed top-dog imperialist superpower, could tell subservient Bonn ex-Nazis and Tokyo politicians where to get off, a little strong-arm diplomacy might quickly have solved a Khomeini crisis. But in the post-Vietnam, post-dollar devaluation world, the U.S. cannot simply run roughshod over its imperialist rivals. Japan relies on Iran for 20 percent of its oil and West Germany is similarly dependent on the Teheran oil dealers. Schmidt and Ohira have consequently let it be known that a U.S. attack on the Iranian oil fields or the oil port of Kharg Island would be considered a most unfriendly act *toward them*.

For the U.S. Iran is chiefly valuable as a bastion against the USSR, but for the European and Japanese capitalists it is little more than one big gas pump. CIA operative Kermit Roosevelt noted this potential conflict of interests in 1953, when he was busy plotting the coup that put Pahlavi back on the Peacock Throne: "Naturally, the British have been primarily concerned with their oil problem, while our concern has been principally the Soviet threat to Iranian sovereignty." (*Countercoup*, [1979]). Twenty-six years ago this was a Cold War truism. Today, it ties Washington's hands and makes the stakes involved in any war moves toward Iran even higher.

Chauvinist Backlash and Gunboat Diplomacy

Carter has done very little thus far. To the chauvinist mobs which had been chanting "De-por-ta-tion!" he has thrown some Iranian students. This action sets a dangerous precedent for the deportation of any and all foreign political dissidents as well as undocumented immigrant workers. The labor movement, left and all those who defend democratic rights must strongly oppose the deportation of Iranian students.

But the demonstrators now chanting in front of Iranian consulates and students harassing Iranians on campus are not just right-wing activists, Birchers or members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The anti-Iranian chauvinist reaction cuts across the usual social/political divisions. These protesters are not motivated by any great love for the shah. Most Americans don't care if the shah is sent back to Iran or to hell. Certainly the bloody, torturing butcher should be sent anyplace he will get his just deserts.

Nor can the chauvinist backlash be explained simply by the fact of violence against fellow Americans in Iran. Even when they were killing "our boys," popular hostility toward the North Vietnamese was not what it now is toward the Iranians. Millions of Americans came to recognize that the Vietnamese were fighting a just war against Johnson/Nixon's government.

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For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash the KKK!

Greensboro–We Will Not Forget!

For the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, the Greensboro massacre—a two minute fusillade which left five anti-fascist demonstrators dead—was more than a multiple execution in a black housing project. The daylight murder of five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP, formerly Workers Viewpoint Organization) was a bold declaration written in blood that American fascism can provide the thugs for the bourgeoisie's deadliest assaults against blacks, militant workers and leftists. While cross-burnings and fascist marches are cropping up from Vineland, New Jersey to Northern California, the Anti-Defamation League reports national Klan membership up to an estimated 10,000 with a three-fold growth in sympathizers put at 100,000 (*New York Times*, 11 November).

In the face of this growing threat, the fascist killings of the five Southern left and labor militants were a challenge demanding the most immediate and powerful response. Instead—there was silence in the main, with the exception of the CWP itself, the Spartacist League and a number of union militants fighting for a labor-centered response. As a 19 November *Village Voice* article, "Silent as the Graves," put it:

> "Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberal allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice, if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit.... Action against native fascism is left in the hands of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it."

On November 11, the CWP buried its dead after a two-and-a-half mile funeral procession in Greensboro. Several hundred mourners escorted the coffins to a local cemetery, despite the city administration's initial ban on parades or marches of any sort. Although finally permitting a burial procession, the bourgeois state put on a massive show of force for the occasion, assigning some 500 national guardsmen, 250 state troopers and 175 local cops to the area. A pair of national guard helicopters hovered overhead, while 150 riot-clad police lined both sides of the street.

The funeral march once again exposed the role of the cops. On the day of the Klan attack, November 3, police refused to arrest the KKK assassins even as they aimed their guns for the kill, because they had not yet "committed a crime." In the eyes of capitalist "justice," however, it *is* a crime when leftists or blacks prepare to defend themselves. Thirty-four people were arrested at the funeral for carrying guns, 26 of whom were CWP comrades, according to the group's newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint*.

Militant

Armor, helicoptars and 1000 cops and troops harassed mournars at tha Novambar 11 burial procassion in Greansboro.

As Marxists, we stand for the right of armed self-defense. But the CWP seems more interested in making a phony show of arms. According to an 11 November UPI account, the CWP made a deal with the cops to have the funeral "honor guard" carry unloaded weapons. Making no mention of this agreement, the 19 Novemher *Workers Viewpoint* cynically boasts that "the march was armed to the teeth." Even more dangerous is the CWP's continuing delusion that a small number of leftists can take on the fascists and even hack down the bourgeois state. Thus, they describe the funeral march, which was held literally under the guns of 1,000 capitalist troops, as "a great political victory."

The Greensboro massacre and the response to it posed in the sharpest form the counterposed strategies in the fight against fascism: either the impotent strategy which attempts to substitute small-group action or the mobilization of the working class. For their part, the liberals, the "responsible" black leaders and the trade-union bureaucracy reacted with the same treacherous "even hand" of the bourgeois press—condemning alike the KKK killers and their victims as "violent" and "extremists." And the black preachers were, grotesquely, most disturbed that the Greensboro murders raised the spectre of communist gains in the South!

An unusually political 18 Novemher *New York Times* article, "Rights Leaders Troubled by Prospect of Leftist Gains Among Blacks," writes:

> "They are fearful that the killings might provide Communist groups with a foothold among poor, Southern blacks whom they have not been successful in recruiting over the years."

The article goes on to quote a Raleigh, North Carolina, NAACP official who said he was "frightened, because they [the CWP] obviously can no longer be written off as 'outside,' 'white-led radicals'—their blood has been spilled in this state and in a black neighhorhood by white racists." Moreover, at the first meeting of the Black Pastors Conference in Detroit, a delegation of Greensboro ministers organized a committee to "find ways of responding to Communist organizing efforts," it was reported.

In Greenshoro, several black ministers got cold feet and pulled out of a planned Novemher 18 anti-Klan demonstration called hy civil rights, black student and socialist groups. Did the preachers fear another KKK assault? Hardly. City Hall put on the pressure and the FBI was ready with "proof" that some of the organizers were leftists. A Greenshoro NAACP spokesman, Dr George Simkins, told *WV*, "They got a lot of these communist groups coming in here and we can't he involved with this, with the communists." The clergymen caved in and the left groups came tumbling after—the rally has not occurred.

The Uncle Tom establishment is right to he concerned that the rise of Klan terror will make the reds look better to blacks. Blacks don't buy the ruling-class line on Greensboro, that it was a feud hetween two equally bad "extremist" groups. They know that the "extremists" of the Klan have a final solution *for them*. While the preachers and NAACP do nothing as the Klan grows and grows holder, blacks want to fight and they will fight along with the reds. On November 10 in downtown Detroit,

Videotape Available: "The Klan Won't Ride In the Motor City!"

"Kick them out and leave them out.... Just let them know that wa are not going to tolerate this kind of stutl here in Detroit."

"The KKK killed my uncle. Right thera in Atlanta, Georgia. Sixteen yeers ago. They drawed and quartered him before they killed him. Now do you think I care eomething about the goddamned Klen."

"Kicking them out ween't enough beceuse they're out et Wixom now. We've got to get them the hell out of Ford's completely."

On Saturdey, 10 November 500 trade unioniste, militant youth and eocialists rellied in Detroit's Kennedy Squere to protest Ku Klux Klan terror. They came in response to the massacre in Greensboro, North Cerolina, where on November 3 Klen and Nazi gunmen shot to death tive entitescist demonstretors. The Detroit relly wes the tiret massiva integretad, labor-centered protest egeinet tesciet terror in the U.S. in dacedes. Perticipants came trom Ford'e gigentic River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Dodge Truck, Meck Avenue Stemping, Lynch Roed Assembly, Cadillac and other Detroit-eree factories.

A group of militent auto workars trom UAW Locei 600 et River Rouge—where e walkout end petition campaign had recenlly driven two KKK-hooded toreman trom tha plent—went to their union demanding a massive lebor protest ageinst the Klan. Despite the union bureeucrets' refuset to take ection end liberel black meyor Colemen Young's initial ban on the protest, tha relly was successtully built.

A videotepe ot the Relly to Fight Klan Terror is now available tor interested groups end individuals. The 30-minute tilm conteins interviews with Detroit black workers, an account of the struggle to driva the KKK-hoodad toremen from River Rouge, and speeches from some trede unionists end spokasmen for the Spartacist League which built heevily tor the rally. The documantery shows the Merxist approach of mobilizing labor, black and white, to tight tescist terror.

Copies eveitable trom the Spartacist Leegue, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10001.

WV Reporter's Speech to November 10 Anti-Klan Rally

They Lied About the Massacre

Below is reprinted the speech given by Workers Vanguard reporter Mark Loughton at the November 10 Labor/Black Rally to Smash Klan Terror in Detroit.

Brothers and sisters, I'm a correspondent for *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League. I've covered a lot of stories, a lot of strikes, but I never covered anything like the massacre in Greensboro. I went there a few hours after the shooting, and I want to tell you what happened. I spoke with two widows who just the day before had their husbands die in their arms, covered with blood. I spoke with Nelson Johnson, one of the organizers of the rally. After he was stabbed and attacked by the Ku Klux Klan, then the police showed up and they arrested *him*. I spoke with eyewitnesses, people who saw the attack, and they told me a story that was a lot different from what you read in the newspapers.

They told me the anti-Klan ralliers were assembling near a black housing project hall an hour or so before the starting time. Suddenly a caravan of Klansmen pulled up. Doors flew open and Klansmen poured out, screaming and chasing racial insults in the black people's own neighborhood. They went to the trunks of their cars and they methodically got out lead pipes, shotguns, pistols, semi-automatic rifles and god knows what else. And then they opened fire. One woman was clubbed and *then* they shot her. A witness told me he saw a Klansman with a pistol in each hand, firing from both guns at his victim as he lay at his feet. Four died on Saturday, and another one died a couple of days later. Nine others were wounded.

Greensboro Daily News

Greensboro, November 3: the media blamed the victims.

The press the next day in North Carolina and across the country said that the demonstrators provoked the killers. The dead, they implied, got what they deserved. No Klansman was shot, but more than a dozen anti-Klan demonstrators were hit. The press, however, described it with words like "shootout," "a shooting spree," "a feud between violent extremists." Well, there's a word for what happened all right. It was cold-blooded murder.

The Spartacist League and *Workers Vanguard* have important criticisms of the tactics that were employed by the demonstrators that day. A small group tried to take on the Klan by itself, and that doesn't work. But, by god, we know the difference between the people that shoot and the people that get shot! And we'd all better know this—that those people who organized that demonstration, sure, they were crazy and they were acting hysterically, but that's not the reason they were gunned down. The reason they were shot is because they said they were communists and labor organizers. All of us better know that every Jew, every black, every Arab and everyone that's out here has those same guns trained at them right now unless we put a stop to the Klan. And we demand that the charges against those people who were arrested, the demonstrators, be dropped at once.

Now where did the media get this line? Well, they got it from the politicians, of course. Here's the statement the politicians put out the next day at a press conference. Do you know what they said? They said, "...an appalling outburst of violence provoked primarily by outside radical influences...whose intent was to promote riot and chaos..." In other words, the people that were victimized were the same as the criminals in the eyes of the politicians.

That's just like Coleman Young who had planned to arrest Klansmen and anti-Klan demonstrators alike until you folks and the people of Local 600 and a lot of workers around the city made him back down.

One thing is clear. A small number of demonstrators can't beat the Klan by themselves. It takes a mobilization of the labor movement to deal with the Klan in the only language they understand. Brothers and sisters, it's been a long time since the labor movement as a whole has shown its might in this country, and that power is real. The coal miners proved that. I was in Kentucky and West Virginia last winter. I saw the miners union hold out for 110 days against the bosses, against the gun thugs and against the scabs. And they told Jimmy Carter to take his contract and shove it. So we know it can be done.

It'll be a long time before the labor movement forgets the day the Klan shot down those textile workers and civil rights activists in Greensboro. And maybe in years to come journalists and a lot of other people will look back at November 10, 1979 as the day the Motor City's labor and black community showed just whose town Detroit really is! Thank you very much. ■

Spartacist spokesmen and class-struggle trade unionists led hundreds of black auto workers in chanting "Smash the Klan!" This chant reaches into the heart of *millions* of black working people.

Trade-Union Bureaucracy: "Better Dead Than Red"

For most of the labor bureaucrats, the Greensboro murders were an issue to avoid. Yet there were a number of unions where militants locked horns with the bureaucrats in a fight to mobilize the power of labor to smash the Klan. The most vivid example was in Detroit, where auto workers from UAW Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge initiated the November 10 labor-based anti-Klan rally after their local executive board had meekly counterposed impotent protest telegrams to Jimmy Carter. Also in auto, at Ford's Mahwah, New Jersey plant, members of the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 proposed at a December 1 union meeting a state-wide anti-Klan rally. It passed unanimously—the savvy bureaucrats knowing better than to oppose any motion expressing the workers' deep hatred of any variety of fascism.

In Locals 6 and 10 of the ILWU, some 400 unionists signed a Militant Caucus-initiated petition demanding a Bay Area-wide anti-KKK rally and passed a motion to this effect at both local meetings. The petition also demanded, "Jail the Killer Klansmen! Drop the charges against the Greensboro anti-Klan protesters! For union-organized labor/black/Latino defense guards to smash Klan/Nazi violence! Uphold the right to armed self-defense! No to gun control!" Only after unionists had leafleted for several weeks and won broad support among the ILWU members for the demonstration did the bureaucracy feel compelled to respond. Local 6 president Keith Eickman reportedly came into the November 28 GEB meeting with a belated statement from the International condemning the Klan and declaring the local's support for the rally proposal. The present task must be to *take this proposal off paper and put it into action!*

Militant Southern California phone workers put out a leaflet in their union protesting the brutal Klan killings. When the unionists in Los Angeles CWA Local 11502 handed out Militant Action Caucus leaflets condemning the Greensboro murders, Ma Bell—which is notorious for its racist practices—went so far as to discipline several people for handing out leaflets. Unfortunately, the local union officials played into the hands of the company when at the November union meeting, they pushed through an even-handed motion condemning the CWP victims as well as the Klan killers and "any other totalitarian group that advocates violence."

Twin Faces of Reformism

Dangerously, even after Greensboro the CWPs, the YAWFs, the PLs and RCPs continue to believe that small groups of militants can physically defeat the Klan and Nazi vermin. But nobody can accuse the SWP of adventurism toward the Klan. Instead, they have made themselves the "best builders" of the fascists' so-called "rights" of free speech. As we have continually pointed

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PRESS CLIPS

the village VOICE

—19 November 1979

By Alexander Cockburn

Silent as the Graves

The murder of five communist demonstrators by Klan and Nazi gangsters has been greeted circumspectly by what passes for the American left. Though the spectacle of fascism running wild ought to evoke unhappy memories among liberals, most remain unseen and unheard. They are content to let consensus reign, in this case the notion (suggested by Anthony Lewis in a disgraceful column) that the Communist Workers Party brought the hail of bullets down upon itself by its "provocative" behaviour. This leads to a gruesome state of affairs: the *Times* mildly chastises the Greensboro police for lack of vigilance, while those same cops whisper that the commies really fired the first shot. Eventual acquittal of the guilty men seems likely, which will naturally encourage other white supremacist murderers, cross-burners and their kind.

Four of those killed were union activists. Three had organized workers in the Cone textile mills to fight for better conditions with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and another, Cesar Cauce, was trying to organize Duke Medical Center workers into the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees at the time of his murder. Their political views were antagonistic to those of the unions' leaders—who incidentally call themselves socialists—which may be why the labor statesmen haven't bothered to excoriate the killers or those who let the slaughter be done.

Dignity would at least have required labor and its liberal allies to issue some proclamation of grief, some demand for justice if not revenge. Courage would demand issuance of a call for anti-fascist demonstrations in every major city—like the one sponsored by the Spartacists in Detroit. But our liberals are too busy with Teddy, and labor is getting ready to elevate Lane Kirkland as Meany's successor. Action against native fascism is left in the hands of the Trotskyists and other sectarians, who at least can understand the meaning of murder when they see it. For liberals, it's much more stimulating to dump on the Iranians. ■

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ROTTEN BLOCS SHATTER UNITED SECRETARIAT

For the past decade and a half the main drawing card of the "United Secretariat" (USec) has been its pretensions to be the Fourth International. Even while its warring factions were publicly hurling epithets at each other from opposite sides of the barricades over Portugal in 1975, the USec could still attract subjectively revolutionary militants with its claim to be the organizational embodiment of the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. And woe to any USec dissidents who challenged this myth—over the years left oppositions have been summarily chucked out for such sacrilege.

Now in the last two months the USec has been torn apart over Nicaragua, with two blocs (each a marriage of convenience, in true USec tradition) taking shape to claim the title. For Ernest Mandel the split exploded his reveries of presenting a "united" USec as an international clearing-house for the "broad far left." The expellees and their new-found allies are now as aggressive as the USec in presuming to speak for "the world movement." Yet the counterposed blocs are deeply unstable, both consisting of centrist-talking adventurers (Mandel and Moreno) combined with hard social-democratic reformist national machines (the American SWP and the French OCI respectively).

On the USec side, its just concluded "Eleventh World Congress" saw three main tendencies most clearly expressed in their competing motions on the nature of the present Sandinista/bourgeois government in Nicaragua. The right wing around Jack Barnes' SWP praised the present ruling junta in Managua as a workers and peasants government; to cozy up to the FSLN (explicitly endorsed as a "revolutionary leadership") the SWP acts as a fingerman and political adviser to the Sandinista secret police against supposed "ultra-lefts" (including its erstwhile Morenoite "comrades").

In the middle there was the grouping around Mandel, saying in typical centrist fashion that the nature of the Nicaraguan regime was undetermined. And there was Mandel's left cover, the hodgepodge centered on the British IMG, sections of the Swedish KAF and the Matti tendency in the French LCR. These "loyal oppositionists" labeled the Sandinista junta a bourgeois class-collaborationist regime, but instead of calling for a Trotskyist party to organize independent proletarian opposition in Nicaragua, they accepted the USec's liquidationist policy of entry into the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN.

On the other side, the new lash-up between the French OCI of Pierre Lambert and Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction (BF) is one of the more unnatural alliances in history. When Vishinsky ranted at the Moscow Trials against a "bloc of rights and Trotskyites" it was a Stalinist slander, but the OCI and Moreno have actually created something worse. Trotsky and Bukharin had more in common than this pair! Lambert's organization is a known quantity among ostensible Trotskyists in Europe; its social-democratic Stalinophobic politics meant eagerly supporting the candidate of the popular front, Socialist leader Mitterrand, in the 1973 French presidential election. By 1975 the OCI's slide into reformism was sealed by its support to the "democratic" CIA-funded Portuguese Socialists as the latter spearheaded a

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MORENO'S LEFT FACE

REPRINTED FROM MORENO TRUTH KIT

Elsewhere in this bulletin we reprint numerous excerpts from materials documenting Nahuel Moreno's decades-long cover for Peronism in his native Argentina, his opportunist support to populist generals from Peru's Velasco to Panama's Torrijos; his chameleon-like shifts of political coloration, from gung-ho guerrillaist to snivelling social democrat, and his scandalous financial dealings. But that does not account for the apparent leftism of the documents of his Bolshevik Faction and its predecessor, the Boshevik Tendency (BF/BT). For in the case of Moreno the contrast between theory and practice is so dramatic that he has developed a "method" capable of justifying almost any betrayal.

For almost a decade, from 1968 through 1977, the United Secretariat was rent by acute factional struggle between a centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) led by Ernest Mandel and the reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) led by the American SWP of Joe Hansen/Jack Barnes and (initially) Moreno's Argentine PST. While the Mandelites chased after a Maoist/Guevarist "new mass vanguard" in Europe and Latin America, the LTF used pseudo-orthodox arguments to attack guerrillaism from the right (not unlike the pro-Moscow CPs). After Barnes and Mandel dissolved the factions in 1977, underlying differences remained but a temporary unity was obtained at the USec helm. So simply by standing still while the ex-IMT galloped to the right, Moreno suddenly appears as a "left" critic of the "reunified" rotten bloc:

> "Before, it [the IMT] had bent to the ultraleftism of a predominantly student radicalized vanguard. Now, it is bending to the pressures of Eurocommunism and a trade-union and middle class vanguard, which are transmission belts for liberal ideology and the public opinion of the imperialist countries....
>
> "This capitulation is what has made the convergence between the ex-IMT and the leaders of the SWP, i.e., the ex-LTF, possible."
>
> —"Declaration and Platform of the Bolshevik Faction," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, July 1979

An uninitiated reader might well confuse such passages with Trotskyist critiques of the revisionist USec by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). Of course, the iSt and its precursors have been denouncing the United Secretariat as a rotten bloc since its inception in 1963, while Moreno seems to have discovered this fact only in the last two years (after being part of every USec betrayal and unprincipled maneuver for the previous decade and a half). And there is the telltale fact that Moreno's BF/BT consistently described the Mandelite majority as "ultraleft" while we label the IMT *centrist*. But the most striking difference is that the Morenoite attack on the USec leadership consists solely of organizational atrocity stories plus evidence of revisionism at the most general theoretical level. Concrete political *betrayals*, where their line means defeat for the working class, are almost never mentioned.

The Bolshevik Faction has some pretty harsh words to say against the USec's 1977 resolution on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." In a document endorsed by the BF, Moreno says it "completely revised the revolutionary Marxist position on the dictatorship of the proletariat." Mandel, he says, is "filling the Marxist conception of workers revolution and proletarian dictatorship with a Eurocommunist content and program..." (*The Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat* [1979]). Fine, but where do the Morenoites denounce the USec for capitulating to the Eurocommunists in the class struggle? What about the electoral support to popular fronts given by both the SWP and ex-IMT, who call for votes to the reformist workers parties involved in such class-collaborationist coalitions? The BF doesn't breathe a word of criticism, for its own electoral policies are just as (or even more) tailist.

Perhaps the best example of how Morenoite "orthodoxy" in the abstract is translated into opportunism in the concrete is the case of Portugal 1975. During the spring and summer the situation was polarizing rapidly: the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and its Stalinist allies escalated their leftist rhetoric, in part to co-opt embryonic factory committees and collective farms which were beginning to sprout up. On the other side, the Socialist Party of Mário Soares sided with more conservative officers and civilian reactionaries in mounting an anti-Communist mass mobilization. The SWP, in response, wholeheartedly took up the cause of the CIA-financed Portuguese SP. Not wanting to be tied to this right-wing unholy alliance, Moreno began making trouble in the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction and finally split over the SWP document, "Key Issues in the Portuguese Revolution" (October 1975). This was the origin of the Bolshevik Tendency.

The future BTers were hard on the SWP, accusing it of thinking "the possibility exists that the SP could break with the bourgeoisie and take power in Portugal today," and that the SP is "no longer counterrevolutionary" ("Letter from Former LTF Members to

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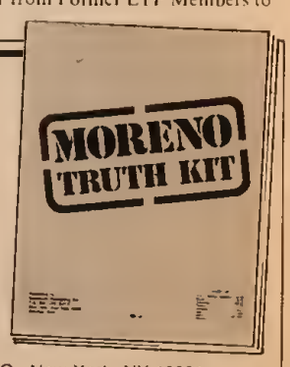

the International Executive Committee," [SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, March 1977). The "Declaration of the Bolshevik Tendency" took the IT to task because it "did not indicate a single task or slogan in relation to the 'workers commissions'," and condemned Hansen's "categorical refusal to raise the policy and slogan for centralizing these committees." The SWP, concluded the BT, had "an essentially bourgeois-democratic program" for Portugal ([SWP] *IIDB*, January 1977). These same points were made repeatedly—and much more sharply—in *Workers Vanguard* (e.g., "SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution in Portugal," *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975).

But *WV* emphasized above all the need to fight "class collaboration—tying the workers to the bourgeois officer corps." On the issue of soviets, we said that for an authentic Trotskyist party the key issue was "calling for independence of the workers commissions and popular assemblies from the MFA..." ("Soviets and the Struggle for Workers Power in Portugal," *WV* No. 82, 24 October 1975). The program of Moreno & Co. was exactly the opposite. Having decided to abandon the social-democratic camp (in the early summer he was for participating in the SP's anti-Communist demonstrations), Moreno simply switched horses and plunked his money down for the MFA. Thus in a long polemic against SWPer Gus Horowitz he argued that this faction of the officer corps of the capitalist army was *not* classically bonapartist and *was* "Kerenskyist" and petty-bourgeois (N. Moreno, "Revolución y contrarrevolución en Portugal," *Revista de América*, July-August 1975).

Moreno's supporters of the Portuguese PRT went even further and in an article entitled "A Necessary Rectification: The MFA and the Revolution in Portugal" (*Combate Socialista*, 10 July 1975) discovered a "semi-soviet sector" of the bourgeois officer caste. But they did not come up with this dangerous revision of Marxism by themselves. In an April 1975 report to the PRT national committee Moreno referred to the MFA as "the superstructural expression of the beginning of the formation of soviets in the army" and said that it may be "a petty-bourgeois movement that reflects the revolutionary process"—in which case, "We have to struggle within this process, and understand that there are differentiations inside the Armed Forces Movement itself" (PRT *Internal Discussion Bulletin* No. 2). So while correctly attacking the SWP for chasing after Soares and raising a purely bourgeois-democratic program for Portugal, Moreno talks about soviets... and runs after the populist MFA with its demagogic talk of "people's power."

Moreno has developed this Janus-faced policy into a veritable science. Thus on the second issue over which he broke from the SWP—Angola—he takes his former mentors severely to task for failing to call for military victory to the MPLA in the crucial months after November 1975, when it was facing a combined attack by South Africa and the CIA-aided FNLA/UNITA coalition. Moreno drew a close parallel between Angola and Vietnam (falsely, for in the case of Angola it was simply an imperialist invasion, whereas in Vietnam this was overlaid on a civil war which saw two opposing *class*

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MEXICAN USec FACTION GOES OVER TO CP

Forty members of the Mexican Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), which claims to uphold the program of Trotskyism, have recently resigned this past August to join the Mexican Communist Party (PCM), the party of Leon Trotsky's assassins. The defectors were led by one Ricardo Hernández, PRT Political Bureau member and a former member of the International Executive Committee of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec). On leaving the PRT, Hernández renounced Leninism and Trotskyism as "religious concepts" (*Bandera Socialista*, 13 August 1979) and the same day signed up as a paid party functionary in the PCM.

Like the "Eurocommunists," in whom USec professor Ernest Mandel sees revolutionary potential, the Mexican CP is trying to clean up its image, seeking to prove it can serve its "own" bourgeoisie exclusively as loyally as it served the Kremlin. Notorious for organizing an attempt on Trotsky's life in 1940 shortly before he was finally struck down by a GPU agent, the PCM now finds its complicity in the assassination to be a political liability. PCM leader Valentin Campa in his recently published memoirs tries to dissociate the party from Trotsky's murder, blaming it on "the interference of foreign comrades." No doubt this defection from an ostensibly Trotskyist group will be used to aid the despicable whitewash attempt.

Ricardo Hernández was no isolated militant, demoralized and looking for an easy exit from revolutionary politics; rather, this was a significant desertion by long-time USec cadre, carrying the Pablo-ists' liquidationist methodology to its logical conclusion. Nor were Hernández' pro-Stalinist sentiments a secret. During the elections of 1976, Hernández' Tendencia Militante (TM), which had just taken over the Liga Socialista, joined a popular-frontist bloc to campaign for the PCM presidential candidate Campa. The TM signed a common electoral platform which in time-honored Stalinist tradition called for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and invited bourgeois forces into the coalition. Hernández answered criticisms raised by his factional rivals in the USec by yelling at a campaign meeting for Campa, "the Communist Party is more revolutionary than you are!" He added that the masses "don't give a flying shit" about programmatic differences between Trotskyists and Stalinists.

Ricardo Hernández' blatant departures from what could barely be termed pseudo-Trotskyism were a bit much, even for those long accustomed to conciliating reformists. Some apparently orthodox objections by the reformist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were simply expressions of pique at being spurned by Hernández. Formerly a copartner in the SWP-led minority Feminist-Trotskyist Faction (FIF), he had fallen under the sway of Nahuel Moreno's roving band of political bandoleros and under their tutelage had purged Mexican supporters of the SWP from the Liga Socialista. The Mandelite USec majority, not missing a chance to score against their factional rivals, leapt to Hernández' defense and endorsed the electoral bloc. A July 1976 letter to Hernández from a USec majority leader was quite straightforward: "We believe therefore that the

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Perspectiva Mundial

Sandinistas in power. SWP defends new government's repression of "ultra-left" critics.

INTERVIEW WITH NICARAGUAN LEFTIST— JAILED BY FSLN JUNTA

In early October Nicaragua's Sandinista (FSLN)/bourgeois government launched a full-scale roundup of leftists critical of the new regime's pro-capitalist policies. Scores of members of the Movimiento de Acción Popular, the MAP's trade-union organization Frente Obrero, the self-proclaimed Trotskyists of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR) and other groups and individuals were picked up and jailed throughout the country. The imprisoned left-wing militants were charged with bank robbery, attacks on FSLN soldiers and "illegal" possession of the arms with which they had fought against the Somoza dictatorship. Many were arrested with no formal charges at all. FSLN leaders vowed to "smash" the "ultralefts," whom they termed "the same thing as the counter-revolutionaries."

The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has filled its newspaper, *The Militant*, with glowing tributes to the FSLN and extensive coverage of every proclamation of the new regime, remained silent on the FSLN's repression for more than a month. Finally, the Sandinista sycophants ventured to write an article entitled, "FSLN Discusses Workers Democracy," posing the question, "How to answer ultraleft sectarians." The answer, it turns out, is "Lock 'em up!" Nowhere in the 16 November *Militant* article are the arrests explicitly denounced. Instead, the SWP gently chides the FSLN leaders with the observation that the Sandinistas' "fundamentally correct political arguments" against their critics "were weakened and obscured by charges that these groups were 'neo-Somozaists'...." The FSLN, we are told, should "politically" defeat Trotskyists and other sectarians. "Repression," it seems, "cuts across this political clarification and makes it more difficult to win these cadres to a genuinely revolutionary course." Perhaps the SWP should help the FSLN leaders avoid the unpleasantness of jailing leftists by recommending, as they may well have done in the case of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, that the troublemakers merely be deported (see "Did Peter Camejo Turn Them In?" *WV* No. 242, 26 October).

We print below excerpts from an interview with Carlos Petroni, a leading member of the LMR, now in exile following his arrest by the FSLN. It is unfortunate that such militants as Petroni and others who are subjectively looking for the road to revolution have been pulled into the political orbit of the notorious impresario from Argentina, Nahuel Moreno.

WV: We had heard of your arrest and that of other "far left" militants in Nicaragua during October. Could you tell us more about the details and reasons for your jailing, about the government's attitude and how this action was fought?

Petroni: My jailing, like that of many other comrades who belong to the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria (LMR) and the Frente Obrero (FO—Workers Front) in Nicaragua, was basically the outcome of the policies of the present pro-bourgeois government of the Junta of National Reconstruction and of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). That is, to take a hard line against the revolutionary left and a soft line on the national bourgeoisie, and even a soft line toward some sectors of Yankee imperialism. My arrest, like that of many other comrades, is due to that policy, i.e., the FSLN's need to maintain its deals with the bourgeoisie, which was beginning to totter due to the mass mobilization taking place in Nicaragua. That was the basic reason. I wasn't arrested on any specific charge—just for being a Trotskyist. And the comrades of the Frente Obrero were arrested for being members of FO.

WV: When did these arrests take place?

Petroni: The mass arrests occurred in early October. I should point out that revolutionary leftist militants have been arrested ever since the victory of the anti-Somoza rebellion. At the point when I was picked up already more than 60 members of FO and roughly a half dozen militants of the LMR had passed through the Sandinista jails. But the mass arrests came after the Sandinista

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Moreno's Left Face...

(continued from page 7)

camps). But for Moreno this parallel presented certain problems, for *in Vietnam the SWP also did not call for military victory to the NLF.* Instead its line was bourgeois pacifism, appealing to the defeatist wing of the Democratic Party. And the PST vociferously *defended* the SWP's antiwar policies when they were bloc partners in the LTT. (Moreno also fulminated against the "ultraleft sectarians" of the Spartacist League who said the SWP's coalitions were mini-popular fronts, and who uniquely demanded "All Indochina Must Go Communist!")

What to do? For an old hand like Moreno the trick was simple: to call for an NLF victory was a "world strategy" while "Bring the Boys Home" was its "tactical adaptation" to the backward consciousness of the American masses. Thus, "Some comrades of the IMT severely criticized the SWP for not raising in the U.S. the demand 'Victory to the NLF.' They were wrong in identifying the international policy with national tactics and demands" (N. Moreno, *Angola: La revolución negra en marcha* [1977]). So as long as you vote for a USec resolution, which is buried in the documents section of *Intercontinental Press* (and which no one can pin on you anyway, since both the SWP and PST are only "fraternally related" to the USec), it is all right to fail to call for the defeat of one's "own" imperialism. Glory, hallelujah, the bloc with Democratic Senator Vance Hartke is principled, and there is no need to get beaten up by pro-war workers while distributing defeatist propaganda in front of the factories (as happened to the Bolsheviks in World War I). How convenient. Why didn't Jack Barnes think of that?

Moreno dreamed up a similar subterfuge a few years earlier when the LTF got into a shouting match with the IMT over who supported popular frontism: the LTF said Mandel and his friends did, by supporting the French Union of the Left; the IMT said Hansen/Moreno did, because their Uruguayan supporters called for a vote to the Frente Amplio (Broad Front). (Answer: both support popular frontism.) Moreno argued that the Uruguayans had made an "error, not a betrayal." Furthermore, "it was a good move to enter the Frente Amplio because it helped our work in the mass movement." You see, "It would indeed be a betrayal to electorally support a popular front or a bourgeois nationalist movement without denouncing it as a betrayer of the workers' movement. That is: voting in itself is for us a tactical and not a principled question" (N. Moreno, "A Scandalous Document—A Reply to Germain," [SWP] *IIDB*, January 1974).

Moreno didn't invent that one, however. The author is Andrés Nin. Even after the Spanish POUM participated in the Popular Front coalition during the February 1936 elections, Nin, its most left-wing leader, continued to denounce the Popular Front in the abstract. For example:

> "Hence the policy of the Popular Front, by presenting the problem as a struggle between bourgeois democracy and fascism, sows fatal illusions among the working masses and detours them from accomplishing their historic mission, preparing, by this very act, the victory of fascism."
>
> —"La acción directa del proletariado y la revolución española," July 1936, in A. Nin, *Los problemas de la revolución española (1931-1937)*

Not bad, on paper. But the POUM helped put the Popular Front in power, thereafter acting as its left tail while mouthing abstract slogans about "socialism or fascism." And when the showdown came in the Barcelona May Days of 1937, Nin refused to mobilize the workers to overthrow the fragile Popular Front, thereby "preparing the victory of fascism." Presumably Nin, too, thought "voting is a tactical question."

Not so the international Spartacist tendency, for whom opposition to class collaboration is a matter of principle. This is what distinguishes us not only from the misnamed "Bolshevik Faction" but the entire United Secretariat swamp. Although as a cynical con man Nahuel Moreno resorts to the eclectic "method" of centrism—what Trotsky called "crystallized confusion"—his appetites and real program are those of a hardened reformist. In either case, as the example of Nin shows, the end result is the same, and it is the working class that pays the price. ■

Left Criticism of SWP

> One theoretical consequence of this conception of bourgeois democracy and its relationship to imperialism is directly revisionist: the reformist parties are *no* longer counterrevolutionary since no one can conceive of these parties without bourgeois democracy. We are not saying they now think these parties have become revolutionary *but* that, given this conception, they have ceased being counterrevolutionary. If we go very carefully through the two versions of "Key Issues of the Portuguese Revolution" as well as the other writings of the SWP compañeros we shall see that, by omission, there is a clear tendency toward making this theoretical assertion in regard to the Portuguese SP.

—from "Letter from Former LTF Members to the International Executive Committee," SWP Internal Information Bulletin, March 1977

> *The Crisis in the LTF*
>
> As the Portuguese revolution was developing, the SWP was changing its initial, correct position. That position was to develop the embryos of dual power in order to transform them into soviets, in combination with democratic slogans such as "Constituent Assembly," "freedom of press," "Against the MFA government," "CP-SP united front and government." The IMT refused to raise these last slogans.
>
> The change in the SWP's policy was codified in a document entitled "Key Issues of the Portuguese Revolution," which it submitted for a vote in the LTF. This document dropped the demands for the development and centralization of the demonstrations and the embryonic organs of dual power—the land and factory occupations, the workers and soldiers committees, etc.—and all the transitional and revolutionary slogans in favor of an exclusively democratic program.
>
> The theoretical basis for thi. reformist policy and program was expressed in Com. le Novack's

—from "Declaration and Platform of the Bolshevik Faction," SWP International Discussion Bulletin, July 1979

Support to the MFA

> ...officers toward normal strict military discipline, indispensable to the maintenance of the government they had brought into being. But the MFA—and we should bear this very much in mind—was not the same as the higher ranks of officers. And it resisted submitting to the discipline of the top officials. It thus reflected within the army the modern middle class, whose expectations were not identical to those of Spínola and the Portuguese oligarchy.
>
> The participation of the Communist party in the government w... of the past...

—from Nahuel Moreno, "Revolución y contrarevolución en Portugal," Revista de America, July-August 1975, translated in SWP Internal Information Bulletin, March 1977

> Ate hoje sempre caracterizamos o MFA como um movimento burguês, defensor, na ausencia de qualquer partido estruturado da classe dominante ou sequer de um aparelho de Estado solido, dos interesses fundamentais do Capital, se bem que também muitas vezes obrigado, pela posiçao de arbitro «supra-partidario» em que se encontra colocado, a castigar os sectores tradicionalmente mais privilegiados da burguesia, por forma a defender os interesses globais dessa mesma classe

uma rectificação necessária

o MFA e a Revolução em Portugal

> ...fundamentais do processo português. O produto destes traços e, de certa forma, o MFA. Podemos compreendê-lo como um **fenomeno novo**, quer dizer, um resultado momentâneo de uma realidade muito particular da realidade da Revolucao portuguesa. E inicialmente um **movimento**, uma reacção **pequeno-burguesa** de um sector dos oficiais de um exercito martelado e massacrado pela derrota...

> Da mesma maneira que os partidos operarios da coligacao, o MFA participa e compromete-se com a politica do Governo burgues. Mas isto nao significa identificar o Governo e as Forças Armadas, nem identificar o MFA com a burguesia. Pelo contrario, os factos vem demonstrando que para alem da tolerancia de figuras que sao uma garantia para o capitalismo nacional e internacional, o agravamento da crise aprofunda as clivagens no MFA e a tendência semi-sovietica que um dos seus polos implica, dao ao MFA uma instabilidade que este transmite ao Governo no seu conjunto, o que leva o bonap... ...governamental...

A Necessary Rectification

The MFA and the Revolution in Portugal

"Up to now we always characterized the MFA [Armed Forces Movement] as a bourgeois movement, a defender, in the absence of any structured party of the ruling class or even a solid state apparatus, of the fundamental interests of capital...."

"The product of these traits [of the Portuguese revolutionary process] was, in a way, the MFA. We can understand it as a new phenomenon, *that is, a momentary result of a very particular reality, the reality of the Portuguese Revolution. It was initially a* movement, *a* petty-bourgeois *reaction of a sector of the officials of an army pounded by war and massacred by the military defeat in Africa.*

"In the same way as the working-class parties of the coalition, the MFA participates in and commits itself to the policy of the bourgeois government. But this does not mean identifying the government and the armed forces, nor identifying the MFA with the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, the facts are demonstrating that ...the worsening of the crisis deepens the cleavages within the MFA and the semi-soviet tendency implied by one of its poles...."

—from Combate Socialista (newspaper of the Morenoite Portuguese PRT), 10 July 1975

Mexico

(continued from page 7)

accusation directed against you that you have created a 'basis for a Popular Front' or 'declared the Stalinists to be revolutionists,' are not confirmed..." (SWP *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, April 1977).

Three years ago, we anticipated present developments in *Workers Vanguard* No. 131, (29 October 1976) in "Mexican Standoff in the USec":

> "The Mexican situation shows in microcosm the bitter triangular polemic now wracking the USec. The fact that the pro-PST Militant Tendency could go from L-TF pseudo-orthodoxy on the popular front into a class-collaborationist alliance in a matter of a few weeks tells a great deal about the reformist character of the L-TF. And the fact that the most right-wing grouping (both in Mexico and internationally) can effortlessly shift from the international minority to accommodation with the majority speaks volumes about the unprincipled nature of all the factions.
>
> "Now a new PRT has been born, at a fusion conference in the 'Miguel Enriquez Auditorium' at the National University of Mexico. The 1,000 people present at the meeting reportedly named Mario Roberto Santucho, the murdered leader of the Argentine PRT/ERP, honorary president of the congress. Given the ex-Militant Tendency's unabashed rejection of Trotskyist opposition to popular fronts and the TM's naked Stalinist methods, it is entirely appropriate that the unification should take place under the symbolic auspices of Enriquez and Santucho, two leaders of centrist groups set up by the USec who became renegades. As Santucho was taking the PRT out of the USec, he blasted 'the Fourth International' composed of 'counterrevolutionary adventurers' and based on a 'scarcely redeemable tradition.' No doubt in short order we will be hearing similar words from some of the more intrepid renegades from Trotskyism in the Mexican PRT."

Well, it appears Ricardo Hernandez has spoken. ■

USec...

(continued from page 6)

counterrevolutionary anti-Communist mass mobilization.

The Morenoite current is far more contradictory. Moreno himself was a reformist in Argentina, but one who lost his reformist base, the direct tie to his "own" bourgeoisie. Forcibly separated from the national terrain of Argentine reformism, with nothing to sell out and no Perón to sell it to, Moreno—now based on the Colombian PST—chose to embark on a leftist adventure in Nicaragua. Now seeking to consolidate the benefits of his refurbished militant reputation, Moreno has gone out on a centrist swing. His Bolshevik Faction has been built on a left critique of the Mandelites' response to "Eurocommunism" and of the SWP over Portugal and Angola. On these positions the BF sounds uncannily close to the positions of the international Spartacist tendency—but it is a fraud: Moreno is a consummate charlatan. We can prove it, and we have, in the *Moreno Truth Kit* (see excerpts published in this issue).

For some time now this Argentine political *bandolero* had been sneaking up on Mandel, scurrying through the bushes and then hiding under the skirts of a larger group, only to break from it on a "left" basis when an appropriate opportunity presents itself. First with the SWP (1969-75) in the reformist, pseudo-orthodox "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (which was at bottom a reformist opposition to Mandel's vicarious guerrillaism), then in a more informal way in bloc with Mandel. Each time he has extended his influence: first to the rest of Latin America, then establishing a beachhead on the southern flank of Europe. Meanwhile his policies at home remained ultra-reformist (written declarations of support to the Peronist regime, equating left-wing guerrillas with fascist death squads, etc.).

Now Moreno is at it again, this time with the OCI, and the current bloc is even less stable than his previous operations. Its components can't even agree on whether they are for the "reconstruction," "reorganization" or "reunification" of the Fourth International and Moreno has admitted that his "Parity Committee" with the OCI is nothing but a defensive "united front"—but one which supposedly will proceed to build "Trotskyist parties" despite its disagreements over fundamental political issues. The "Parity Committee" is merely a cynical attempt to trump the Mandelites by playing the "unity" card, and not surprisingly the USec is invited to join up.

The uproar over Nicaragua has sent left-wing elements in the USec into turmoil. Many are being sucked into the Moreno/OCI bloc, which on this issue stands to the left of the USec's bottomless liquidation. Particularly in France a number of leftists have joined the new Ligue Communiste Internationaliste (LCI) despite its cynical OCI-loyalist leadership. Elsewhere such elements are still being held in tow by the USec (England, Sweden). Both in Spain and Italy there are relatively large Morenoite breakaway organizations, but ones whose political practice has been exposed as clearly rightist.

Jean Guyaux

Portugal 1975: With CP offices in flames, OCI and SWP backed social democrats' CIA-engineered offensive.

But both the USec and Moreno/OCI blocs are showing a suddenly increased vulnerability to the Spartacist tendency. The response has been a wave of scummy cop-baiting and thug violence in the worst Stalinist tradition. Both the LCR and OCI recently used goon squads to attempt to silence the Ligue Trotskyste de France. But already this policy is beginning to backfire. Only four days after the USec's GIM local in Köln, West Germany, expelled our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands from a public forum, the GIM local in Tübingen at a November 27 public meeting on Iran solidarized with the TLD's proletarian opposition to clerical reaction in Iran. No wonder Mandel told the last GIM conference that regarding the future of his German section, "one can only pray."

We can do more than pray. Over the years, serious leftist USec supporters who sought an alternative to petty-bourgeois impressionism and popular frontism have regrouped themselves behind the authentic Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency. From the Cuban Revolution to the clericalist mass mobilizations in Iran and the insurgency in Nicaragua, our tendency has counterposed the struggle for Trotskyist parties to the Pabloist liquidationism of the USec. Now again this crisis of the USec milieu provides opportunities to regroup subjectively revolutionary militants from the USec into an internationalist formation fighting for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

Jailed by Sandinistas...

(continued from page 7)

Front, through its newspaper *Barricada*, and the Government of National Reconstruction through the words of Moises Hassan and Daniel Ortega launched a huge campaign accusing the most revolutionary sectors, those who wanted to continue the mass mobilization in Nicaragua, of being counterrevolutionaries. It began with the expulsion in early August of the Simón Bolivar Brigade organized by the Colombian PST. It continued with the arrests of the Frente Obrero people, and ended up with the repression on a mass scale against the Trotskyists and members of FO.

WV: Altogether, how many leftists were jailed during this campaign, after the expulsion of the Simón Bolivar Brigade?

Petroni: Well, including the FO militants, the supporters of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria and dissident Sandinista fighters who are critical of the pro-bourgeois line of the Front at this point, I would estimate roughly 200.

WV: Where were you held?

Petroni: I was locked up in El Chipote, which is located in Lake Piscapa and where earlier there were the president's house and offices of Somoza's secret police. I was the only Trotskyist there. Other militants of FO were held in police headquarters, some members of the LMR were arrested in Granada, and two of them (Mario Miranda and Rodrigo Ibarra) are still being held in La Polvora jail in Granada. They were scattered throughout almost all the jails in Nicaragua.

WV: You said there was no specific charge raised against the left-wing prisoners. But didn't they raise any accusations which from the government's standpoint justified the arrests?

Petroni: As for the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria, with which I was working—after a group of its coming out of the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua fused with it, along with a communist opposition nucleus from the FSLN itself—we were accused of leading a labor federation which included 11 factory unions and about 23 agricultural workers unions.

WV: How did your arrest take place?

Petroni: An army patrol led by a Néstor Moncada, who works for the security section in the Sandinista general staff, broke into my house by force. They didn't have a warrant and first took me to the "Ricardo Morales Aviles House," where the Sandinista general staff operates from, from there I was moved, three days later, to El Chipote prison. Their first intention was to liquidate me, i.e., assassinate me. But luckily the middle-level officials didn't agree. After being transferred to El Chipote, the first 14 days were spent in a cell nine feet by six feet together with ten other prisoners—that is, in subhuman conditions and with terrible food.

WV: Was there any working-class mobilization demanding your freedom as well as for the other left-wing prisoners?

Petroni: There was a mobilization not only at a national level in Nicaragua but also on an international scale. Many parties of the Fourth International [United Secretariat] which are led by the Bolshevik Faction [of Nahuel Moreno] held a number of demonstrations abroad. And inside the country as well the LMR undertook a campaign as did the FO newspaper *El Pueblo*.

WV: Were there any marches or demonstrations in Nicaragua?

Petroni: One that I know of, demanding freedom for the revolutionary prisoners, was a march by the government construction workers.

WV: Could you explain the political line of the LMR and the FO?

Petroni: The Liga is a Trotskyist organization. It has a Trotskyist ideology and is opposed to handing over the revolution to the bourgeoisie. It also opposes the participation in the present junta government of the bourgeois elements who are part of it. We hold that it is necessary to deepen the mass mobilization in Nicaragua, expropriate all the arable land and hand it over immediately to the peasants, and expropriate the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to prevent the bourgeoisie from organizing, as it is rapidly doing in Nicaragua today, to deliver a counterrevolutionary blow.

WV: What kind of government do you call for in Nicaragua?

Petroni: Well, for now we are calling on the FSLN itself to break its deals with the bourgeoisie and to form, in alliance with the left and the unions, a workers' and people's government. That is, to begin to form in Nicaragua a People's Assembly and soviets.

WV: What about the Frente Obrero?

Petroni: FO is an organization which comes from Maoism, with which it broke about two years ago. It is an organization which operates in the framework of centrism—so that one day its demands are progressive, quite pro-working-class, and the next day it capitulates to the FSLN leadership. The Frente Obrero calls today for the bourgeoisie out of the provisional government, but a few days before I was arrested they had a quite centrist position on calling for the convocation of the Council of State. This body obviously has a bourgeois majority. Later they were for not calling the Council of State, but at the beginning they supported it.

WV: As you know, before the Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua left [the U.S.], we wrote an article criticizing the SSN's policies particularly on two questions. First, in calling itself "Sandinista"—in other words, placing itself in a nationalist framework. And secondly for its position on the nature of the government. That is, we are against calling for a Sandinista government, calling on a petty-bourgeois formation to take over. Our demand has always been for a workers and peasants government, i.e., one based on the independent forces of the workers movement. Now after the experience you had with the Sandinista movement in Nicaragua, with the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar Brigade and the jailing of leftists after that, have you rethought your call for a Sandinista government?

Petroni: Well, Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua no longer exists as an organization, it joined with the Liga Marxista. It was a group coming out of the ranks of *sandinismo*—more specifically sympathizers of the Proletarian Tendency—that was evolving slowly toward Trotskyism. It was a

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Jailed by Sandinistas...

(continued from page 9)

process that lasted some months, as you can see reading various issues of *Rojo y Negro*.

We never called for a government only of the Sandinistas, but instead, as Trotsky says in the Transitional Program, we called on the petty-bourgeois sectors which led the rebellion against Somoza to break their ties with the bourgeoisie and to resolve to form their own government. And at all times we called for an independent workers party—that is, independent of the Sandinistas themselves. So we did not capitulate.

WV: Do you believe that a Sandinista government that breaks with the bourgeoisie would be a workers and peasants government in the sense of the Transitional Program?

Petroni: We don't consider a purely Sandinista government a workers and peasants government. We would consider it a sort of revolutionary provisional government. It would be progressive compared to the present pro-bourgeois government, but nothing more. And we also think that the Sandinistas are incapable of forming one.

WV: In that sense, the call for a Sandinista government, even including that it be based on "organs of people's power" or whatever, really represents a stagist conception of the revolution. That is, first you will have a petty-bourgeois government and later a workers and peasants government. . .

Petroni: We don't consider it a stagist conception, not at all. That is, calling on the Sandinistas to break [with the bourgeoisie] does not commit us to complicity in an eventual government; on the contrary. What we do believe is that it would have been a very progressive step at the time of the victory of the insurrection against Somoza—it could have been the beginning of a big mass mobilization for a workers and peasants government. The fact of the matter is that the situation is dynamic in Nicaragua. At this moment our central demand is for a workers and peasants government, because an important sector of the masses has already experienced the Sandinistas, and has found out in practice that they refuse to go forward with the revolution, that they refuse to break with the bourgeoisie. The jailing of two or three hundred comrades of the revolutionary left has also demonstrated before the eyes of the Nicaraguan masses that the Sandinistas are soft on the bourgeoisie and come down hard against the sectors who are for deepening the revolution. And that is an experience which the mass movement in Nicaragua necessarily had to go through. The experience of Sandinistas in power. We do not believe that the Sandinistas will ever break with the bourgeoisie, at least as a whole.

WV: The arrest of so many comrades and the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade seems a pretty high price to pay for that kind of education.

From what we could see of the activity of the LMR and the Simon Bolivar Brigade, they seemed to clash with the government over various issues. But our major criticism would be that at a general level its program, its perspective was to pressure the Sandinista movement rather than calling for a break with the Sandinista movement.

One final question. As you know, we have severely criticized, denounced, the policies of the American SWP and the United Secretariat, who supported the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade by the bourgeois "government" of Nicaragua. . .

Petroni: Look, the SWP's line in Nicaragua was quite disastrous, even playing in some respects a cop role: the public denunciation of left-wing militants by the SWP, and in particular of the Trotskyists in Nicaragua. The FSLN when it launched the campaign against the Trotskyists was never able to wage a political campaign against us. They called us "sectarians," compared us to the Somozaists. But the SWP acted as the ideological cover for the Sandinista Front, providing articles and interviews to the FSLN, counseling them on how to run the campaign. And in the recent issues of *Perspectiva Mundial* they launch a campaign on behalf of the Sandinistas precisely against the revolutionary sectors in Nicaragua. From a political standpoint this is totally criminal.

And from the standpoint of security I have a personal accusation against the SWP. Those of us who are politically active in Latin America know—and this isn't the first time I have been arrested—that the elementary obligation of any militant is to say what organization he is with, period. Right? That is, not to reveal any information which could help guide the repression. However, the SWP acting as cops in the last issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* gave not only the group but also the tendency of which I am a member. In the first nine days when I was mistreated and beaten [by the Sandinista jailers], I did not give them that information—but the SWP publishes it in their magazine. That is an action of cops, of informers. ■

Greensboro...

(continued from page 5)

out, fascists are terrorists, not ideologues, and they make their "points" with dynamite, the noose, and, as in Greensboro, with semi-automatics.

At bottom the adventurists and the civil-libertarian SWP, as well as the Communist Party, which editorialized (*Daily World*, 7 November) for the blood-soaked federal government to "Ban the Klan," are the two faces of reformism. Both despair of mobilizing the working class to fight fascism. The Detroit November 10 rally however, heavily built by the SL, uniquely demonstrated the potential power of a real labor/black mobilization against fascism. Not only did the SWP boycott the Detroit rally but in its appetite to become the left-wing advisors for the labor bureaucracy has used its paper to lie about the struggle at River Rouge to drive out the KKK-hooded foremen. Frank Hicks, one of the rally organizers and a participant in the Rouge campaign writes in a letter to the *Militant* (also sent to WV):

> "I was disgusted by the article by Elizabeth Ziers on the anti-Klan petition drive at the Ford River Rouge plant which appeared in the 11/2/79 issue of the *Militant*. It is a bold-faced cover-up of the facts. Not even the *Detroit News* thought to give credit to the labor bureaucracy for the labor action that I, among others, organized. . .
>
> "Ziers, a Rouge worker herself, showed her true attitude towards fighting the foremen who committed this racist provocation when she told a fellow worker, 'They already fired these guys. Why don't they lay off?' You, the SWP, have long held the cowardly, liberal position of 'free speech' for fascists. The Klan and the Nazis demonstrated to the world what they do with their so-called 'free speech'—five people now lay in their graves!
>
> "But the truth is more powerful than lies. Black and white, women and men, 1,000-strong, stood together and forced our union to act against McKulen and Beinke's racist provocation. We did it. It stands as a victory for the workers of Local 600. It is an example of the kind of class-struggle leadership that is necessary in order for us to go forward." ■

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U.S. Steel...

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divisions like coal and chemicals. Plans for constructing a $3.5 billion new integrated steel plant in Conneaut, Ohio have been scrapped, and the company intends to squeeze whatever profits it can from steel workers through ruthless speed-up, job cuts and wage restraint.

But steel workers need not resign themselves to ever worsening conditions, eroding wages and the constant threat of unemployment. Workers—fight for your jobs! Seize the plants! For an industry-wide strike! Even a successful defensive struggle organized around such demands as unlimited recall rights and unemployment benefits and full government financing of SUB funds can unlock the necessary industry-wide struggle for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. Such a struggle will not be led by the McBrides and Balanoffs. It can only be led by a new militant leadership dedicated to sweeping away the irrational and brutal capitalist system and replacing it with a centralized, planned economy and a workers government. ■

Carter's War Threats...

(continued from page 3)

Not so with the Khomeinite fanatics' embassy seizure. When the Islamic Revolutionary Guards denounce American imperialism, they are not just talking about the CIA and oil companies, which many working people in this country don't like either. The "satan" is not U.S. imperialist policy but "western ways." When Khomeini condemns America as a "corrupter of the Iranian nation," he is speaking of the things which for most Americans make life enjoyable—liquor, music, dancing, sex. The Imam of Qum is rightly viewed as a crazy, pleasure-hating tyrant. Throughout the country, workers have started calling bossy foremen "ayatollahs."

However, the chauvinism provoked by the Khomeinites can be mobilized for particularly reactionary ends. Since the U.S. slipped from its hegemonic position among the imperialists, and since its loss in Vietnam, this country has seemingly faced endless humiliations at the hands of foreigners. Americans have witnessed "Teddy Roosevelt's canal" being turned over to Panamanian sovereignty. They've watched the dollar, not long ago considered as good as gold, depreciate evermore in world currency markets. They've seen German and Japanese competition drive major U.S. manufacturers to the verge of bankruptcy. And they've been told that inflation, falling real income and all manner of economic ills are caused by the Arab sheiks of OPEC. Khomeini's insane, violent anti-Americanism touched off a long-brewing nationalist reaction. Ominously, the super-militarists can taste a popular mandate to "restore America's might."

The American ruling class is hoping that this "Vietnam syndrome" is now over, that the Teheran embassy crisis has revived the "send in the marines" mentality of pre-Vietnam. For example, the *New York Times* (2 December) published a front-page headline, "Iran is Helping U.S. to Shed Fear of Intervening Abroad." According to Democratic Party national chairman John White: "We may have reached a turning point in our attitude toward ourselves, and that is a feeling that we have a right to protect legitimate American interests anywhere in the world." What this imperialist politician calls "protecting legitimate American interests" is plundering and terrorizing the workers and peasants of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, in one important sense, Khomeini has done the Pentagon a great favor, albeit unwittingly. He has supplied a national cause they could not have created themselves.

Carter Gives Khomeini a Political Lease on Life

If Khomeini did U.S. imperialism an unwitting favor, Carter had certainly done the same for him when he took in the shah. Khomeini needed help. His regime was in the throes of a grave crisis. In August, Teheran was torn by fierce street fighting as 50,000 leftists and liberals, protesting the suppression of the oppositional press, clashed with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards. Throughout the month of October, militant student protests against Khomeini's ban on political discussion in the classroom and increased tuition costs racked the universities.

The purge of "un-Islamic" elements from industry and the government administration has been ruining the Iranian economy. Since February, both inflation and unemployment have skyrocketed. To the masses' demands for bread and work, the ayatollah has answered that the nourishment of Islam is spiritual. He has also answered with bullets.

The well-organized uprising of Iran's one-and-a-half-million-strong Kurdish minority demanding autonomy from Teheran's rule posed the gravest challenge to the ayatollah's regime. The "Islamic Revolution" put an end to the shah's large and well-equipped army as an effective fighting force and the formation of the "Pasdars" or revolutionary guards did not compensate for the loss. Desertion, absenteeism and indiscipline were the order of the day. Weapons fell apart for lack of maintenance as spare parts disappeared and American technicians were no longer around to repair them. Faced with the ferocious resistance of the veteran Kurdish guerrillas, the "Islamic Republic's" armed forces were fought to a standstill.

At this point Khomeini managed to overcome his loathing for the "satanic West" in an unholy lust for American machine-gun bullets, artillery and helicopters. Washington, though it had backed the shah till the end, was only too happy to try to win the ayatollah's favor. The Defense Department announced that it would look favorably on Iran's request for $5 billion in military hardware already on order at the time of the shah's overthrow. Unlike Khomeini, the U.S. rulers are not Persian chauvinists and could under different circumstances back Kurdish independence, as Nixon/Kissinger did in Iraq. Washington supplied Khomeini's forces because it wanted a strong Iranian state as a counter to the USSR.

Despite Washington's tentative vote of confidence in Khomeini's regime, Iran by late October was driving toward anarchy. At this point, Jimmy Carter decided to allow the shah into the U.S. Outside the ranks of the Persian Shi'ite faithful, for whom Khomeini is allah's annointed on earth, the ayatollah's popular authority stems from one thing and one thing only: he is the man who overthrew the hated shah, U.S. imperialism's hangman in Iran. If Carter had deliberately wanted to shore up popular support for Khomeini, he could not have chosen a better means. By seizing the American embassy and demanding

that the shah be returned to Iran for trial, the ayatollah *diverted* mass discontent against the Islamic theocracy against the autocracy. Thus the reactionary religious fanatic can once again appear before the Iranian people as the enemy of the shah and U.S. imperialism.

The present crisis gives Khomeini the chance to consolidate a strong state apparatus, something he has not been able to do since taking power in February. Army recruits will not lightly go AWOL if they think the U.S. is about to invade their country. Even the disgruntled officers who look back lavishly on the shah's rule will obey Khomeini if the nation is attacked by the greatest military power on earth.

No doubt the "imam" and his clerical "Assembly of Experts" hoped that the present feverish mood of anti-Americanism and national unity would result in an overwhelmingly positive response when Iranians went to the polls December 2 in a referendum on a new Islamic constitution giving Khomeini nearly unlimited powers as "faghi" (dictator) of Iran. With armed Islamic guards manning the ballot boxes and keeping a sharp eye on the color of the ballots cast (green for "yes," red for "no"), a heavy "no" vote was highly unlikely. Instead disgruntled voters boycotted the balloting in large numbers. In Kurdistan and Baluchistan the referendum was a total failure. The votes in the Kurdish stronghold of Mehebad (mostly from the pro-Moscow, pro-Khomeini Tudeh Party) will never be counted—an angry mob seized and burned the ballot box. In Baluchistan armed rebels voted "no" on the Persian chauvinist constitution by kidnapping a government official and torching a polling station.

Khomeini is an Islamic medievalist, but Iran is not a medieval society. The workers, whose strikes were a decisive blow against the shah, fought for economic egalitarianism as well as democratic rights. The Westernized students and other petty-bourgeois layers who rallied to the Islamic opposition wanted political liberalization and democratic institutions. Iran's national minorities, the Kurds, Baluchis, Turkomans, Arabs, Azerbaijanis and others who together constitute a majority of the population, believed the overthrow of the shah would bring an end to Persian domination. All these forces have come into conflict with the Islamic Republic and the mullahs, who can satisfy none of their demands. Khomeini's drive to return Iran to the seventh century has met stubborn, massive and increasing resistance, which the temporary hysteria aroused by the embassy crisis will not be able to overcome.

Down With the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!

The seizure of the American embassy and its staff has also revived the left's claim that Khomeini is a great "anti-imperialist" fighter. As proletarian revolutionists, we shed no tears over the fate of the imperialist diplomats, Marine Corps lifers and CIA agents held hostage. The U.S. embassy in Teheran *is*, as Khomeini claims, "a nest of spies." It is directly responsible for the torture and murder of thousands of Iranians.

We also solidarize with the hatred of the Iranian masses for the shah and his American guardians. But the Islamic fanatics who have seized the embassy do *not* want to get the shah for his *real* crimes—the crushing of the workers movement and the left, suppression of all democratic freedoms, the subjugation of national minorities and women, the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. For Khomeini's followers the shah's great crime was encouraging Western ways in Iran.

The struggle against capitalist/imperialist domination in backward countries has nothing in common with national/cultural isolation, with building "a Wall of China between East and West" in Khomeini's words. A victorious revolutionary socialist government in Iran would, of course, eliminate all U.S. military installations and would expropriate all major foreign economic holdings. And the security forces of an Iranian workers state would purge the country of CIA agents far more thoroughly than the Khomeinites ever will. But an Iranian socialist government would not seek to cut off all diplomatic, economic and cultural ties with the advanced capitalist countries. On the contrary, the revolution will be made by internationalists, led by Trotskyists, and forged in struggle against capitalism's shahs and ayatollahs.

—Hands Off Iran! Oppose Carter's War Threats! Defend Iran Against U.S. Military Attack!

—No Asylum for the Butcher Shah!

—Down with the Islamic Reactionary Khomeini! For Workers Revolution in Iran!

—For Military Defense of the Soviet Degenerated Workers State Against Imperialism! For Proletarian Political Revolution Against the Stalinist Bureaucracies! ■

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Mullahs...

(continued from page 1)

shah of Iran, who was often compared to the hated Caliph. The intensity of this year's orgy of bloodletting, indicating the faithful's willingness to be martyred, is seen as proof that the Iranian masses are willing to follow Khomeini even into a fiery apocalypse against the military forces of U.S. imperialism.

No wonder then that many U.S. commentators are expressing dark Spenglerian fears that having sown the wind, America must now reap the whirlwind of Islamic fury. Is the Ayatollah Khomeini to be the scourge of imperialism, the new savior who will lead a pan-Islamic *jihad*—holy war—of the "wretched of the earth" against their imperialist oppressors?

Islam and Imperialism

Far from it—there is in fact a deep interdependence between Islam and imperialism. Islam has its place within the framework of imperialism, which retards the social and economic development of the oppressed. As an ideological reflection of archaic social classes and modes of production threatened by imperialist penetration, Islam shakes its fist both at bourgeois capital *and* bourgeois rights, the progressive gains of the French Revolution. The bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the West mobilized the masses against the feudal order, including the state church. However, the would-be Westernizing rulers of the Islamic East—the Nassers, Bhuttos, Pahlavis—are bonapartists based on the army. Thus the mullahs can organize mass reaction to what are seen as elite, corrupt, almost foreign regimes.

The contradictory character of Islam's opposition to imperialism was clearly demonstrated in the very CIA-backed coup of 1953 that brought the shah to power, ousting the bourgeois-nationalist Mossadeq. When Mossadeq first came to power, he was backed by the mullahs. But with the growing influence of the Stalinist Tudeh Party under his National Front government, a section of the Islamic clergy led by Ayatollah Kashnai joined the CIA plot to restore the shah. So while the American embassy in Teheran is justly hated as the sinister power behind the Peacock Throne, far too little has been said of the complicity of the mosques in restoring the shah as an anti-communist bulwark in 1953.

SWP Lies: Even Stalin Would Have Blushed

The SWP's prostration before Islamic reaction has taken on such incredible proportions in the 7 December *Militant* that the most subservient Stalinist or even Richard Nixon might well have blushed. A Fred Feldman special, "Behind racist lies about 'Islamic fanatics'," denounces as a "fake" the bourgeois press descriptions of Ashura. Feldman protests, "Similar propaganda was poured out last year to discredit major anti-shah demonstrations planned for Muharram...but the bloody flagellants predicted throughout the U.S. press were nowhere to be found."

We can only presume that the filmed coverage of hundreds of thousands of Muharram flagellants shown on every major television network last year were simply massive U.S. propaganda fabrications created by Cecil B. DeMille and paid for by the CIA using Iranian extras rented from SAVAK and paraded through Hollywood streets with fake Teheran skylines and building fronts. We must assume the CIA bribed or brainwashed reporters, visitors and scholars who claimed to have witnessed the bloody ceremonies. According to the SWP, to claim that Moslems practice flagellation is "stirring up racist and religious bigotry to justify oppression of the peoples of the Middle East." Although Catholic sects in South Europe also practice flagellation, for squeamish liberals and prissy reformists apparently the simple recording of the facts of feudal practices of debasement becomes "racist and religious bigotry."

Religious Obscurantism vs. Marxist Materialism

The SWP repeats its absurd historical analogy between Khomeini's movement and the revolutionary Protestant movements during the rise of capitalism in the *Militant* article:

> "This is not the first time in history that a progressive movement took a religious form at the start. The same thing happened at the beginning of the anti-feudal revolutions in Europe that established democratic capitalist states."

Must we really point out that Khomeini's goal is a *pro-feudalist* revolution? Engels was quite clear, in his "On the History of Early Christianity," that the fundamental dividing line between revolutionary Protestantism and Islam is that for the former "the religious disguise is only a flag and a mask for attacks on an economic order which is becoming antiquated" whereas Islam is based on that feudal order which is antiquated.

In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels analyzed religion as "nothing other than the reflection in the minds of men of those external forces which dominate them in their daily lives." When man through the collective and planned ownership of the means of production becomes master of his social conditions, religion will wither away. The proletariat, whose conditions of labor most directly pose the social ownership of the means of production, is the class with the greatest potential and material interest for rising above religious prejudice, finding its way to a materialist and Marxist worldview.

The economic strikes of last year in Iran showed the enormous social power of the Iranian proletariat. It was those massive strike waves, which hit every sector of the economy and paralyzed Iranian society, which began the opposition which finally brought down the shah. The mullahs were able to lead the final assault because every independent political expression of the oppressed masses had been crushed by the shah. However, the bankruptcy of the left in the Middle East, and its consistent refusal to organize the working class independently for the seizure of power, played its part in this reactionary outcome. The Stalinist Tudeh Party lost its mass base through repression, but it would have been happy to have handed it over to Khomeini—just as it threw the enormous support it had after World War II behind the shah and his prime minister Qavam. The remnants of the Tudeh Party, along with the bourgeois National Front, marched right beside the landlords and mullahs after Khomeini.

Thus the Iranian proletariat has been beheaded several times over. The task of revolutionaries must be to aid this strategic proletariat of the Moslem East to crystallize its revolutionary vanguard, which must place itself at the head of all the oppressed to replace the Persian chauvinist "Islamic Republic" of Khomeini with a workers and peasants government. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, resting on the peasantry, can resolve the urgent democratic tasks that remain on the agenda in Iran. And in alliance with Soviet Russia, freed of Stalinist domination through proletarian political revolution, Iran can serve as a revolutionary beacon to the rest of the Moslem East, can end forever the cries of the oppressed that historically have found their tortured and distorted expression only through self-flagellation and the eerie funeral wails of Muharram. ■

Engels On Islam

A peculiar antithesis to this was the religious risings in the Mohammedan world, particularly in Africa. Islam is a religion adapted to Orientals, especially Arabs, i.e., on one hand to townsmen engaged in trade and industry, on the other to nomadic Bedouins. Therein lies, however, the embryo of a periodically recurring collision. The townspeople grow rich, luxurious and lax in the observation of the "law." The Bedouins, poor and hence of strict morals, contemplate with envy and covetousness these riches and pleasures. Then they unite under a prophet, a Mahdi, to chastise the apostates and restore the observation of the ritual and the true faith and to appropriate in recompense the treasures of the renegades. In a hundred years they are naturally in the same position as the renegades were: a new purge of the faith is required, a new Mahdi arises and the game starts again from the beginning. That is what happened from the conquest campaigns of the African Almoravids and Almohads in Spain to the last Mahdi of Khartoum who so successfully thwarted the English. It happened in the same way or similarly with the risings in Persia and other Mohammedan countries. All these movements are clothed in religion but they have their source in economic causes; and yet, even when they are victorious, they allow the old economic conditions to persist untouched. So the old situation remains unchanged and the collision recurs periodically. In the popular risings of the Christian West, on the contrary, the religious disguise is only a flag and a mask for attacks on an economic order which is becoming antiquated. This is finally overthrown, a new one arises and the world progresses.

—Frederick Engels,
On the History of Early Christianity (1895)

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Factory Seizures to Fight Mass Firings!

U.S. Steel Dumps 13,000 Workers

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—Hundreds of steel workers and members of their families stormed the headquarters of the United States Steel Corporation in Pittsburgh in response to plant closings announced last week by the nation's largest steel manufacturer. The angry crowd—led by several hundred militants from Youngstown, Ohio—brushed past security guards after picketing in a snowstorm outside the complex. They proceeded to occupy the first and second floors of the building, where they demanded to see David Roderick, the chairman of U.S. Steel. "We want Roderick," they chanted. "We want jobs."

The demonstration in Pittsburgh was sparked by Roderick's November 27 announcement that the company intends to shut down 16 steel plants in eight states, a measure which will cost 13,000 steel workers their jobs. Hardest hit were Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley of Ohio, once known as "America's Ruhr," where U.S. Steel's last remaining operations and 3,500 jobs are to be eliminated. One day later Jones & Laughlin, the third-largest domestic steel producer, followed suit with pink slips for 1,400 workers employed in its Youngstown plants.

WV Photo

More than 1,000 USWA members in Youngstown on November 29 demand union action against mass layoffs.

Roderick's plan to eliminate the least productive of U.S. Steel's facilities is similar to the cutbacks at Youngstown Sheet & Tube and at Bethlehem Steel in 1977. But it is more than that. It is an announcement to the entire Steelworkers (USWA) union of what the bosses have in mind for the 1980 contract negotiations. Roderick made it amply clear that unless the union accepts major cutbacks the huge mills in Birmingham and Chicago/Gary are next in line. If the company can't be made competitive, he warned, "We will have no choice but to take further actions to accomplish our long-range objective of making our steel operation an attractive business."

Such a frontal assault on steel workers should have evoked an instant and militant response from the union. But the 1,000 Youngstown USWA members who jammed their union halls for an emergency meeting the day before the Pittsburgh demonstration were told nothing they hadn't heard before. For years their union leaders have preached that maintaining labor peace and enforcing the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement were the key to preserving jobs. The USWA tops have urged support for every program of government subsidy to the bosses, centering on protectionist legislation limiting foreign steel imports. And it has all proven a bitter lie to the thousands of steel workers thrown on the scrapheap.

The Youngstown meeting was addressed both by supporters of Lloyd McBride's International and the Sadlowski/Balanoff dissidents. But what they had to say was virtually indistinguishable. It was the same old crap about appealing to the capitalist government that Youngstown workers employed by Little Steel had been led two years ago. They never got their jobs back. "We heard that all before," the ranks heckled the speakers. The only new twist was the call for a government bailout à la Chrysler. If the companies don't have the money to operate their plants, said McBride's District 26 director Frank Leseganich, "We'll get it for them. We'll go to the feds." But that too was greeted with a lot of skepticism because steel workers know how Chrysler workers fared under the terms of Carter's bailout. And they also know that even the recently negotiated substandard contract is likely to be vetoed by a Congress intent on a wage freeze. So it was not surprising that steel workers interrupted Leseganich, demanding to know if he too was proposing to "bargain jobs versus wages."

They also gave it to USWA staff representative Marvin Weinstock, who ran on Sadlowski's ticket in 1977. They wanted to know why he hadn't done a thing to halt the layoffs at Youngstown Sheet & Tube two years ago. USWA members in fact have as much reason to be disgusted at Sadlowski/Balanoff as at McBride. For all their phony talk about "the right to strike," at every crucial juncture—the last contract, the layoffs in 1977 and today—these fake "progressives" have been as eager to quell militancy in the ranks as the USWA International. And today Sadlowski/Balanoff aren't talking strike either—they're pushing impotent schemes appealing for laws that outlaw plant closings. Betrayed by a leadership that refuses to fight, steel workers are understandably bitter.

The newest round of plant closings in steel shows that the bankruptcy of Chrysler was no accident. The scrapping of whole sections of industry and the proletariat at each economic downturn is the stark reality of both the present and future of decaying American capitalism. The 20,000 Little Steel workers sacked in 1977 and the more than 100,000 Chrysler workers have learned through bitter experience that the trade-union bureaucracy's attempt to prop up the capitalist system through government bailouts and protectionist schemes offers no way out. But unless a class-struggle leadership is forged in the unions, the just anger of the working masses will be channeled into support for even more vicious forms of national chauvinism which pit American workers against their German and Japanese counterparts in a dog-eat-dog struggle for a dwindling number of jobs.

The attempt to blame foreign steel workers for the inefficient and obsolescent state of the American steel industry is a reactionary diversion from the need to fight the bosses at home. Of course foreign steel is more competitive. For 30 years the arrogant steel barons—like the Chrysler bosses—have wrung their operations dry, milking every penny for dividends while refusing to invest in capital development. The newest U.S. Steel plant, the Fairless works near Philadelphia—an early 1950s project—is as "new" as the *oldest* Japanese mill. So while American steel operations are profitable, they are not profitable enough to suit the bosses. The steel division of U.S. Steel, for example, which represents 73 percent of the company's sales, accounts for only 13 percent of its profits.

In the face of economic recession and tightened market competition, the American steel bosses are slamming the plant gates in the faces of tens of thousands of steel workers. Rather than throwing more money into a loser, U.S. Steel has decided to direct future plant investments towards more profitable

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Down With Ayatollah of Kenmore Square!

Defend the BU Faculty Five!

BOSTON, 3 December—Five Boston University professors are threatened with firing for refusing to cross a picket line of striking campus clerical workers last September. The five—antiwar activist and radical Howard Zinn, Murray Levin, Caryl Rivers, Andrew Dibner and former faculty union president Fritz Ringer—were singled out for their faculty union activism and vocal opposition to the widely despised, flamboyant right-wing BU president, known locally as "Madman John Silber." The "BU Five" taught classes outside (as did other teachers) rather than cross the picket lines, to show their solidarity with campus workers in the face of Silber's nine-year history of union-busting at BU. The Boston Spartacus Youth League has been active in the protests sparked by the ayatollah Silber's heavy-handed repression.

There will be a rally Thursday night to defend the BU Five. Speakers will include Howard Zinn, Murray Levin, Daniel Ellsberg, MIT Nobel Laureate Salvador Luria (who initiated a petition to oust Silber which already has 600 signatures) and Mike Adams. Adams is a laid-off auto militant from Detroit's UAW Local 140, whose experiences as a union activist point to the need for a fighting working-class program to defeat union-busting attacks, whether on campus or in the factories.

Dump Silber! Hands off the BU Five! No Firings! Picket lines mean don't cross! No reprisals against faculty or campus workers for union activities!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 246

28 December 1979

U.S. Hands Off Iran! Khomeini Hands Off Azerbaijan!

Mullahs' Iran Ripping Apart

Wide World

Khomeinilites celebrate capture of Tabriz radio station December 9. Azerbaijanis shouting "Death to Khomeini" soon retook it.

DECEMBER 18—When Ayatollah Khomeini gave his blessing more than six weeks ago to the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Teheran, he was hoping to focus the anger of the Iranian masses on "foreign devils" rather than his own shaky regime. But the international diplomatic crisis touched off by the seizure of American hostages has not been able to halt the centrifugal political forces which threaten to tear apart the unconsolidated "Islamic Republic." Appeals for "national unity" against the U.S. have not persuaded rebellious Kurds to give up their struggle for national autonomy. Azerbaijanis, who constitute Iran's largest minority and one-third of the country's population, are now in open revolt against Khomeini's attempt to shove his Persian-chauvinist constitution down their throats. Hordes of Khomeini's rank-and-file supporters in Teheran are unemployed; their demonstrations demanding jobs have given evidence of rising dissatisfaction with a rudderless regime unable to deliver anything to the masses of workers and peasants except anti-American sermons. And the regular army has been disastrously weakened by desertion, breakdown of American-supplied weapons and still-continuing purges of unreliable officers.

Meanwhile, the collection of Koranic scholars and amateur Islamic politicians which makes up the Iranian "government" seems to reach decisions, when they are reached at all, by a process of haggling akin to that carried on in the bazaar. Khomeini alone can authoritatively formulate policy, and when the "imam" is silent, contradictory voices clash publicly. When the shah was dispatched to Panama, for example, the hard-line Khomeinilites in the embassy announced that, "The hostage spies will be tried." But Sadegh Ghotbzadegh, the latest in a revolving-door succession of "foreign ministers," declared that, "No trial will be held"—even telling U.S. newsmen that he hoped to have some of the hostages home in time for Christmas. The upshot was that no one in Teheran or Washington knew what was going on.

Carter, for his part, has a limited number of options in dealing with Khomeini. The commander in chief of American imperialism fears above all that the upheaval in Iran might eventually produce a regime aligned with the USSR. The U.S.' main strategic goal in the present hostage crisis is therefore to preserve Iran as a bastion of anti-Sovietism. The show of air and naval power displayed off the Iranian coast raises the dangerous possibility of an invasion of Iran, which could easily be transformed into a direct confrontation with the Soviet degenerated workers state. In the event of any American attack against Iran revolutionaries would—while of course offering no political support whatsoever to Khomeini and the mullahs—stand firmly on the side of the Iranian masses' military resistance to Carter's imperialist armed forces. Hands Off Iran!

Fear of military confrontation with the Soviet Union has so far deflected Carter from armed intervention. Further, the Dr. Strangelove in the White House basement "Situation Room" can't figure out how to militarily "liberate" the hostages without getting them killed. In the meantime the State Department worries that the Marines in Teheran or bombers over Qum would add momentum to the wave of anti-Americanism sweeping the Islamic world. And America's imperialist "allies," already annoyed with the U.S. for freezing Iranian assets in American banks, oppose any further action that might jeopardize their access to Iranian oil. So all Carter can do is invoke meaningless diplomatic sanctions, tossing out Iranian diplomats and obtaining worthless writs from the impotent "World Court." The rabid right wing at home is appeased by threats to deport thousands of Iranian students. Many of these students would face persecution in Iran for their left-wing sympathies and Marxists unconditionally oppose Carter's racist campaign of deportation.

Packing the ex-shah off to Panama's tropical Pearl Islands was the U.S.' most dramatic move in the war of words and diplomatic maneuver. Local strongman Omar Torrijos—for who knows how many U.S. dollars or how much of

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Rhodesian Nationalists: Come Back Britain

UPI

Back under the Union Jack: "Her Majesty's" representative Lord Soames reviews Rhodesian troops.

After thousands of their followers have died fighting for a black Zimbabwe, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Patriotic Front have negotiated with London to *restore* Rhodesia as a British colony. The British imperialists are supposed to supervise "free" elections and turn over power to the winner. To gain the good offices of Margaret Thatcher and Lord Carrington, the Nkomo/Mugabe bloc made one concession after another to white supremacy, including guaranteeing 20 percent of the parliamentary seats to the 4 percent white minority.

When London, having announced the negotiations were successfully concluded, demanded that the nationalist guerrilla forces be confined to isolated rural concentration camps up through the elections, the Patriotic Front balked...for a few days. At this point the British threatened to hold elections *without* the Patriotic Front, thereby maintaining in power the black puppet regime fronting for planter Ian Smith and top general Peter Walls. But Nkomo/Mugabe quickly capitulated and accepted Lord Carrington's "strategic hamlet" program for their forces. Nkomo enthused that the settlement "is a sound basis on which to build a truly democratic society in Zimbabwe" (*New York Times*, 18 December).

Actually implementing the cease-fire on the ground may not go that smoothly. The Smith/Walls/Muzorewa forces could well provoke the nationalist guerrillas into fighting back in defiance of their cowardly, treacherous leadership. Britain, maneuvering to establish a stable neo-colonial regime in "Rhodesia-Zimbabwe" could yet be drawn into a dirty colonial war. This would be a big strain for the decrepit imperial power, with its armed forces tied up fighting the IRA in Northern Ireland (and doing its bit against the "Soviet menace" with the Army of the Rhine).

Whatever happens, the Patriotic Front leaders have proven beyond any question that they are *traitors* to the national emancipation of Rhodesia's black masses. While the petty-bourgeois nationalist Algerian FLN and Angolan MPLA remained tied to imperialist economic domination, they did wage a bitter and self-sacrificing struggle for national independence. Not so the wretched Patriotic Front.

No imperialist troops—No deals with Margaret Thatcher/Lord Carrington! White supremacy in Rhodesia must be smashed! Only a Trotskyist vanguard party of the black proletariat, built on the program of permanent revolution, can lead the toiling masses to genuine liberation through socialist revolution throughout southern Africa. ■

"With All Deliberate Speed"

It has been 25 years since the U.S. Supreme Court handed down what was widely acclaimed as a landmark decision in the famous 1954 case of Brown vs. Board of Education. "Separate but equal" was not equal, said the court, and desegregation of public schools was to proceed "with all deliberate speed."

Brown vs. Board of Education was initiated by the outraged father of 10-year-old Linda Brown of Topeka, Kansas, when she was refused entry because of her race into an all-white elementary school five blocks from her home.

Today, Linda Brown Smith has children of her own who attend the same elementary school she did. It is no longer all white—it is 98 percent black. Early this month she and seven other parents succeeded in reopening the case. As evidence, their petition mentioned the fact that some Topeka schools have a minority enrollment as high as 73 percent while others have only 3 to 6 percent, figures which are not challenged by school officials. As Charles Scott Jr., attorney for the case, said, "Twenty-five years later, the only thing that has changed for black people here is that the quality of their children's education has declined."

Topeka is no exception—across the U.S. today urban schools are more segregated than ever. Given the past decade of "white flight" from the cities, it is obvious that area-wide (metropolitan) busing is the only way to implement school desegregation. Socialists, of course, fight against the rollback of even the token gains for blacks won in the 1960s and particularly for the extension of busing to the suburbs, today anathema to the liberals. Yet the busing programs were gutted by the same liberals who once passed the civil rights legislation. Twenty-five years after the original Supreme Court decision, the second "Brown vs. Board of Education" case is a glaring indictment of the failure of the liberal civil rights movement, with its dependence on capitalist courts and cops, to ensure equality for blacks. ■

Protest Turkish Fascist Killers in Germany

Kommunistische Korrespondenz

TLD contingent calls for workers defense guards at December 8 anti-fascist demonstration in Frankfurt.

FRANKFURT—Approximately 1,000 to 1,500 Turkish militants and other leftists demonstrated here on Saturday, December 8 against the Turkish fascist "Gray Wolves" organization. At home the Turkish ultra-rightists have been on a murderous offensive, killing more than 2,000 leftists and trade unionists in the last year. Now they are attempting to extend their criminal activities to West Germany, where Turks constitute a sizable proportion of the foreign workers whose labor is key in heavy industry. The demonstration followed the brutal knifing of four Turks in Frankfurt who refused to accept leaflets from the "Turkish Federation"—a front group of the Gray Wolves—mobilizing for an ultra-right rally. Several of the Turks were badly injured, and one was in critical condition for several days after the criminal assault.

The demonstration was sponsored by pro-Ecevit (the former Republican prime minister) forces, by the semi-Maoist Devrimi Yol, Jusos [Young Socialists] of the SPD, and the crisis-wracked ex-Maoist Kommunistischer Bund (KB). In keeping with the, at best, reformist policies of these organizations, the mobilization centered on the call for the bourgeois state to ban the Gray Wolves and expel their members from West Germany. As a leaflet by the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) to the demonstration pointed out:

> "The bourgeois state will never smash the fascists' paramilitary bands; bans [on fascists] will always be used by the bourgeoisie against the left and the workers movement—in the name of the struggle against 'extremists on the left and right'."

In particular, the West German state would jump at the chance to deport troublesome leftists, foreign workers and students. The massive and provocative police presence at the demonstration—at times encircling the demonstration in combat formation, flanked by armored vehicles with water cannon—should have sufficed to dispel any illusions in bourgeois "justice"!

While sharply rejecting the call for the state to ban the fascists, the TLD mobilized an independent contingent to the demonstration under the central slogans: "Only the mobilization of the Turkish and German workers movement can smash the Gray Wolves! For trade-union self-defense squads! Jail the Gray Wolves knife attackers! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers!"

The spirited contingent of over 20 supporters of the TLD was the only contingent from a West German organization. Despite their sponsorship of the demonstration, the Jusos simply stayed home, while the dozen and a half KB supporters were identified only by the flag of their front group "Anti-Fascist Action" and their Palestine scarves. On the other hand, the militant desire to fight fascism on the part of many Turkish participants was demonstrated as many joined in the TLD chants for independent working-class action against the fascists, police out of the DGB [trade-union federation], for a revolutionary trade-union leadership, and for a workers and peasants government in Turkey. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 246 **28 December 1979**

SWP Shoulders "White Man's Burden"

Why They Lie For Khomeini

When the "students following the imam's line" grabbed the American embassy in Teheran and a bunch of American hostages on November 4, Khomeini grabbed a new lease on political life. And the left, mired in opportunism, grabbed with him. They who shouted "allah akbar" from afar had a stake in the reforgery of Khomeini's supposed "anti-imperialist" credentials. Immediately after the hostage seizure the 16 November *Militant* of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) proclaimed "the new wave of anti-imperialist struggles by Iranian workers," and asserted Khomeini was "giving voice to the well-founded anti-imperialist sentiments of most Iranians."

Most of the left had begun to squirm a little as the character of the mullah-led revolution became painfully obvious. Like Khomeini, these fakes hoped to divert attention from the growing awareness that the ayatollah's regime is as reactionary as the shah's. The mullah theocracy executed its Persian-chauvinist, feudalistic "Islamic" justice particularly on national minorities, the "Satanic" left, homosexuals, adulterers and assorted sinners and infidels. But the fake left pretended not to notice—until their own members were picked up and put in jail. Even when 14 of the SWP's comrades of the Iranian HKS were facing death at the hands of the mullahs, the SWP only mounted a half-hearted defense campaign—and forcibly *excluded* anyone, such as the Spartacist League, who called for proletarian opposition to the reactionary Khomeini regime.

The embassy takeover and hostage seizure has become a test for the shaky mullah rule. Therefore, it has also become a test of loyalty for the regime's loudest U.S. supporters, the SWP. In an article entitled, "How the Left Responded to War Drive Against Iran," in the 17 December *Intercontinental Press*, David Frankel takes the U.S. left to task for failing its responsibility to remain "the best builders" of "the imam" and his "Iranian Revolution." For the SWP the test required is one of political self-censorship in the service of Khomeini. The more openly reactionary mullah rule becomes, the more threatening even straightforward reporting of events in Iran becomes. *IP* even managed to attack the *Guardian* from the right, because these reformist cheerleaders for the Iranian Fedayeen wrote that the embassy seizure was a "diversion" for Khomeini.

UPI

Khomeini's firing squads execute homosexuals. If you think this is true—then according to the SWP you're a reclst.

But Frankel's wildest slanders (almost two columns' worth) were reserved for the Spartacist League, which he says has "increasingly taken outright racist and pro-imperialist positions." What are these positions? Frankel accuses: "Rather than directing their fire at the imperialist power...the Spartacists aimed all their venom at Ayatollah Khomeini." It's an old refrain. They always accused Lenin of spending more time attacking the Mensheviks than attacking the tsar...and clerical reactionary Khomeini is hardly a Menshevik. In the eyes of the SWP our great crime is that we resolutely oppose the "imam" and his theocratic dictatorship, that we call for workers revolution in Iran today. Like the Khomeini gangs, the SWP claims that to oppose the ayatollah is to support U.S. imperialism, if not satan himself.

The Frankel article simply lies about our position on Iran. They quote our front-page headline, "Iran Embassy Crisis" and our secondary headline, "Khomeini Fanatics Provoke Imperialist Threats" (*WV* No. 244, 23 November). But *IP* doesn't mention the other article on the front page, an urgent warning printed hours after Carter's announcement that warships were being dispatched to the Persian Gulf (datelined "November 20, 11:30 p.m."), and entitled "Hands Off Iran!" We wrote:

> "The American working class must militantly oppose these war threats. In the event of actual U.S. armed intervention, workers and socialists must stand for military defense of Iran against imperialist attack, while opposing the reactionary mullah rulers, and stand ready to offer revolutionary defensism toward the Soviet degenerated workers state as well."

Some "pro-imperialist position."

Why They Lie

It's certainly not new for the SWP to slander, distort and lie about our positions. But the *IP* article clearly reveals the motive behind the lie: imperialist liberal moralism. Above all, the SL is taken to task for telling the truth. If *WV* observes that the vast majority of the American population has not responded to the taking of hostages in Teheran the way they responded, for instance, to Vietnam and Angola—then we must be part of an

continued on page 11

Implement Busing–Extend It to the Suburbs!

Cleveland Teachers: Stay Out and Win!

CLEVELAND—Close to 2,500 angry public school teachers rallied downtown here December 14 to demand victory in their two-month-old strike against the Cleveland School Board. Militant teachers marched from a strike meeting to the board's offices at Sixth and Rockwell where pickets surrounded the building and chanted their opposition to the city's latest insulting offer. "It's a farce," one teacher said, "they're not promising us anything."

Despite the vacillations of the leadership of the Cleveland Teachers Union (CTU) and the mounting pressure exerted by the courts, local politicians and "concerned" citizens groups, the strikers are determined to win relief from the miserable wages—$9,887 annually for new hires—which are the lowest in Cuyahoga County and among the worst in the state. Pickets told reporters that they often buy school supplies out of their own pockets and teach in classrooms "equipped" with buckets to catch leaking rain water. And according to the assistant state school superintendent *none* of Cleveland's 146 public schools meet the minimum educational and physical standards set by Ohio.

Union negotiators have scaled down their original wage demands to hikes of roughly 15 percent a year, which would barely keep up with inflation. The School Board, however, is offering only half of that. On December 12 a Common Pleas Court judge ordered the union to vote by mail ballot on a "compromise" proposal which in fact is only minimally better than the Board offer. Unfortunately CTU president Eugene Kolach indicated that the union would cooperate with the court-ordered balloting although it represents an intolerable attack on the union's independence.

So far the School Board's efforts to obtain a back-to-work order have failed largely because the judges remember that the CTU ranks ignored a strikebreaking injunction last fall, when the union struck for five weeks after enduring repeated payless paydays and two years without a raise. But anti-strike pressure is mounting. Mayor Voinovich, several local businessmen and the publisher of a local black newspaper have all been named as possible mediators in the contract talks. On December 5, some 40 demonstrators, mainly black, sat in at the offices of the School Board vowing to remain until the classrooms are reopened.

The teachers' strike occurs in a city which is in default on its bank loans and heavily polarized along racial lines. Although the sit-in demonstrators claim to be "neutral" in the strike, the NAACP and black community groups heavily represented among the protestors appear increasingly ready to oppose the teachers' strike on the grounds that it disrupts implementation of Cleveland's minimal and endlessly postponed busing plan. Ominously, federal judge Frank Battisti, overseer of the busing plan, called on all parties to appear in his chambers to discuss the strike-bound school system. Last year the liberal Battisti demanded that school expenditures be slashed and the union contract torn up as the price for keeping the schools open.

The School Board, in turn, has used the city's impoverished financial situation as a wedge against the CTU and to delay implementation of busing. As it did last year, the Board once again proposed to tie any CTU raise to voter approval of a tax increase. Five such levies have been defeated here since April 1978, mainly on the strength of white voters who view any new money for education as the means to pay for court-ordered busing.

Revolutionaries denounce the tax referenda as a provocation and refuse to support either side. To vote for the higher taxes means to shift even more the burden of the city's financial crisis onto the backs of Cleveland's hard-pressed working class and petty bourgeoisie, both black and white, and let off scot-free the bankers who hold the city by the throat. Votes against the levies would be votes of solidarity with racist, anti-busing forces.

The School Board's provocations have already stirred up a racist backlash. On December 11 anti-busing forces led by CORK (Citizens Opposed to Rearranging Kids) showed up at the School Board's office to demand the eviction of the sit-in demonstrators. CORK threatened to mobilize vigilantes to do the job if the city would not. The CTU and the entire Cleveland labor movement must prepare to crush any such racist mobilizations. The unions as well must unambiguously demand implementation of the busing/desegregation plan—and demand further that it be extended to Cleveland's affluent suburbs.

At the same time, the NAACP's union-busting must be roundly condemned. Anti-labor liberals who attack the unions, stand for slashing social services and increasing the tax burden offer no solution. A militant anti-capitalist offensive is needed to smash the banks' stranglehold over the city by demanding *cancellation of the debt*. This requires above all the building of a class-struggle leadership in the unions which would end the labor movement's subordination to the Democratic and Republican politicians who differ merely over whose services, whose salaries and whose jobs to cut in the interests of the banks.

Victory to the teachers strike! Implement the busing plan! Extend it to the suburbs! Cancel the debt! ■

Azerbaijan: Bridge to the October Revolution

Baku or Qum?

Editor's Note: We reprint below excerpts from a talk by Reuben Samuels, of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, given in New York on December 9

The bridge between the Russian Revolution and Persia is Azerbaijan, the Baku oilfields and Tabriz, the commercial center of the Azerbaijani nation. Today the border of revolution—and counterrevolution—divides this nation exactly in half. Approximately 5 million Azerbaijanis live in Iran and 5 million live in the Soviet Union.

On one side of the border, in Soviet Azerbaijan, there are radical land reforms; there is no indentured servitude; there is no sharecropping; everyone has a right to learn and to speak and to publish in his native language. The veil has been eliminated; women are liberated from the isolation of the house and the home. The masses no longer practice self-flagellation. There are of course enormous Stalinist deformations, which since 1923 have historically shaped developments in Azerbaijan. But the social foundations, collectivized property, have permitted the population to overcome the atomization—that vestige of feudalism which has been preserved by imperialism across the border. This has been an enormous pull on the rest of Azerbaijan. There has been a long history of identity within this nation that is temporarily divided.

In 1905 there were revolutions which swept throughout the East—China, Persia, India, as well as Russia. The Persian revolution had its beginnings in Tabriz. This was called the Constitutional Revolution, ultimately subordinated to the mullahs and the shahs. Essentially you had a constitutional monarchy of the old shahs, called the Qajars, in which a court of the mullahs [the *ulema*] was institutionalized. Ultimately the outcome of this struggle was rather reactionary and reflected the leadership of the struggle, mainly the middle classes. Although the movement was led by the religious leaders, in Tabriz there was a large component which was republican in nature, anti-clericalist and influenced by the revolutionary social democrats and Marxists of the Baku oilfields.

The 1917 revolution in Russia had an impact in what became Soviet Central Asia, in Azerbaijan, and other sections of Iran. In Gilan there was a movement called the Jangali which set up the Soviet Socialist Republic of Gilan under one of the local khans, sent fraternal greetings to Lenin and attempted to carry out a land reform, which was only suppressed by the British in 1921.

The small nascent Communist Party—originally formed in the Baku oilfields and then spread to Tabriz and other cities mainly through the Azerbaijanis who were the most politically advanced of the nations that made up the Persian empire—was the bridge for Bolshevism. This Communist Party was wiped out in Iran, but some of the cadres went back to Azerbaijan or emigrated elsewhere and escaped the persecution.

There was another development in the 1920s. The British installed Reza Shah, a Cossack adventurer who, in order to escape the Russian Revolution, marched with his troops into Teheran. In the chaos of post-World War I, he had the strongest army in Persia. So the British decided to back him, equipped his army, and he went out and attempted to create a modern centralized state. He eliminated the veil and carried out certain modernizing reforms. But basically the country remained extremely backward.

During this period there grew up a movement that looked to Reza Shah as a modernizer. Something like the Young Turks, somebody who was going to bring Iran into the 20th century. One of the most famous of this school was Arani, the founder of the movement that became Tudeh.

Wide World

Militants of Azerbaijani-based Muslim People's Party defending their Tabriz party offices.

Arani went abroad in 1922 to study in western Europe where he came into contact with socialist literature, but apparently not Lenin on the national question.

Arani returned to Teheran in 1930 to set up Marxist study cells in the universities. The cells were discovered and suppressed in the great student strike of 1937 in Teheran and there were arrests of what became known as "the 53." These were mainly professional people—professors, lawyers, doctors, merchants—who were in the study cells or defended them. It was in jail that they came in contact with some of the old members of the Communist Party which had been suppressed.

During WWII it was felt that Reza Shah would become a German collaborator and the British and Russians intervened in Iran. The shah was toppled, there was a general amnesty of political prisoners and "the 53" were released. They came out committed to founding some kind of mass party—the Tudeh Party. If you read histories of the Tudeh Party, you'd think it was simply set up by a bunch of Stalinists or GPU agents from Russia. This is not the case. It represented some people who had been in Russia, but many whose first contact with socialism came in prison or in western Europe, before the development of a mass Stalinist movement.

These people reflected the various weaknesses of their backgrounds. Pishevari, for instance, was always an Azerbaijani nationalist first and foremost. Arani was always a Persian chauvinist, even though he had assimilated a certain amount of Marxism and Leninism. Nevertheless when these intellectuals came out of prison they tried to form the party which became known as Tudeh. At the first congress the central committee was elected. To give you an idea of the social composition of the leadership, it included three doctors, three clerks, three workers, a senior civil servant, a supreme court judge, a lawyer, a professor, a writer and a former factory manager. Within a matter of a year and a half they ran a trade-union movement of 400,000. On May Day, 1946 the union came out in the open and paraded in Abadan, the central oil refinery area in southwest Iran, 81,000 strong—an industrial strength to be reckoned with.

I've always been curious and only recently found out why there came to be two left-wing parties in Iran during and after World War II. What became popularly known as the Azerbaijan Democratic Party and Tudeh, "the masses" party. Now Tudeh had a terrible line on the national question. For example, a newspaper close to Tudeh, called *The Falcon*, said the Farsi language, that is, Persian, is "the best means for perfecting our national unity." Another magazine said, "The national language of Azerbaijan is Farsi."

Interestingly enough, in the trade unions they had their owo organ which was called *Zafar*, or *Victory*. Here they wrote regarding the national question, "The people of Azerbaijan have spoken Turkish for 900 years. Who can deny that it is their mother tongue? The worst way to deal with the problem is to force ooe language on all the minorities as the tsar tried to do."

Why this difference? Partly it was the experience of attempting to organize the industrial proletariat of Iran, concentrated in two places, Isfahao—the Manchester of Iran—aod Ahadan, the oilfields. The attempt to organize the oilfields in Abadan was complicated because the British recruited their workforce on the basis of mixed nationalities, in order to exploit the national differences to the maximum. So the very necessity of forging a trade-union movemeot io the oilfields almost dictated, irrespective of the ideology of the leaders, a policy of revolutionary integrationism and recognizing the right to self-determination for the oppressed nationalities. And so the trade-union newspaper had a more progressive line on the national questioo.

Pishevari, as I meotioned before, was more a nationalist than a socialist. When he went back to Azerbaijan, now emancipated, the first thing he did was form the party called the Ferge, more popularly translated as the Azerbaijan Democratic Party. One of the first things it did was send condolences to the deposed Reza Shah. The whole Tudeh Party in Azerbaijan and its mass organization went over to the Azerbaijan Democratic Party, as did many bourgeois parties. Of course the party collaborated with the Soviet troops. As a consequence the ambassador from the Soviet Union, who willy-nilly began to show up at Tudeh central committee meetings, forbade any open polemics between Tudeh and the Azerbaijan Democratic Party. Nonetheless, through their front groups and privately, the polemics were quite bostile.

In part because of this Stalinist subordination of the Tudeh Party to the narrow social interests of the Soviet Union's bureaucratic caste, Tudeh basically supported the British presence in southern Iran, just as it supported the Soviet presence in northern Iran. It did not call for ousting the British. When the shah's son—the present deposed shah—was put on the throne, they not only supported him but entered his first cabinet. This cabinet of course went on to suppress the democratic institutions that were set up in Azerbaijan under the Soviet army. There was also the savage suppression of the Kurdistan Republic, which was completely under the control of the mullahs.

In Azerbaijan certain reforms were carried out in the wake of the Red Army. There were land reforms. Azerbaijani was allowed as a written/spoken language in the schools. Both in its orders to Tudeh as well as its actions in Azerbaijan, the Red Army was relatively sensitive to the national question. This may have been as much from opportunism as it was from any remembrance of the Leninist texts, but it was a fact. With the withdrawal of the Red Army Azerbaijan—often referred to as a republic, but really a self-governing province—collapsed. This opened the door to the savage persecution of the left and trade-union movement as the shah began to reconsolidate power in the late 1940s.

To conclude, the elementary tasks which in a deformed way were undertaken by Tudeh in the 1940s, of creating a vehicle of independent class organization, remain on the agenda today in Iran. The power and potential of such a movement was demonstrated by the effect that even Tudeh, with its backwardness, its handful of intellectuals with their deformed understanding of Marxism—the impetus that they were very rapidly able to give to a mass movement. Such a party must have assimilated the lessons of the Bolshevik Revolution, especially on the questions of the nationalities which profoundly affect this multinational empire.

In that sense, it is not unlike tsarist Russia, where the national question was strategic, where most of the population was still in agrarian slavery. Also the woman question, the emancipation of women from the veil is strategic. These basic democratic questions that were resolved in some sense by the bourgeois revolutions in western Europe remain on the agenda today in the East. It is only the October Revolution that has shown the path forward to their solution in the East, the solution which had to have as its basis collectivized, socialized property and the independent organization of the proletariat.

The deformation of the Bolshevik Revolution by Stalinism, and the disastrous impact this had on the national question, especially in Central Asia, has stopped the revolution at a border which is artificial. With the liberation of the Soviet Union from Stalinism through proletarian political revolution, with the liberation of Iran from the vestiges of feudalism, of barbarism, of imperialism through a proletarian revolution, through socialist revolution in the imperialist countries that have created the Khomeinis, the Pakistani colonels *and* Stalinism—that is the road forward for the oppressed masses of both the East and the West. ■

Lords a'Leaping Over "Fourth Man" Revelations!

Queen of Spies?

Kim Philby's Triumph Still Vexes British Aristocracy!

AP

Yet another of England's seemingly endless supply of honorable schoolboy spies has been flushed out: Sir Anthony Blunt, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures and ex-Soviet agent. The ever-so-distinguished elderly aesthete and art historian was fingered in a recent book by Andrew Boyle, *The Climate of Treason* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1979), under the codename "Maurice." Margaret Thatcher confirmed in Parliament that Blunt was indeed "Maurice," the long-sought "Fourth Man" connected to the network of Soviet agents inside British intelligence which included Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean and master spy H.A.R. "Kim" Philby (the "Third Man").

Naturally it's all terribly embarrassing for Britain's clubby upper-crust establishment, having one of their own suddenly made the object of vulgar press and public attention. "I say, your father is going to give our Blunty a bit of a rough ride, isn't he?" a Conservative member of Parliament anxiously asked Boyle's son before the book's publication (*Washington Post*, 16 November). But what's most worrisome to Britain's seedy aristocracy is that the Royal Family, indeed the Queen herself, knew all about Blunt's activities since 1964 (when he supposedly confessed all to a highly select circle—not including the Prime Minister). Yet for years and years she kept him on as part of the Royal Household, cataloguing pictures, escorting her to art shows and even—the unkindest cut of all—*giving him a knighthood.*

What must Sir Freddie Laker, Sir Harold Wilson and all those other deserving chaps think of similar royal favors now? What any self-respecting communist would think is obvious: the only honorable thing for "Sir Anthony" to have done in the circumstances was to fling away his title, that disgusting remnant of feudal class privilege. Blunt, however, has remained silent. With delicious irony he announced from hiding that to reveal anything might violate the Official Secrets Act! (The bare-minimum Marxist program for Britain is: abolish the monarchy, abolish the House of Lords, abolish the Established Church, and abolish pub licensing hours.)

The British upper class certainly isn't *personally* horrified by the mess itself: "Oh, we've known for years, my dear, that Blunt (or Burgess, or Maclean, or Philby, or whoever) was a flaming communist down at Cambridge, and we always *suspected*..." So goes the after-dinner talk. No, it's that "the public" knows—that's the rub. For this ingrown caste of giddy plotters and snobbish feudal extremists, "there'll always be an England" means there will always be Lords and Ladies and a nasty Hessian queen. One hopes at least that Blunt was still in contact with his Soviet mentors when he undertook a particularly sensitive mission for King George VI after World War II—retrieval of the Duke of Windsor's correspondence, reportedly highly admiring, with Adolf Hitler—and that the goods on the Nazi-loving aristocrats may be published someday.

More competent British civil servants are no doubt upset because digging up all this old dirt only reopens the old wound which the Burgess/Maclean (and later Philby) affair inflicted on that "special relationship" between American and British intelligence agencies. During the war, the cordial contempt in which the British held the American naifs and boors of the OSS and FBI was more than amply returned by U.S. suspicion of British flabbiness and upper-class amateurism. In the event, American suspicions were confirmed in spades by the 1951 defection to Moscow of Burgess and Maclean, and then Philby's appearance in 1963 as a Hero of the Soviet Union. And now Blunt! Everybody knows Britain doesn't have any secrets worth stealing these days, but the memories are painful.

John Le Carré's latest-but-one espionage novel, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, captured well the deadly, helpless hatred for "the Cousins" which the old-line British establishment spies, bereft of their Empire, must feel for the American imperialists, inheritors of all they built (the peculiar *Schadenfreude* coloring the scenes of American pull-out from Vietnam, for example). Of course, the Americans have their own problems. If the typical British spy is a Cambridge don who would never question a fellow gentleman about personal affairs, the CIA counterpart is a crewcut bureaucrat who only believes his computer printouts and fictitious "body counts." And if the British have their Soviet "moles," the Americans are done in by spaced-out, bored hippies who sell the Russians top-secret documents for the price of a few snorts of cocaine. (Remember the TRW "Black Vault" scandal a couple of years ago, where two such southern California types carted out *thousands* of spy satellite plans and secret messages they were supposed to be guarding.)

The Blunt affair may seem to be a tempest in a rather tepid teapot from the American viewpoint. The most heartfelt cry of anguish to appear on this side of the Atlantic came from *New York Times* art critic Hilton Kramer. What got Kramer was not that Blunt had betrayed *Britain*, but rather "Beauty"—more specifically, "our sense of what it means to be a great art scholar": "It suggests, at the very least, that this vocation need have nothing to do with either moral intelligence or personal probity" ("The Blunt Case: A Life Devoted to Beauty and Treachery," *New York Times*, 2 December).

Oh really, Hilton! Only an eternally naive, "forever panting, forever young" American could have swallowed Keats'

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Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean, Kim Philby: Recruited at Cambridge in the 30s, their successful careers as Soviet agents still drive British establishment up the wall.

How the "Answer" Lambertists Trotskyists

Gangsterism and Slander

On November 13 in front of the Mutualité in Paris, supporters of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) were driven away forcibly by the goon squad of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). The OCI had called a public meeting on Nicaragua, with the participation of the newly formed Ligue Communiste Internationaliste (LCI), the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT) and Nahuel Moreno's Bolshevik Faction (BF), to which "all international Trotskyist forces" had been invited. As soon as the LTF had begun to hand out leaflets and sell its publications, about 50 members of the OCI goon squad immediately intervened, violently driving off the LTF militants, hitting some of them and ripping up leaflets and newspapers. Others who protested this aggression were also attacked. But the action was clearly aimed at the LTF, since salesmen of *Rouge, Tribune Ouvrière* and *Révolution Internationale* were not stopped.

A report of the assault appeared in *Rouge* (16 November), newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). In reply, Lambert's OCI simply noted that on October 25 the LTF had been forcibly excluded from an LCR public meeting. Such a "defense" shows only that both the OCI and LCR fear they cannot defend their respective parodies of Trotskyism against the Trotskyist criticism of the LTF.

But there was also a special message in the OCI attack, intended for some of those who witnessed it; members of the LCI, which is allied to the OCI in the so-called "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International," are put on notice that there is no room in the OCI for oppositionists. Lambert himself brags that there hasn't been a faction fight in his organization since 1953 (interview in *Rouge*, 25 May). The way the OCI dealt with the bureaucrat Berg and the dubious Varga is the concrete proof.

The split in the United Secretariat (USec) shook the pseudo-Trotskyist milieu in France and gave birth to the LCI. The new group's main leaders (Nemo, Ulysse, Seidjouk, etc.) had headed the French LTT, formed within the LCR on the basis of the reformist politics of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). They soon became fans of the reformist OCI during the long SWP/OCI flirtation, which then blew up and was replaced by the OCI's new alliance with Moreno's BF. Now they have formed the LCI as a transmission belt to carry the heterogeneous elements who left the LCR straight into the OCI.

But some of those who rejected the squabbling, faction-ridden LCR and its liquidationist policies will be hard for the OCI to assimilate. The ostensible split issue was Nicaragua, where the OCI/BF bloc opposed the USec's blatant capitulation to the Nicaraguan FSLN. Militants repelled by the USec/SWP's hailing of the expulsion from Nicaragua of Moreno's Simón Bolívar Brigade will not find the OCI—the "Trotskyist" left guard of André Bergeron's Force Ouvrière bureaucracy—congenial to many more of their leftist impulses. And if these comrades seek to generalize their left cricisms of the USec, they will find themselves intersecting the program of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), which emerged from the SWP in 1963 in opposition to the USec/SWP's capitulation to Castro (dubbed by the SWP an "unconscious Trotskyist") and in favor of the formation of Trotskyist parties in every country. It was in the hope of sealing off leftist LCI supporters from the LTF, French section of the iSt, that Lambert unleashed his goon squad on November 13.

Slander, Handmaiden of Gangsterism

The LCI members are getting a crash course in Lambertism. An interview with Nemo in the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (17-24 November) goes out of its way to slander the LTF:

> "...the LTT has nothing to do with sects which, like the Spartacists, do not hesitate to call themselves the Fourth International and do nothing but maintain the divisions in our movement for the sole profit of the bureaucratic apparatuses."

In a 23 November leaflet, the LTF replied that this charge was a "not-so-subtle attempt by Nemo to make an amalgam between the Spartacists and the megalomaniacal and irrelevant followers of the highly dubious Michel Varga."

But the slanders continue. The second issue of the LCI newspaper states:

> "The LCI has nothing to do with these small sects who proclaim themselves 'the Fourth International' or want to have it 'reborn.' The struggle which we are waging against the SWP leadership is without mercy: by this means we are defending the Fourth International and the American Trotskyist organization against its new Castroite leadership. But this battle has nothing to do with the policies of the Spartacist provocateurs who characterize the SWP as reformist. The LCI is entirely on the side of the SWP against these provocateurs. These sects have only one aim, to destroy the Trotskyist organizations, to put obstacles in the way of their unification, to fight the Fourth International."
>
> —*Tribune Ouvrière*, 24 November

Of course, the OCI/LCI are well aware that, far from baptizing ourselves the Fourth International, our tendency calls for the rebirth of the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloist revisionism in 1951-53. Our "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" (July 1974) states that "the international Spartacist tendency is just that, a tendency in the process of consolidation." But truth is of no interest to the OCI; indeed, it is a danger. The LCI militants must be taught contempt for truth before they can find a happy home in the OCI.

And the OCI-inspired LCI leaders are proceeding full steam ahead with the well-known Lambertist methods of dealing with opponents. Cop-baiting slander is a necessary concomitant of physical suppression of Trotskyist criticism, for its ultimate aim is to place the critic outside the framework of workers democracy. The OCI is notorious on the French left for its ready recourse to slander and violence, as for example over the Varga affair. For ten years the OCI included the Hungarian emigré Varga on its leading bodies—then in 1972 it expelled him and announced he was a long-time "CIA agent." It proclaimed him outside the workers movement and indulged in repeated physical assaults against his followers. "Provocateurs"? We would gladly place our unblemished record of defense of workers democracy against the sordid reputation of the OCI. It was no accident that the OCI had to buttress its claims against Varga by approvingly quoting in its press our independent verdict that (though he had been slandered by the OCI) he was "a highly dubious figure."

The OCI/LCI leaderships are engaged in a genuine provocation: attempting to bind the heterogeneous LCI membership to Lambertist politics by making it complicit in attacks on the LTF. This is an old trick of the Stalinists, who in Greece used to give new members the job of assassinating a Trotskyist as their first assignment; after such an initiation, the new member dared not wonder whether Trotskyism might have anything to say for itself.

Will the Real Fourth International Please Stand Up?

The iSt is a democratic-centralist international tendency struggling for the rebirth of the Fourth International. The OCI and its partners in the "Parity Committee" have long since renounced authentic internationalism in favor of rotten blocs masquerading as "the Fourth International." From 1966 to 1971 the OCI was allied with the English organization of Gerry Healy, foisting off these political bandits (who are now the agents of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi) as the continuity of anti-Pabloist struggle though Healy and Lambert could not even agree on what to call their "international" (to Healy it was the "International Committee of the Fourth International," to Lambert "the IC for the Reconstruction..."). For the last five years Nemo's LTT has been an SWP-inspired loyal opposition in the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," as was Moreno until he broke from the SWP in 1975.

Today's OCI/BF/LCI "Parity Committee" is busily preparing another "Fourth International" masquerade though again the bloc cannot even agree on basic terms, describing itself in the same breath as being for the "reconstruction" (OCI), "reorganization" (BF) and "reunification" (LCI) of the Fourth International (*Informations Ouvrières*, 10-17 November). Grandiose claims about convening an "all-inclusive World Congress" to the contrary, the Parity Committee is simply one more unstable bloc of those forces who lined up behind the SWP in opposing from the right the petty-bourgeois guerrillaism of Ernest Mandel. Of course, the SWP is not now numbered among their ranks; hence the absurd assertion that the SWP—already run with an iron hand by Jack Barnes when many LCI members were still in diapers—now has a "new Castroite leadership."

The iSt—for many years the only organization in the world to characterize Cuba as a deformed workers state and call for building a Trotskyist party to lead a political revolution against the Castroite bureaucracy— does not flinch at the slander that we "maintain the divisions in our movement for the sole profit of the bureaucratic apparatuses" (i.e., the

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Militant

Moreno, the adventurer.

Jaume Mor

Varga, the dubious.

WV Photo

Healy, cheerleader for Qaddafi.

Which Way for the Nicaraguan Revolution?

On U.S. Tour

FSLN Comandantes Break Strikes, Bait Trotskyists

When the "Council of the Americas" met in New York's posh Plaza Hotel earlier this month it was probably the first time these corporate-financed promoters of U.S. investment in Latin America ever played host to a trio of guerrilla revolutionaries in fatigues and combat boots. But although the overthrow of the bloody dynasty of Somoza, Inc. represented a serious defeat for American imperialism, the three *comandantes* of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua had come, as the Nicaraguan UN mission's press release put it, "to strengthen [their] ties of friendship with all countries, the United States among others" by "meeting with representatives from the private sector." More concretely, they had come to urge the assembled businessmen to take a profitable part in the capitalist reconstruction of Nicaragua.

Instead of aggressively moving to expropriate not only Somoza's holdings but the factories and large estates of all the Nicaraguan capitalists and landlords, the FSLN has chosen to revive the "anti-Somoza" private sector. This strategy coincides with the interests of State Department and Congressional liberals, who seek to forestall a "second Cuba" in Nicaragua by buying off the FSLN with imperialist "aid." Thus, after FSLN leaders Jaime Wheelock, Victor Tirado and René Núñez stopped by for negotiations, a House committee approved a $75 million grant and loan package for Nicaragua, 60 percent of it earmarked for private business. The still-sizable Somoza lobby, which overlaps with the shah's friends in Congress (when they're bought, they *stay* bought), was appeased by an amendment cutting off aid in the event that Cuban or Soviet troops show up in Nicaragua.

The FSLN's pro-capitalist policies are being carried out under the slogan of "national reconstruction." Given the tremendous destruction wrought by Somoza's troops (in one of his last acts before fleeing to Miami, the dictator ordered the systematic bombing of factories belonging to opposition businessmen) and the still-unrepaired damage left by the massive 1972 earthquake, capitalist industry must literally be "reconstructed" from the ground up. At the same time the new government finds itself compelled to silence leftists who advocate going beyond the capitalist limits imposed on the anti-Somoza revolution by the petty-bourgeois FSLN leaders. So when Jaime Wheelock addressed a left-wing audience at New York's Columbia University December 7 the Spartacist League (SL) challenged the FSLN leader on his government's repression of the far left in Nicaragua (see accompanying leaflet). In the discussion period an SL spokesman put the following question to Wheelock:

> "At this moment you are in the United States seeking economic aid, not only here but from the government as well. I want to ask if there is a relationship between this request for money from the most powerful imperialist country in the world and the fact that in your Sandinista jails today there are left-wing militants of the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria...and of the Frente Obrero, including Mario Miranda and Rodrigo Ibarra."

The chairman attempted to cut off the question and hard-line FSLN supporters tried to drown out and rush our comrade. Only when it appeared that a melee would ensue did they decide to answer the question. Dressed in snappy olive green fatigues and shiny black combat boots, Wheelock played the role of dashing and handsome young *comandante* to the hilt. First he attacked the SL for criticizing "from a quite comfortable position" those who had fought "with arms in hand, at the cost of their own lives" against Somoza. Denying that he had come to the U.S. seeking funds (a statement contradicted by the FSLN's own press release), Wheelock nevertheless maintained that the Sandinistas would "use the money of imperialism to build socialism." Admitting that they had indeed locked up leftists, he attempted to justify the repression:

WV Photo

Jaime Wheelock speaks behind portrait of Nicaraguan nationalist hero Sandino.

> "That is really a painful situation for us. But just imagine, when there is a lack of supplies, when much needs to be produced, that someone comes and tells the workers that they should shut down the factory to demand higher wages. Higher wages for one sector of the workers while there is 50 percent unemployment! What a strike will produce is more shortages. It brings to mind nothing so much as that which occurred in Chile some years ago. An indecisive government began to suffer strikes and increasing shortages. The petty bourgeoisie, which you referred to, began to turn its back on the revolution."

This is the line of reformist and popular-frontist politicians the world over: the workers must pay to appease their exploiters. For Jaime Wheelock (who

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Jaime Wheelock: Why Are Leftists in Your Jails?

Reprinted below is the English version of a leaflet distributed by the New York Spartacist League at a forum given by FSLN leader Jaime Wheelock at Columbia University, December 7.

A hundred thousand people jammed Managua's newly-named Plaza of the Revolution in July to cheer the Sandinista-led overthrow of the blood-drenched Somoza dynasty installed by the U.S. marines 45 years ago. Revolutionaries the world over cheered this defeat for U.S. imperialism in Latin America. What Washington feared most of all was that the Nicaraguan revolution might lead to proletarian power. But this was not a proletarian revolution. Rather, the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas took the guerrilla road. They struck a deal with those elements of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie who wanted capitalism without Somoza. Together they came to power and together they rule. So Washington is a lot less worried now.

Guerrillas Govern with Millionaires

The speaker tonight, Sandinista Jaime Wheelock, sits in a government with "Cottonseed Oil King" Alfonso Robelo and Violeta Chamorro, a representative of Nicaragua's wealthiest capitalist landlord dynasty. Wheelock wears the banner of the "Proletarian Tendency" of the FSLN. But there is nothing proletarian in the actions of this Minister of Agrarian Reform who returned the haciendas seized by the peasants to the "anti-Somoza" landlords and declared, "We must keep solidarity with those members of the private sector who supported the ouster of Somoza," (*New York Times*, 5 August 1979). Afraid of the radicalization of the masses and seeking to prove its trustworthiness to the Chamorros, and its credit-worthiness to the U.S. State Department, the FSLN government launched a campaign of repression against the left.

FSLN Attacks the Left

At this moment members of the Movimiento de Acción Popular, Frente Obrero and the Liga Marxista Revolucionaria are in Sandinista jails. Upon coming to power, the FSLN deported and turned over to General Torrijos' Panamanian police militants of the Simón Bolivar Brigade, followers of the Argentine reformist adventurer Nahuel Moreno. In time-worn fashion, the FSLN slandered such left critics as "CIA agents," while Wheelock denounced as counterrevolutionaries the "Trotskyists and all those who wish to accelerate the evolution of the regime in Nicaragua" (*Le Monde*, 21 August 1979). The FSLN campaign to "get" the "ultra-lefts" is aided by the reformist American Socialist Workers Party which has despicably acted as the fingermen for the junta against even its own "comrades" in the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." This crime was the detonator which blew apart this fake-Trotskyist international rotten bloc.

What Next?

Despite the Sandinista leadership's stated intention to integrate "the new Nicaragua" into the capitalist-imperialist order, the fate of the revolution is not yet sealed. The old capitalist state apparatus has been shattered with the rout of Somoza's National Guard. The masses, radicalized and largely pauperized by devastating civil war, cannot and do not want to live in the old way. What is needed in Nicaragua is a revolutionary Trotskyist party to lead the workers and peasants against the rotting capitalist system.

Tonight we will no doubt hear Jaime Wheelock and the FSLN comandantes talk about the Nicaraguan struggle as if it will spontaneously flow from the present class-collaborationist strategy into the socialist paradise. This is the most dangerous illusion! There is a choice to be made—either the road of proletarian revolution or the road of capitalist consolidation and increased repression of the Nicaraguan masses!

The international Spartacist tendency demands: Free Mario Miranda, Rodrigo Ibarra and all left prisoners in Sandinista jails! For popular tribunals to try the National Guard criminals! No to the disarming of the Nicaraguan masses! For a constituent assembly! For the expropriation of *all* landed estates, industry and major commerce including those of the "anti-Somoza" bourgeoisie! For the centralization of the unions and mass organizations of the workers and peasants in soviets—for a workers and peasants government! For a Socialist United States of Latin America! Not the petty-hourgeois nationalism of the FSLN, but a Trotskyist party, Nicaraguan section of the reborn Fourth International, to fight for proletarian revolution!

Chrysler...

(continued from page 12)

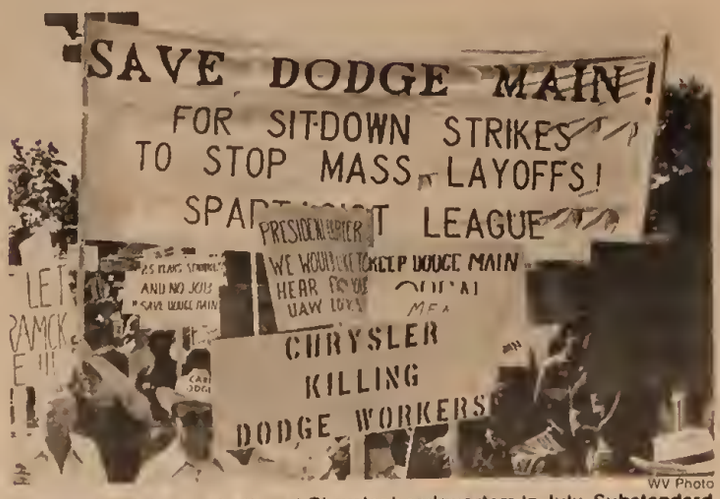
pany go under is a lesser evil to an expensive government bailout. A *Wall Street Journal* (13 November) editorial opposing Carter's plan put it bluntly: "Senator Proxmire has a better idea: bankruptcy."

So Chrysler workers have not seen the worst. The Senate Banking Committee has already insisted that the contract be torn up and a *three-year wage freeze* instituted as its price for supporting a bailout. At the going inflation rate, this means a 40 percent pay cut! It further demanded that Chrysler raise more cash from private sources. Since the company's credit lines are virtually exhausted, this can be realized only by selling off assets and liquidating more money-losing plants. Already the closing date for Dodge Main has been moved up to early January.

Solidarity House, despite its verbal protests, has signaled its willingness to accept a wage freeze of shorter duration or some other kind of additional pay cut. "Only if it's necessary to guarantee Chrysler's survival," says Fraser—knowing full well that the company already verges on bankruptcy. In addition, the UAW tops have pledged to *give* Chrysler $400 million from union funds—one-third the total amount of the new settlement—in the form of loans or stock purchases! Such pro-company practices make Fraser a fitting member of the Chrysler board of directors. Hailed by social democrats as a great breakthrough for "industrial democracy," Fraser's elevation to Chrysler's management promises to be the shortest such reformist triumph on record.

Seize the Chrysler Plants!

Now comfortably settled in the corporate boardroom in Highland Park, the last thing Doug Fraser intends to do is to lead a struggle against the Chrysler bosses. The UAW leaders have accordingly come up with a new scapegoat: the Japanese. The union bureaucrats have already moved to initiate a reactionary, chauvinist campaign to limit foreign imports. Gearing up to pit American auto workers against their Japanese counterparts in a cut-throat battle for a dwindling number of jobs, UAW vice president Irving Bluestone recently threatened: "If the Japanese don't move to correct the situation, it could lead to injudicious decisions on both sides" (*Business Week*, 5 November).



WV Photo

Auto workers' demonstration at Chrysler headquarters in July. Substandard contracts and social-democratic schemes won't save UAW jobs.

But the testimony of the American bourgeoisie itself gives the lie to such chauvinist demagogy. Railing against Carter's bailout schemes, the big-business press has produced page after page of evidence documenting the incompetency of Chrysler's management, its refusal to upgrade domestic plants, stupid investments abroad, etc. The Chrysler bosses systematically looted the company and left it a stinking corpse of inefficient, dilapidated plants. So if foreign imports have now surged to 25 percent of the American market and Chrysler's share is half of what it was a decade ago, that should not be surprising. It is not the Japanese who are to blame—it is the American bosses.

Labor support to economic protectionism ties the workers of different countries to their own ruling classes' drive for foreign markets and spheres of exploitation, a drive which ultimately produces imperialist wars. For international working-class solidarity against capitalist attacks!

Within the workers movement, only *Workers Vanguard* has consistently opposed bailout schemes and counterposed the need for militant class struggle. The UAW bureaucracy and the fake left, advocates of government bailouts and reformist nationalization gimmicks, falsely told Chrysler workers to look to the capitalist state to save their jobs and livelihoods. But this is a looted and mismanaged company rather than a major industry shut down during a generalized economic crisis as in the 1930s. In the present situation, even full nationalization of Chrysler would simply lead to pay cuts, tax subsidies and import controls in order to make these hopelessly obsolete plants "profitable." The one thing that has come through crystal clear, particularly in the Senate hearings, is that any government rescue plan for the Chrysler bosses means mass layoffs and a virtual wage freeze for Chrysler workers.

But if Carter's bailout is no solution, that does not mean that Chrysler workers have to stand by passively while the company goes bankrupt and they are thrown on the scrapheap after years of sweat and toil on the assembly line. Chrysler chairman Iacocca and his colleagues, the bankers, the wealthy stock and bond holders won't be reduced to poverty if Chrysler goes broke. They'll just sell off the assets. After looting the company and trying to bleed the labor force, why should they get the proceeds? As we wrote last August:

> "The only way workers can hope to salvage this situation of sunk companies is to seize them. Not piracy but mutiny.... If it is broke then the workers ought to elect a board to liquidate Chrysler. But not a cent to the Wall Street stockholders of Chrysler! Let the stocks, bonds and bank debts go down the tubes. All the money from the sale of assets should go to the Chrysler workforce, including the foreign workers."
>
> —"Whatever Chrysler's Worth—Give It to the Workers," *WV* No. 238, 17 August

Chrysler workers: Occupy the plants! Seize the assets! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Fraser off the Chrysler board! Break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Chicago Transit...

(continued from page 12)

The city has mounted an open and vicious strikebreaking campaign against the ATU, complete with a temporary restraining order (issued in the middle of the night by a judge whose son is retained by the CTA), threatened fines of $500,000 levied against the unions for each day of the strike, police intimidation of pickets, propaganda about "greedy and arrogant strikers," escort of token scab buses through the picket lines. At one point Monday night police feigned an assault on pickets at a CTA bus barn, in order to distract attention while six buses slipped out the back way and paraded briefly through the city under heavy escort. And a top priority of city officials, openly emphasized in the media, has been to "remove" the mass picket lines "so that drivers who wish to return to work may do so."

Contrary to this wishful thinking, transit workers are united against scabbing and determined to stand behind their union and win. Morale on the spontaneous and spirited mass picket lines is high, and when the temporary restraining order which "outlaws" the strike was read to the picketers, they laughed. These men and women know that the controversial cost-of-living formula—which has made Chicago transit workers the highest paid in the nation—is worth fighting for. Many on the lines compared this situation with the 1966 New York City transit strike, which immobilized the city and resulted in the jailing of the union president. The comparison is a good one, for Chicago transit workers face the same wage- and job-slashing future if they don't fight now.

Resentment against the mayor is intense. These are the people who elected her to replace a discredited city administration last March, and she has repaid them with threats to initiate mass strikebreaking and bluster about "secret contingency plans" to keep the CTA running. (For a publicity stunt Byrne sent her daughter to train as a potential scab driver before the strike.) Resentment against the Chicago Police Department for its scabherding is also growing. These guardians of capitalist "law and order" are no part of the workers movement. Firemen and employees organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) must demand that their unions immediately end their bargaining coalition with the Confederation of Police.

Teamsters, including gasoline delivery drivers, and many craft workers such as members of the International Association of Machinists, are honoring the ATU lines. But in a fit of disgusting treachery the ATU International has refused to sanction the strike by the two locals (a development which was announced not by the union but by CTA Chairman Eugene Barnes! Barnes, ironically, is a former transit worker who was rewarded for selling out a wildcat strike of predominantly black workers in 1968.)

Break with the Democrats! For a Workers Party!

The leaderships of Locals 241 and 308 lack the class-struggle program necessary to win this fight. These timid business unionists have repeatedly tried to make a deal with Byrne, including on the key COLA provision. They have done nothing to organize picketing or defense of the lines, have winked their eyes at police scabherding, have permitted transit clerks and supervisors who belong to the union to return to work, and have agreed to let management keep the trains and buses in running order. Transit workers need to elect strike committees that will organize militant, mass picket lines and take the contract negotiations out of the hands of the sellout union bureaucrats. In the face of the massive fines and other strikebreaking measures directed at the transit unions, the entire Chicago labor movement must be mobilized in mass demonstrations of support for the strikers.

At this juncture, when there exists the objective possibility of uniting all city labor to stop the mayor's attacks, transit workers need a leadership which will fight for a citywide strike on a class program of ending take-aways and layoffs, preserving the ATU cost-of-living formula and extending it to all city workers, winning a decent contract for all public employees, heading off severe cuts in areas such as transit and schools, and implementing free, quality mass transit for the riding public. Such a fight would necessarily mean breaking from illusions in the reigning Democratic Party, specifically the Richard Daley legacy with its myth of Chicago as "the city that works" through cooperation between Democratic Party politicians and labor.

It is not uncommon to hear striking black transit workers lament that if Daley were alive things would be better, harking back to a quick settlement by "The Boss" of a 1974 two-hour transit walkout in a similar cost-of-living dispute. But Daley could afford to buy a little labor peace in a key sector, while banning union organizing for most of the workforce and imposing substandard wages on less powerful city employees. Byrne is presiding over the fragmentation of the Daley machine in a period of severe economic downturn. Byrne's opponents in the Democratic Party, including those like Michael Bilandic who initially inherited the bulk of the old Daley machine, stand united with the mayor in her union-busting offensive. Certainly none of these capitalist politicians have uttered a peep in defense of the CTA strikers.

The only real alternative for workers is to break with the Democratic Party and build their own party, a workers party, which would turn the attacks around and defeat the rich industrialists and profit-bloated bankers who now run the city for themselves. Victory to the transit strike! No victimization of any striker! Drop the union-busting fines! Extend COLA to all city workers! For a citywide strike to roll back service cuts and layoffs and to win union representation and contracts for all public employees! ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Friday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd floor
(near 17th Street)
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Phone (415) 835-1535

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New York
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6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone (212) 925-5665

Queen of Spies?...

(continued from page 5)

old cliche about the Grecian Urn: "Beauty is truth, truth beauty—that is all/Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." Anyhow, anybody who *read* Blunt's early works knew he was imbued with "Marxist" fancies, a fondness for socialist realism, etc.

James Jesus Angleton Strikes Again?

A close examination of Boyle's book reaveals a rather more sinister American hand in the affair. Where *did* Boyle get all his best stuff from? An examination of the last three chapters of his book reveals some 23 footnotes attributed to "confidential sources," overwhelmingly anonymous CIA informants. And prominent in the text is one James Jesus Angleton, *eminence grise* of the CIA's counter-intelligence operations until his forced retirement in 1974. It is reasonable to assume, given both Angleton's overwhelming fixation on Russian "moles" and well-known penchant for waging "covert wars" on "weakness" in imperialism's spy agencies, that he is behind the exposure of Blunt.

Angleton has been fond of claiming for years that he suspected Kim Philby all along, in fact had the goods on him. (If so, one wonders why it took some 12 years—from 1951 when Burgess-Maclean fled Washington until 1963 when Philby felt the net closing in on him in Beirut and fled—for the other shoe to drop.) But James Jesus Angleton, an orchid-growing Yale "establishment" sort who'd suspect his own grandmother of being a Russian spy, is nothing if not single-minded. After all, if you suspect *everybody* and watch them all closely enough, sooner or later you're bound to catch something. Of course, Angleton has his own, rather peculiar viewpoint—he's believed for years that the Sino-Soviet split is all a clever scheme cooked up by the KGB to fool Western governments (not to mention the Khrushchev-Tito split or the "détente" policies of the USSR).

So while Boyle's book is obviously the result of much painstaking research, much undoubtedly accurate, it nonetheless has a rather strange character. We don't doubt Blunt's Soviet activities—his own statements and behavior subsequent to the recent revelation confirm it. Two things in particular stand out: the purely gratuitous insinuation that Kim Philby's second wife Aileen was offed by the KGB (her anonymous "distinguished Harley Street physician" is paraphrased as saying it wasn't in her character to commit suicide) and all the name-dropping of prominent Soviet authorities and intelligience agents early in the book as possible "controls" for Philby, Blunt, et al.

While Boyle seems to have down pretty pat the internal wranglings between the British M15 and M16 intelligence agencies, he seems entirely unaware of the tensions within the Soviet apparat: the difference between the GPU and the Soviet Army's Fourth Department, just for example. Without any evident justification, but simply for sensationalism, Boyle has dropped in the names of any and all prominent Soviet leaders—Maxim Litvinov, Karl Radek, et al.—in his early chapters, as possible tie-ins to the rather tertiary little circle of Cambridge radicals in the 1930s who came over to the Soviet Union. It seems that to this day they still don't know who *really* ran the British "moles."

Why Did They Do It?

There was a rather flamboyant quality to some of the Cambridge spies, notably Guy Francis de Moncy Burgess, invariably referred to as "the dissolute Burgess." We can't resist retelling just one Burgess story. It seems that he was warned by a friend before departing for Washington, D.C. to take it easy: "For God's sakes, Guy, remember that in America you must constantly bear in mind three big don'ts: They are Communism, homosexuality, and the color bar." Burgess reportedly replied, "What you are really trying to say is don't make a pass at Paul Robeson." (One wonders what Burgess' long-suffering Soviet "control" made of all this. Now there would be a really interesting memoir!)

Bourgeois ideologues may try to dismiss Burgess, Maclean, maybe even poor old Blunt as simply neurotic homosexual cliquists—but the one that sticks in their craw is Kim Philby. He had everything, was cool, competent—the head of British operations against the Soviet Union, and a Russian spy! He got away with it all and is apparently living in comfortable semi-retirement in Russia at this moment. The genuine hysteria and anger over the Blunt affair being whipped up by the British press is striking. But the ringing appeals to patriotism have a forced quality: among *all* layers of the population there is real self-doubt as a nation. Britain is washed up as a world power and life in "Merrie Olde England" is increasingly cold and poor.

So why did so many of the British upper-class find their inspiration in Soviet Russia in the 1930s? All the whining *apologias* about poor little rich boys born to rule an Empire and instead stuck with a crummy over-populated little island don't explain it. After all, significant sections of the working class, too, were won to what they saw as communism in Soviet Russia. Claud Cockburn caught a lot of the truth, refuting all the heated speculations about some sinister Soviet "mastermind" manipulating the schoolboys:

> "There was no need of one. The circumstances at that time were quite enough to do the trick. The gilded popinjays were living on a small lush oasis in the middle of an economic desert and all but the oafs among them knew it."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 November

UPI

James Jesus Angleton: Does this man really know what evil lurks in the hearts of men?

Despite all the press barrage painting the British agents as cynical monsters—the *Climate of Treason, Betrayer of a Generation* book titles—Philby and his circle were clearly motivated by a desire to serve what they believed to be world revolution. As we wrote in "Heroic Soviet Spies" (*WV* No. 166, 15 July 1977), "...even among those who joined the Soviet intelligence service of the 1930's, when Stalin's domination was solidly established, the spark of ideological commitment was not altogether absent." (For years part of the Philby circle, on the face of it Anthony Blunt finally opted for betraying not his class origins but his comrades, and the cause for which they fought. If this is so, it is fitting that as a turncoat Blunt must end his days reviled by those who "turned" him, while Maclean and Philby are honored in Moscow.)

Although taking pleasure in the exploits and triumphs of the Philby group, Leninist-Trotskyist communists point out that these Soviet moles were unable to wage a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Espionage is one of the necessary defensive measures carried out by all states, and the information is only as good as the use it is put to. Stalin's bureaucratic regime—which usurped power by politically expropriating the Soviet workers and their Communist Party—threw away much of the vital information which its agents, at great risk, dug up and transmitted in the early days of World War II. Both Leopold Trepper's "Red Orchestra" network in Nazi-occupied Europe and Richard Sorge in Japan sent repeated warnings that Hitler was about to invade the USSR in 1941. Stalin ignored them because he actually believed in his illusions of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism—in this case the Hitler-Stalin pact—thereby criminally undermining Soviet defense. (In addition he executed virtually the entire general staff of the Red Army in the last of the Moscow Purge trials.)

As Trepper's memoir, *The Great Game*, makes clear—and comments by Philby, too, in *My Silent War*—the Soviet agents were quite aware of Stalin's purges and deeply shaken by them. In fact, for some communists during the 1930s, posts abroad as Soviet intelligence agents were the only way they saw to avoid the murderous Stalinist repression while saving whatever shreds of personal honor they could. It was the Trotskyists alone, fighting for proletarian political revolution in the USSR and social revolution in the capitalist countries, who waged a consistent struggle to save the Soviet Union for socialism. But the years of courageous and nerve-wracking efforts by Philby, Trepper, Sorge and their comrades in attempting to defend the homeland of the October Revolution from counterrevolution deserve due recognition from the world working class. ■

FSLN...

(continued from page 7)

studied "land reform" under Allende's regime), the lesson of Chile is that strikes and "ultraleftists" provoked Pinochet's bloody coup. The reality is completely different. An economy wracked by capitalist crisis and undermined by imperialist sabotage drove the petty bourgeoisie to the right because the Unidad Popular could offer no *revolutionary* measures to prevent their ruin. The workers, who struck and occupied factories in a fight to preserve their jobs and living conditions, were demoralized when "their" government set the cops and troops against them. Afraid to arm the masses, Allende relied completely on the "constitutionalist" officers to put down attempted coups and CIA-financed "destabilization." It was not rebellious workers and leftist militants but the misleaders who left them defenseless on 11 September 1973 who are to blame for the Chilean catastrophe.

If there remained any doubt about the FSLN's attitude toward Trotskyists after Wheelock's speech, Victor Tirado cleared them up at a press conference the following day. When a *WV* reporter asked Tirado, an FSLN leader since 1962, "how you justify jailing militants and leftists who are trying to extend the revolution in Nicaragua?" the *comandante* responded: "First of all, they aren't leftists... it is a Trotskyite current. We believe that the Trotskyite current has been eliminated historically...." Socialist Workers Party spokesmen Gus Horowitz and Fred Murphy sat meekly through this tirade, asking only if Nicaragua needed more food aid and could Tirado please describe the FSLN's social welfare programs.

The repression of the left contrasts sharply to the leniency shown by the FSLN toward the criminals of Somoza's National Guard. In order to impress the U.S. with their "moderation," the Sandinistas released hundreds of Guardsmen and only recently have trials been announced for the worst offenders. One mother, whose three sons had been murdered by a freed Somoza mercenary, tearfully appealed, "What sort of justice is this? Justice for them, not for us" (quoted in *New York Times Magazine*, 2 December). And while the workers are being told to tighten their belts, Somoza's imperialist creditors are being paid back with interest. As negotiations with American bankers opened in Mexico City, one Wall Street analyst noted a "good sign": "The Nicaraguans are honoring their past debts, which means that they're not opting out of the Western economy" (*New York Times*, 15 December).

The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie is today forced to bide its time and recoup forces. Far from seeking to break the strength of the class enemy of the oppressed, the petty-bourgeois FSLN tops, under the slogan of "national reconstruction," are disarming the masses, jailing leftists and reconstituting a bourgeois army. What is needed above all today is a Trotskyist party fighting for the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants for socialist revolution. ■

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Iran Ripping Apart...

(continued from page 1)

Pahlavi's stolen billions—agreed to shelter the king without a country. Not only did this remove the original justification for the embassy seizure, i.e., the ex-shah's presence in the U.S., but it had the additional advantage of putting Pahlavi in a "progressive," "Third World" country instead of such previously mentioned alternatives as Sadat's Egypt and apartheid South Africa. Moreover, right-wing critics of Carter's Panama Canal treaty may now be convinced that General Torrijos, despite being buddy-buddy with Castro, is a reliable friend of U.S. imperialism.

While Carter worries about the Soviets and Teddy Kennedy, Khomeini worries about staying afloat. It may well be a life-and-death question for his regime. If he cannot forge a stable government and effective army now, under the threat of foreign invasion and with the nationalist frenzy whipped up in the anti-shah, anti-Carter crusade, he may never be able to.

Turmoil in Tabriz

The most dramatic demonstration of just how unstable Khomeini's Islamic Republic is, came with the recent upheaval in Azerbaijan. Triggered when pro-Khomeini thugs attacked the Teheran residence of Azerbaijani ayatollah Shariatmadari, protest demonstrations in Teheran and the Azerbaijani capital of Tabriz turned into street fights between pro-Khomeini thugs and the Azerbaijani masses who follow Shariatmadari. Khomeini declared a holy war on the rebels but the air force in Teheran refused to intervene. Units of the regular army, air force and *pasdaran* (Islamic guards) in Tabriz all openly defied Khomeini to side with the rival ayatollah. Eight hundred pro-Shariatmadari officers were reportedly sacked from the army command at Khomeini's orders.

The insurgency climaxed on December 9 in Tabriz. 10,000 Khomeini supporters marched on the state radio station which had been occupied by Shariatmadari loyalists and retook the building. When the news hit town a crowd numbering in the tens of thousands converged on the radio station. Khomeini's "revolutionary guards" fired on the unarmed crowd and five persons were killed and dozens wounded. Into the chaos stepped the local army units, who took control of the station and declared loyalty to Shariatmadari, who welcomed their action.

The fighting on both sides has been waged under reactionary clerical leadership. But Marxists are by no means neutral in this confrontation between oppressed Azerbaijanis fighting for national autonomy and Persian chauvinists fighting to impose Khomeini's dictatorial rule. When Khomeini staged a referendum on December 2 on a Persian-chauvinist theocratic constitution making himself *faghi* (dictator) for life, 80 percent of the voters in Azerbaijan boycotted the polls to protest the constitution's lack of provisions guaranteeing Azerbaijani self-rule, language and cultural rights. In the absence of working-class opposition to all forms of clerical reaction, the Azerbaijani masses look to "their" ayatollah, Shariatmadari, to defend their national rights.

But the rivalry between the two ayatollahs reflects more than just the Azerbaijani national question. Shariatmadari has long been regarded as the moderate, pragmatic pole in the Shi'ite hierarchy. Unlike Khomeini, he stayed in Iran under the shah and was widely touted as the man who might bring about a rapprochement between the Pahlavi autocracy and the Islamic opposition. He is still seen as a possible rallying point for the remnants of the shah's old bureaucracy and the less dogmatic, more pro-Western supporters of an Islamic Republic.

Despite the Azerbaijani masses' illusion in the reactionary theocrat Shariatmadari, the fighting in Tabriz pitted an oppressed national minority against the forces of Persian-chauvinist centralism. We stand for the right of national self-determination for the Azerbaijanis (as well as the Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis, etc.) and would give military support to a national insurgency against Khomeini's forces. Disarm pro-Khomeini army units and the *pasdaran* thugs! For militias based on the independent mobilization of the working class and its allies!

The mullah-loving fake-left Khomeiniites of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and their Iranian affiliate of the same name (HKS) have not unexpectedly backed Khomeini's attempt to suppress the fractious Azerbaijani nationalists. For the past year the SWP and HKS have been tailing Khomeini, claiming that his "Islamic revolution" was progressive despite the mullah regime's attempts to put women in veils, massacre Kurdish rebels, impose brutal Koranic "justice" and jail leftists, including 14 members of the HKS. When Khomeini supporters seized the embassy, the SWP and HKS fell to their knees to hail the "anti-imperialist" struggle. So it's no big surprise that the SWP's *Militant* comes out for the suppression of the Azerbaijanis.

Echoing Khomeini's calls to obey "your religious duty and national responsibility to concentrate on the confrontation with the U.S.," the 21 December *Militant* urged the Azerbaijanis to "avoid violence" and unite behind

UPI

Reflection of Khomeinilite U.S. embassy occupation in Teheran.

Khomeini's "anti-imperialist struggle." The *Militant*'s version of the radio station battle simply lies by omission, recording the Khomeiniites' mobilization for "unity against imperialism" and leaving unmentioned the Azerbaijani nationalist "countermobilization" which was met by machine gun fire from the "anti-imperialist" Khomeini supporters. The local Iranian army and even the Tabriz *pasdaran* wouldn't back Khomeini's *jihad* against the rebels. The SWP and HKS, however, hail the thugs who'll kill a Kurd for Khomeini or axe an Azerbaijani for allah.

For a Trotskyist Party!

With anarchy engulfing Iranian society, Khomeini used the embassy takeover to once again rally national unity against the hated shah and his American backers. The tailist left, like the SWP, runs with Khomeini in calling for a strong state in the name of "anti-imperialism." But the consolidation of an Islamic theocracy will require more than endless denunciations of the "corrupter Pahlavis" and "satanic America."

The ayatollahs' program of returning Iran to the seventh-century puritanical desert "paradise" of the Koran is not just reactionary; it is *utopian*. To buy arms to suppress the national minorities, to finance the Palestinians, to spread his "revolution" throughout the Islamic world, Khomeini needs money from oil exports. And the oil industry requires skilled proletarians and technologically sophisticated administrators. In short, if Khomeini wants to be a power in the real world he must base his rule in part on a modern industrial economy. But this rests upon social classes who are opposed to medieval religious obscurantism.

Khomeini cannot consolidate state power on the social basis of the pre-capitalist bazaari merchants, moneylenders and mullahs. The vestiges of feudal backwardness and barbarism, the millions of immiserated petty craftsmen and dispossessed peasants, the women in chadors and young men flagellating themselves with chains—these are the social base of Khomeini *and* Shariatmadari, of all the mullahs. That these Islamic institutions—which chain the craftsman to the guild, the peasant to his landlord—could continue to exist in the late 20th century is the real indictment of the shah's purported modernization and the legacy of imperialism.

Imperialist domination has meant the subjugation of the enslaved nations of the East in conditions of economic and social backwardness, while only certain sectors of the economy (of use to the imperialists) are allowed to develop. Peasants plow their fields next to the most advanced petroleum refineries, modern textile mills rise beside the bazaars. The social power of the Iranian proletariat was demonstrated in the monumental strike wave that shook the country during 1977-78, laying the basis for the fall of the Pahlavi dynasty. But this proletariat has been betrayed by the Stalinist Tudeh and beheaded many times over by the shah's notorious secret police, the SAVAK, leaving the mullahs to attempt to consolidate their own dictatorship which has proven to be every bit as reactionary as the shah's.

In the epoch of imperialist decay, only the proletariat has the social power and class interests to rally behind it the

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Feuding ayatollahs Shariatmadari (left) and Khomeini.

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atomized and deeply oppressed toiling masses of the countryside and workshops, throwing off the twin yoke of imperialist domination and feudal backwardness through the establishment of its own state power. After the Bolsheviks took power in Russia they saw Azerbaijan, with its strategically important Baku oil workers, as the bridge to revolution in Persia, and Persia as the bridge to the East. Today it is under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, section of a reforged Fourth International, that the Iranian workers will cross that bridge. ■

Khomeini...

(continued from page 3)

imperialist plot. Presumably, leftists are supposed to pretend, like the SWP's *Militant* ("Workers say NO! to U.S. war moves"), that there's a vast outpouring of pro-Iranian sentiment in U.S. factories and campuses—a pure fantasy. If we say that every sector of the American population recoils from the mullahs' program of religious reaction, then we must have joined the imperialist conspiracy to give the "imam" a "bad press." Frankel quotes *WV*:

> "The Teheran Embassy is denounced not merely as a 'nest of spies,' which it certainly is, but also as a den of corruption. Purging 'corruption' in Khomeini's Iran includes banning popular music, movies, alcohol, mixed bathing, extra-marital sex, homosexuals and most other aspects of 'decadent' Judeo-Christian Western culture."

Then *IP* draws its own conclusion: "If that doesn't warrant sending the aircraft carriers, what does?"

This is the standard liberal/Stalinist response. The syllogism is simple: if these observations about the mullāh-led revolution are true, then it *would* "warrant sending the aircraft carriers." Behind all the rhetoric about "progressive nationalism" and "progressive Islam" is the old missionary axiom: Just like a YWCA secretary, the SWP believes that if backward countries don't have a decent liberal society, then "we" have the moral duty to go in there and clear them out. The SWP is "anti-war," you see, and therefore it cannot be true that Khomeini's Iran "bans popular music, movies, alcohol, mixed bathing," etc. Nor do they jail leftists, stone unveiled women, or send the shah's army against the Kurds, Arabs, Turkomans or Azerbaijanis. The HKS prisoners are simply imagining that they are in jail.

The SWP's Liberal Burden

In the heyday of 19th century British imperialism, the ideology of moral responsibility of the "White Man's Burden" was openly professed. The aging Colonel Blimps sipped their sundowners and contemplated their "civilizing" mission among the "wogs," "kaffirs" and "fuzzie wuzzies." But the liberals accepted the same framework. Their later political support to various nationalists was, in fact, a form of imperialist patronizing, a version of international "benign neglect" behind an ideology of philistine cultural relativism.

George Orwell told the truth. Drawing on his own experience as a colonial policeman, his novel *Burmese Days* bitingly exposed the true horror of colonialism: the desperate mutual contempt in which both masters and their former servants played out their cynical games. But this understanding of the seamy side of "independence" (shared by V.S. Naipaul) did not lead Orwell to support the imperialists. On the contrary, he knew that the continued presence of the "Great White Fathers" could only impede the necessary fighting out of the fundamental battles. By the way, does the SWP today like "post-independence" Burma under its deeply corrupt generals? Why do they think tens of thousands of ethnic Muslims have been driven out of Burma into starving Bangladesh (or is that just another figment of imperialist imagination)?

It is from this twisted modern version of "White Man's Burden" that the SWP draws a sort of white, Protestant imperialist morality play with a cast of the world's peoples neatly divided between good and evil. The devil peoples who have no virtues struggle against the angel peoples who have no vices. The "white man's burden" becomes "white man's guilt." This is the same imperialist ideology that leads to "make the world safe for democracy," the "alliance for progress" and...the Vietnam war. The SWP shares these values. In order to oppose the conclusions, the SWP has to deny the facts. Thus the "antiwar" movement they built in the late '60s, and which they would like to repeat today, was fundamentally liberal in content. As Marxists, we resolutely, politically and militarily oppose imperialism on the basis of proletarian class interest. Therefore we do not have to lie about the unpleasant facts of life in Khomeini's Iran.

A Dangerous Pack of Lies

The SWP and the rest of the left which has adopted the method of the liberal lie has done no favor to the cause of the oppressed. In every case, the SWP follows the lead of those members of any oppressed group expressing bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ideology: feminism, black nationalism, etc. The SWP seeks not to combat the oppression suffered by members of this group, but rather to accommodate their present misleaders.

In Iran, this opportunism leads them to actually support the wearing of the veil. Witness an item in the 14 December *Militant* "Women in Revolt" column:

> "Women are freer than ever before in Iran. The participation of millions of women in overthrowing the shah has changed their consciousness and given them tremendous self confidence. They will never return to the degrading position they held under the shah's rule....
> "Some women who never wore the veil are now doing so as a symbol of national liberation. Some wear it in opposition to western dress styles that turn women into sex objects. Some have chosen not to wear it."

In contrast, the SL raises a communist program for the liberation of women through proletarian revolution, and through the pages of our journal *Women and Revolution* we launched a campaign against Khomeini's imposition of the veil.

Like the liberals and Stalinists whose worldview it shares, the SWP has to deny that oppression oppresses. For them, there is only discrimination, to be fought with democratic reforms, and racism, which they define as bad ideas. There is no internalization of oppression: everyone is the same. The plight of racial minorites in the U.S. is summed up in the situation of a black brain surgeon who can't buy a house in the white suburbs. But what about the ghetto youth, imprisoned by illiteracy and forced into a life of lumpen crime? By the reformists' lights, if you even mention the fact of lumpen crime you are a racist. The subject is taboo. And since everyone—black workers, white petty bourgeoisie, you name it—has to face this subject in daily life, they leave the field open to the racists.

In a recent Spartacist League forum on Iran in New York City, SL spokesman Reuben Samuels gave the Marxist answer to the reformists who lie for Khomeini:

> "The reason we have to emphasize the truth is to counter the chauvinists. People who lie about what's happening in Iran pretend there's no self-flagellation, when millions of people see it [on TV]. We are told that if you believe what you see, you're a racist. I believe those people beating themselves are beating themselves. They're not *not* beating themselves. And I do not believe the liberals who claim that oppression has not resulted in such practices as suttee, as self-flagellation, as the surgical violation of women in puberty rites.
>
> "Yes, I think that if you're honest and speak the truth that you undercut the chauvinists. You state the facts of the world as they are, and then go on and say how these practices have endured into the 20th century. You see, they have endured because the organic development of the economy, which took place in western Europe in the 16th through the 19th century, was not permitted to take place in these countries, due to their subjugation to colonialism and imperialism. And therefore the social foundations of these barbaric practices at bottom are the responsibility of the imperialist world order." ■

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Drive KKK-Hooded Foremen Out of Ford

DETROIT—Auto workers here are continuing their fight to drive out of the industry two foremen who paraded up and down the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) at Ford River Rouge wearing Ku Klux Klan hoods. Following a vigorous and successful campaign, members of Local 600 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) succeeded in ousting the foremen, Tim McKulen and Fred Beinke, from the Rouge. But even though 1,000 members of the Local signed petitions demanding the firing of these racists, the union agreed to let the company transfer them to two suburban Detroit plants, Wixom and Wayne Assembly. Now at Wixom angry workers reportedly made it so hot for McKulen that Ford had to put him in a management position off the assembly line. Subsequently some 800 workers at the plant signed petitions demanding that McKulen be fired.

The UAW bureaucracy has acted as a roadblock in this struggle. The Vawters/Ross leadership of the DAP has done nothing to implement the unit's November 2 motion demanding that McKulen and Beinke be fired, and at a subsequent membership meeting it even denied that such a resolution had been passed! At Wixom the Local 36 leaders have similarly sat on their hands. However, auto workers have the power to win this fight. As a December 13 leaflet signed by some 20 union militants at the Rouge underscored:

> "We knew that the silence of the union and black leaders after the Greensboro massacre was an invitation to further Klan terror. Five hundred of us demonstrated in Kennedy Square over the opposition of Coleman Young and Local 600 leaders. We broke this silence. We must link arms with the brothers and sisters at Wixom in the fight to force Ford to fire McKulen and Beinke. It was our power that ran McKulen and Beinke out of Rouge and forced Coleman Young to back down on his threat to arrest anti-Klan demonstrators in Detroit. Every unit in the Rouge must add its voice to the demands: STOP KLAN TERROR! FIRE McKULEN AND BEINKE!"

Lambertists...

(continued from page 6)

Kremlin). Indeed, coming from the Lambertists—who shared the CIA line on Portugal, Angola and eastern European "dissidents" and who call for the capitalist reunification of Germany—we can only take this as a compliment. But it is an atrocity that leftists in the LCI who broke from the USec because they did not want to endorse and even instigate bourgeois repression against the left in Nicaragua are now accepting as their mentors the Stalinophobic OCI which hailed the anti-Communist mobilizations in Portugal.

Confronted with a choice between the rightward-moving centrist USec and the social-democratic OCI, subjectively revolutionary militants must choose neither. They must demand the full political discussion that was denied them when they were stampeded into a split. They must ask why Barnes and Mandel, Lambert and Moreno were united in supporting the Persian-chauvinist, clerical-reactionary mullahs who are now brutally oppressing women, national minorities and leftists in Iran. They must condemn the gangsterist attacks on the militants of the LTF. They must investigate the principled history and Trotskyist program of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

—translated from Le Bolchévik, December 1979

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Call Out All City Workers!

Victory to Chicago Transit Strike!

CHICAGO, December 18—"The city that works" stopped working this week, when with a powerful display of labor militancy public transit workers defied a strikebreaking court order and walked off the job to defend their cost-of-living protection. In zero-degree weather, the strike by 11,000 members of Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308 (representing bus drivers and rail rapid-transit workers, respectively) completely shut down the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) system, stranding one million commuters with no way to get to work and socking a multi-million-dollar Christmas shopping loss to downtown stores.

The shutdown intersected a critical gasoline shortage caused by a strike of Teamster-organized fuel truck drivers against several major oil companies. As hundreds of thousands of regular CTA riders took to private cars and further drained fuel supplies a total transportation breakdown in America's second metropolis was posed. Meanwhile, Chicago firemen voted over the weekend to strike for a contract if necessary, and the School Board announced that it is so deeply in debt that it may not be able to pay schoolteachers or reopen the public schools after Christmas vacation.

Chicago is entering a real crisis, and Mayor Jane Byrne has decided that it's unionized city workers who will take it in the gut. The city is determined to axe the full cost-of-living formula included in transit contracts for the last two decades, which has kept transit workers even with inflation through quarterly increases (amounting to almost $1.25 per hour last year). This elementary measure of protection against raging inflation, which should be shared by *all* workers, is now "too expensive." The CTA further provoked a transit strike with a plan to hire part-time workers, who will be denied union fringe benefits and seniority rights—i.e., to create a pool of second-class, lower-paid transit employees whom the city can push around at will.

WV Photo

Defying zero-degree weather, striking transit workers shut down Chicago.

As for the firemen, Byrne has balked at even signing a contract with the Chicago Firefighters' Union (although she promised such a contract during her mayoral campaign), insisting that the union await a study by her "Mayor's Committee on Collective Bargaining" for public employees. This "Mayor's Committee," which includes sellout trade-union leaders like Chicago Federation of Labor head William Lee (and at one time fake-"progressive" Alice Peurala of Steelworkers Local 65), is designed to prevent militant unionization of city workers while the mayor continues the budget-slashing and layoffs which have victimized hundreds this year. And the livelihood of school employees is under heavy attack, as a debt-ridden school board insists on making interest payments to the big banks before issuing pay checks to teachers or operating the schools.

Defend the Picket Line!

Now is the time for city workers to unite against a concerted assault on their wages, conditions and job security. The powerful Amalgamated Transit Union can lead the city labor movement in *joint strike action* to smash Byrne's wage- and job-slashing, to win contracts and union representation for all public employees and to stop intended cutbacks in public services.

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Chrysler Bailout Bleeds Workers

In the old days before unions, when a company lost money it turned to the workers and told them: take a wage cut or you're out on the street. Eliminating this cutthroat practice was one of the main goals of the great CIO organizing drive in the 1930s. Equal pay for equal work, regardless of the profits or losses of a particular capitalist employer, was and is a basic principle of industrial unionism. But now with Chrysler facing bankruptcy, the Fraser bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers (UAW) has brought back the "pay cut or walk" era. In fact, the situation is even worse. More than half the Chrysler workforce has been laid off, while the rest labor for superexploitative wages.

When Chrysler first appealed for federal aid to stave off bankruptcy last August, we warned: "Whatever scheme is cooked up to revive Chrysler, it is certain that auto workers will be its victims, not its beneficiaries" ("Whatever Chrysler's Worth—Give It to the Workers!" *WV* No. 238, 17 August). And sure enough, to buy a government bailout UAW's Solidarity House has abandoned the 40-year tradition of Big 3 wage parity on which the union was built. Under the new contract Chrysler workers get $4,000 per man or *25 percent less* in wages and benefits than union members in GM and Ford. This actually understates the difference. The Chrysler contract is heavily backloaded. Almost all the increases are scheduled for the second and third years (assuming the company survives till then). With inflation in the 10-15 percent range, this means that the dollars Chrysler workers are supposed to get later will be worth a lot less than the money GM and Ford workers get this year.

Ruling Class Demands Total Wage Freeze

But the ruling class doesn't just want a sweetheart contract; it is determined to make Chrysler workers bleed to the last drop. The first denunciation of the settlement came from within the Carter administration itself. Alfred Kahn, head of the president's Council on Wage and Price Stability, bitterly claimed that the "contract does not remotely approach the kind of sacrifice that I think has to be demonstrated as a condition for being bailed out." And the big-business press has been single-minded in denouncing Carter for being soft on Chrysler and the UAW. The *New York Times* (26 November) ran a particularly vicious anti-labor editorial, "Guaranteeing Chrysler's Fat Paychecks," which stated, "We're with Mr. Kahn," and went on:

> "If Chrysler's union were to accept a wage freeze—hardly an unprecedented concession to a failing employer—the company would save $1.3 billion.... Such a freeze in a time of high inflation would not be easy on Chrysler's employees but they would still earn as much as most industrial workers....
>
> "Before Congress cedes a dime to Chrysler, it has an obligation to ask for a real commitment from the primary beneficiaries, Chrysler's workers."

UPI

Headed for the scrap heap. Chrysler's intended shutdown of the Dodge Main plant will cost 5,000 auto workers their jobs.

If there's one thing Wall Street understands, it's profits and losses. And the verdict on Chrysler is that it is a loser. While it may be the country's tenth largest industrial corporation, Chrysler's sales have dwindled to under 10 percent of the auto market, and it is not considered vital to the economy. For the bourgeoisie, letting the com-

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SUBJECT INDEX

Workers Vanguard—5 January to 28 December 1979 (Issues Nos. 222-246)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1979, beginning with issue No 222 (5 January) and ending with issue No. 246 (28 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT Subject headings ere errenged elphabetically Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series, corrections immediately follow the relevant entry An esterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates thal a correction follows
- Entries are listed under subject heads In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories These subcategories ere listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article Thus

  Seve Dodge Mein!, #233, 8 June (12, 11)

  means the headline of the erticle, Issue No. 233, 8 June 1979, pages 12 end 11.
- No entry is listed twice, refer to cross references for guidence in locating the subject head for particular articles Cross references ere of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles Subject heads in cross references are separeted by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are seperated by a comma Thus:

  Unemployment—See **Auto Workers: General, Chrysler Bankruptcy; Labor.**

  means thet erticles on unemployment cen be found by going to the subject head **AUTO WORKERS** and looking under the subcategories **Generel** and **Chrysler Bankruptcy** and by going to the subject heed **LABOR**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading Unless listed separately for some unusual reeson, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U S political organizetions are listed under their organizational names
- Specific defense cases (e g Assata Shakur) will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Ceses.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are

C	Correction
L.	Letter
R	Review
S	Series
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